Housing in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece

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1   WHAT CAN ONE DO WITH HOUSES?

Inspired by the misty Byzantine and Frankish eras, the darkness of the Ottoman period and the colours of the Neoclassical Early Modern past, this study aims to shed light on the housing patterns within the context of the little researched Medieval and Post-Medieval archaeology of Greece. Whereas the data gathered come from a variety of sources with differing methodologies and objectives, I have attempted to harmonise the evidence so as to permit general trends to appear for the entire period under investigation. Beyond the structural changes already known from previous studies, my aim is to pinpoint the social, economic and identity patterns underlying the persistence and change of domestic forms. For this purpose historical, socio-economic and textual evidence have been employed, easing the way towards the understanding of the Medieval and Post-Medieval house in Greece (*Figure 1*).

What is a house?

It may not be original to claim that the house provides a boundary and shelter, but it is precisely this characteristic that encloses and encompasses all the advanced socio-economic, historical, artistic and symbolic aspects theoretically constructed or deconstructed by scholars of domestic architecture. House architecture is characteristic of bounding space and presenting a limit between nature and civilisation, settlement and household (Kent 1990a: 2). In a sense the house may be compared with a *shell*, which being part of the environment provides shelter, while growing and adapting to the needs of the living organism housed within it. Not unlike the *shell*, the house too may be used and reused by successive occupants, obtaining new and modified functions, but never losing its role as a boundary and shelter. The house, however, provides these facilities usually to more than one living organisms that have to be sheltered underneath the same roof. In Greece this group usually encompasses a nuclear family and its household animals, commonly sheltered within the same domestic structure.

Furthermore, the walls of the house provide the point of contact, or according to the architect Jesson the "edge" (Jesson 1977: 313), between the functions and meanings of the interior and the exterior. However, rather than stressing the relationship between the interior and the exterior as contrasting, the house integrates these seemingly opposing worlds and brings them closer together. This approach between exterior and interior as culminated in the architectural form may be regarded as a form of communication (Eco 1980). Thus, besides the functional nature of the structure providing shelter and bounding a particular space in nature, the house comprises a combination of sign systems, which aim at communicating functional, typological, socio-economic and symbolic trends, according to the perceptions of society. It is precisely these signs that a scholar is seeking and interpreting in order to reach some understanding of a society's domestic structures.

Beyond the architectural *shell*, however, the house provides a container of material culture. Thus within its bounds, various objects are arranged to serve the functional nature of the house, that is the sheltering of various activities. The arrangement of material culture is specific to the architectural form and to the inhabitants, who are supposed to use the structure. There does not seem to be a reason to argue whether the architectural form determines the arrangement of objects within the house or the object the domestic structure, since the two are in a dialectical relation with each other. Both structure and material culture contained or even excluded from the former are inextricable parts of the house.

It is the human agency, however, that brings the house to life. It has been suggested that besides a container of material culture, the house is an arena of social activity (Tringham 1995: 79). It is a bounded space containing both functional activities and social interactions among its inhabitants. For instance, has been established that the house reflects and determines the relationships between the different age groups and genders. Thus, some of the houses in Greece dating to the 18th century have lofts hidden behind elaborate woodwork, specially constructed for the women of the house to retreat at the presence of visitors. Moreover, the house may reveal patterns of relationships and association between the inhabitants of the house and the society beyond its bounds. The reception room, or

sala, of the Early Modern Greek house and the parlour of the English house, suggest a particular attitude towards hospitality and reception of visitors, in a room usually secluded from the rest of the house or little used otherwise. Likewise, the appearance of the house and its relation to the rest of the settlement or surrounding environment is revealing of the proximity of the household to the social and natural world around it. Thus, the house is a complex structure not just bounding space, but providing shelter from the natural and social surroundings to a family, its activities, material culture, internal and external social organisation, beliefs, prejudices and symbols.

Vernacular domestic architecture

The houses presented in this study belong broadly to the category of vernacular architecture. The term was first used in the mid 19th century to describe traditional rural buildings of the pre-Industrial era. These buildings were not originally regarded as having been "consciously" designed, or affected by the high architectural forms of the Renaissance and Neoclassicism (Upton 1983: 262-263, Alcock 1996: 273). However, I will be using this term following the definition adopted by Rapoport (Rapoport 1969: 4-5). Vernacular architecture has been reinterpreted, as the result of a process where building tradesmen construct most of the buildings in direct contact with the owner. The owner is not a mere consumer but an active participant in the designing process. He knows the building techniques as well as the architectural forms, passed on from generation to generation as the quintessence of their experience. It may, therefore, be regarded as the intermediate phase between primitive architecture, where the entire community participates in the construction of the house, and the highly specialised situation within an industrial context (Rapoport 1969: 4-5).

Such building tradesmen are known to have been active in Greece from their guilds during the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods, as well as their cooperatives, or *isnafia*, of the Ottoman and Early Modern eras. They originated from particular regions and villages in Greece, usually at relatively high altitudes. They would leave their mainly pastoral activities during the summer months and travel around the mainland covering the construction needs of the entire region. The most famous ones during the Ottoman period came from inland mountainous Epeiros and extended their activities throughout the Balkans. However, local building communities were also active, like the Langadiani in the Peloponnese, who took up the task of reconstruction of the minute Greek State throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries (Konstantinopoulos 1983).

The chronology and the geographical region

The Later Eastern Roman Empire was not disrupted until the 7th century A.D., and is characterised by material culture that could be regarded very much related to earlier Roman styles rather than the subsequent Byzantine. The subsequent period up to the late 9th century, the Early Byzantine, is almost unknown in the archaeological record. Our information comes mainly from chronicles and other textual evidence (*Figure 2*; Haldon 1990: xvii-xxiii, 93-99). This may be due to limited interest in the period and, consequently, inability to understand the material culture deriving from this particular context, which is, therefore, treated as indicating general disruption and desertion of settlement. The majority of data for the Middle Ages in Greece derive from the Middle Byzantine (9th to 12th centuries) and the Late Byzantine/Frankish (early 13th to mid 15th centuries). It should be noted that the dates used are still based primarily on historical rather than archaeological evidence, since the latter still seem to pose more disputes than the ones they are supposed to solve.

The Late Byzantine/Frankish period is concluded by the fall of Constantinople on 29 May 1453 and its capture by the Ottoman Turks. From this date onwards the city will be known as Istanbul and will become the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The four century long presence of the Ottomans in the southern Balkans has been divided into three eras, the Early, Middle, and Late Ottoman periods. These three broad divisions are determined by socio-economic and historical conditions and changes that took place throughout this long period. They broadly coincide with changes in the material culture and archaeology as demonstrated by current archaeological survey in Greece (Bintliff 2000a, Davis et al. 1997, Jameson, Runnels, and van Andel 1994, Mee and Forbes 1997, Vroom 1998, Wells and Runnels 1996, Wright et al. 1990).

The 1820s mark another firm chronological boundary. The Greek War of Independence that led to the establishment of the Modern Greek State opens the beginning of a new era for the southern tip of the Balkan Peninsula. This period is termed here as Early Modern, reaching to the Second World War, and may be regarded as the formative era of present day Greece.

Having established the broad chronological terms to be used, it is crucial to clarify the use of the term Greece, as mentioned in this study. Thus, I do not refer to the "nation" that it nowadays represents, but rather to the geographical region that the modern state encompasses, so as to place some limits to the area investigated. It is not assumed that the term should suggest a clear internal unity. In contrast, it should be borne in mind that aspects discussed below might indicate definite associations with neighbouring regions, which nowadays belong to different nation-states, rather than within the geographical region itself (see also Cvijic 1918). This is very well illustrated in the eighth volume of the series "Greek Traditional

Architecture" with the participation of scholars from all the Balkan states, providing a general study of their countries' main house styles (Melissa 1993).

Data and limitations

The data used for the examination of housing in Greece throughout the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods have been gathered from three different sources: excavation and architectural publications and archaeological building survey. The archaeological record for the Medieval period is very scant and for the Post-Medieval non-existent. Most of the data presented in this study have been accidental discoveries either in rescue excavations or investigations aiming at the recovery of the Roman, Classical Greek and Prehistoric past of urban centres, among which Athens and Corinth hold leading positions. Furthermore, publications of the houses recovered usually comprise a plan and brief description without any relation to the chronological, material and settlement context of the excavation. Since the plan is the only published evidence of domestic activity, I have chosen only the complete or almost complete houses, in order to allow some conclusions to be drawn about the arrangement of the rooms and the possible uses of space.

Fortunately, surviving architectural remains within and around a number of major deserted Medieval castles and a few Post-Medieval settlements have further assisted the understanding of the archaeological houses. These have been recorded mainly by students of architecture and published in form of preliminary reports in various journals. The publications contain very detailed plans and descriptions of most structures, and provide invaluable information about the organisation of the Medieval settlements and the construction of the houses. However, the material culture related to these domestic structures is not studied or published, in accordance to the aim of the studies, that is the understanding of the structural aspects of the houses. Nevertheless, links with the excavated houses may be drawn to provide a more complete picture of both the architectural types and spatial arrangements of the houses.

Most of the architectural studies concentrate on the recording of standing houses of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, or the Late Ottoman and early Modern periods. In these studies the main aim is the description of the architectural details and the structural characteristics of the houses, stripped of their social context and often seems as mere museum artefact, rather than reflections of dynamic processes. Often the theoretical baggage and the objectives of the scholars further blur the picture with nationalistic narratives that fit very little with the multicultural nature of the architectural forms. The architectural plans and the collection of local traditions, that sometimes accompany the description, however, do provide a basis for further analysis and interpretation.

Unlike Western and Northern Europe, in Greece very little textual documentation of buildings and their contents survives, in the form of wills, other legal documents and literature. It is only from a limited number of written sources, indirectly referring to domestic life, that we may gain some insights into the nature and arrangement of particular houses. For the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods textual information comes mainly from chroniclers, comparing the backward lifestyles in the provinces to Constantinople, or religious and secular guides and correspondence advising on how to lead an ethical life. The majority of literary evidence for the Ottoman era comes from Western travellers that visited Greece, mainly during the 18th and 19th centuries, on their Grand Tours for the rediscovery of the birthplace of the Classical Ideals. Many of these sources have been utilised to supplement the two-dimensional plans we are provided from the architectural surveys and the archaeological context.

Besides the bibliographical assessment, I have based some of my results on primary data, either kindly provided by the Boiotia Project (Cambridge-Durham collaboration) or collected in the field and analysed by myself. The former comprise mainly plans of ruined domestic structures and dating information from deserted Late Byzantine/ Frankish, Ottoman and Early Modern sites, as well as the preliminary results of three pilot studies of the built environment in rural and urban settings in Boiotia. This evidence is further enriched by a systematic and virtually complete building survey of a number of villages and the town of Livadeia in Boiotia. For this purpose a special recording sheet was created aiming to provide a complete and easily decoded documentation of the condition, nature, construction, style, plan and use of space of each house. The recording sheet was very much influenced by the principles of the recording methods adopted by the Minnesota Archaeological Researches in the Western Peloponnese (MARWP, directed by Prof. Fred Cooper) and principles of archaeological recording of the Archaeological Unit of the University of Durham. Furthermore, the same recording technique was used for an equivalent building survey in Early Modern villages of Messenia (Southwest Peloponnese), further testing the hypotheses put forward.

It should be realised therefore that this study is based primarily on architectural plans provided from mainly descriptive studies and a large dataset of primary recordings collected by the author. The aim has been to start the study of housing as a whole and provide the basis for parallels to be drawn to the European developments for vernacular studies in Greece.

A theoretical background

Reviews of the approaches adopted by scholars to reach some understanding of the trends, structures and symbols underlying housing practices are abundant. Some have concentrated on the assessment of the development of the sub-discipline from a worldwide perspective (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994) and others are more focused on particular regions (Aalen 1987, Aalen 1996, Filippidis 1983-1990, Johnson 1993, Johnson 1999, Upton 1983, Wagstaff 1965). It is therefore more useful here merely to state some of the broader trends followed by scholars of vernacular architecture, especially bearing in mind the limitations of the vernacular data at our disposal in Greece. From this general assessment of vernacular studies I will draw ideas throughout the course of the present study, that will allow more elaborate interpretations of the chronologically, geographically and qualitatively varied dataset presented.

Thus, most of the early vernacular architecture studies, whether architectural or folklore, seem to be descriptive, with the emphasis on typology and chronology. Descriptions and classifications of house types, building materials and techniques, as well as decorative styles based on contemporary stylistic and aesthetic approaches, constitute the basic interests of the scholars. The ultimate purpose is the establishing of dating controls and determinants of regional variation that will allow assignment of types to certain cultural and ethnic entities. Most of the vernacular studies in Greece could be regarded as belonging to this category. Architects, being the large majority of scholars that have concentrated on the sub-discipline, seem to be more interested in the visual appeal of these early structures, similar to early English and American scholars, such as the Americans Isham and Brown on houses on Rhode Island (Isham and Brown 1895 *cf.* Upton 1983, Johnson 1993).

The second group of studies, developed in England mainly after the 1950s and later adopted in Western Europe, is based on quantification and generalisation in broad socio-economic terms. The approach was introduced through the New History that aimed to provide some understanding of long and medium term processes and cycles, and release historical thought from meticulous description of events and personages. Thus, socio-economic studies approach the house as a record of processes from a historical point of view. The extent to which economic changes affect the number and the nature of the houses is examined as well as the social classes that are involved. These approaches, earlier in time but parallel in concept to the development of the so-called processual wave in archaeology, very much affected the understanding of the house's context and introduced into the history of archaeology of the house, and consequently the settlement, notions such as subsistence, manufacture and economy. Thus, the house becomes a container of materials, activities and functions, and consequently it is seen as a basic unit of the economic organisation of a neighbourhood, quarter and settlement.

The examination of settlement location and pattern, as well as the environmental, economic and social attributes, that influence the construction of the house, affected Greek vernacular studies too, but remained rather underdeveloped mainly because of the lack of documentation on the regional economies and inventories. Nevertheless, socio-economic and historical parameters were realised to be crucial to the understanding of the house and were always used as introductions to these otherwise descriptive architectural studies.

More recently, a number of scholars have claimed that environment and economy should be regarded as an initial step in the analysis of the role of each aspect of a building. Thus, if behaviour is accepted to be a system of activities, architecture can be a container-boundary suited to a particular environment and economy, as well as an arena for social activity (Kent 1990a, Tringham 1995). This means, according to Jesson (Jesson 1977), that each feature of the structure should be studied as to whether its complexity is altered through its morphological role at different levels (e.g. doorway: boundary → social differentiation → protection from evil). Architecture should be examined to discover its potential to vary through adapting to changing needs whether functional, emotional or symbolic, revealing the dynamic nature of the structures. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct detailed research in order to establish the degree that structures relate to other features and conditions or are conditioned by them. This suggests, in archaeological terms, an historical and social contextualisation of vernacular architecture that is treated as a product of cultural changes (Johnson 1993). The changes are part of a constant attempt of the people to reject or identify with a social group, values, status, etc. (Upton 1983). This may imply that the environment might be enduring, but the people create their own view of it (Johnson 1994).

It is precisely this development that permitted the rediscovery of a series of characteristics embodied in the architectural forms, summarised by Parker Pearson and Richards (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994), and opened up the field of domestic architecture to scholars specialising in fields beyond architecture, history and archaeology. Thus, beyond the functions and utilities, the house is loaded with meanings that need to be read and decoded to elucidate underlying discourses. The interpretations may be symbolic representing various orders, whether with regard to the wider society or the relationships between the inhabitants of the structure. From these developments notions such as the 'home', the representations of the domestic cosmos and focus, and the engendered space, evolved, allowing for individual interpretations of the house to come to light. Such studies, mainly celebrating the increasing need for individuality and

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presentation of the self in modern Western societies, have further fine-tuned the investigator's techniques in the archaeological, anthropological and architectural fields striving to discover the individual by plotting within the structures patterns of bounding space, activity zones, cleanliness, purity and decoration.

A further important tool for the understanding of architecture has derived from semiotics and spatial syntax studies (Eco 1980, Hanson 1998, Hillier and Hanson 1984). These methodologies have been criticised for depriving the structures of their symbolic meanings by analysing architecture almost mathematically, in order to identify the rules of design through space and time. Nevertheless, it seems that many of the patterns elaborated by symbolic and contextual studies are discernible through spatial syntax analysis that has the additional advantage of allowing comparisons between structures and cultures to be made.

The Structure

It would be arrogant to claim that a holistic approach has been adopted for the present interpretation of Greek housing from the Medieval to the Post-Medieval periods. Despite the fact that no two houses in the datasets can be regarded as identical (Chomsky 1965: 6, Upton 1983: 273), the chronological depth and the broad geographical region chosen allow the presentation and analysis of medium term trends, in a Braudelian sense (Braudel 1972-1973). However, the importance of the short chronological term and the particular features and spatial characteristics of structures have not been neglected and are often particularly stressed. In this way, I have tried to demonstrate the richness and multiplicity of the domestic forms, often directly reflecting the individual, whether that is the builder or the owner himself. Thus, according to the nature and quality of the data available, I have attempted to apply the different approaches of interpretation of domestic architecture. Whereas socio-economic considerations prevail in the present discussion of Greek Medieval and Post-Medieval housing, I have not refrained from examining gender relations, notions of cleanliness and privacy, structural depth and spatial hierarchies.

My aim being the understanding of the use of space and the possible changes in the organisation of the house in close relation to broad socio-economic and historical developments, it has been challenging to deal with the structures in a strict chronological order, bearing in mind the restrictions posed by the archaeological and architectural record mentioned earlier. Thus, I have started with the presentation of background economic, demographic and social information (chapters 2 and 3) followed by a review of a large number of studies focusing on vernacular architecture in Greece, mainly of the later Ottoman and Early Modern periods (Chapter 4). It is not my

intention to provide a numerically complete review of all studies prior to this thesis. Rather the aim is to present the multiplicity of architectural forms and the variety of approaches adopted by scholars, covering most of the geographical regions of Greece.

Having provided a concise history of the socio-economic developments of the Ottoman period (Chapter 2), an overview of the prevailing notions on household and gender (Chapter 3) and a review of earlier housing studies in Greece (Chapter 4), I then attempt to reinterpret the house forms and critically assess the conclusions of the studies presented in Chapter 4. To make this exercise possible, I created a database in Microsoft Access, in which information related to the plan, chronology, arrangement and style of the houses have been entered, as well as the aims, methods and theoretical results of the studies. These were then analysed and plotted on charts and maps, with the aid of Microsoft Excel and MapInfo, respectively. The results are often intriguing not only as far as the distribution of the house forms and arrangements, but also as far as the objectives of the authors are concerned (Chapter 5). Furthermore, I attempt to apply theoretical concepts developed for other housing contexts to the Greek collection, whether they are related to depth and visibility analysis, developed by space syntax scholars, considerations of gender, or broader socio-economic concepts.

The reinterpretation of the Ottoman period houses provides a background for the understanding of the Post-Roman (mainly Medieval) excavated houses (Chapter 6). Here the social and historical conditions are integrated with the domestic types discerned from the archaeological record. The location of the houses within the settlement tissue, the size and internal organisation are explained in social terms with the help of textual and pictorial evidence. Furthermore, gender relations and aspects of privacy are evaluated, starting from the two-dimensional house plan and despite the lack of the material culture and the chronological biography of the structure.

The following description and analysis of housing patterns in Boiotia provides a bridge between the Post-Roman and Late Ottoman/Early Modern eras discussed previously (Chapter 7). This is made possible by the overlap in dates of deserted and still inhabited settlements as demonstrated by the study of surface ceramics and tax registers for the intervening periods (preliminary dating by John Hayes, Vroom 2003, Bintliff 1995, Kiel 1997). However, the primary aim is the understanding of housing changes during the long period in question in Boiotia and the processes that caused these developments. Beyond the chronological scale, the houses are studied in relation to settlement organisation, demonstrating a close relation between town, village and countryside.

These developments are further evaluated in the case of Messenia (Chapter 8). This province too seems to follow the same trends as Boiotia, despite

geographical distance and different micro-historical developments. Whereas in Messenia I did not have direct access to primary archaeological surface survey material, allowing for equivalent time-depth as in the Boiotian case, it was possible to fine-tune change from the Ottoman period to the Early Modern in socio-economic and chronological terms. Regional variation has also been demonstrated, pointing towards the multiplicity of house forms and spatial organisation argued in the previous chapters.

From the evaluation of primary and secondary data a number of narratives emerge, bringing all the sources of evidence together (Chapter 9). Continuities and changes in architectural forms whether in the countryside or the towns will be evaluated of socio-economic and political development of these processes seem to have paralleled Europe. The trends noted in pre-industrial and Post-Medieval peasant and urban from a Western European context will the Greek case with special attention areas like Scotland, particularly Furthermore, the notion of the 'home', by vernacular scholars will be tested against data presented in this study, revealing patterns of awareness of the domestic space day European perceptions

2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
ASPECTS OF DEMOGRAPHY, AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, INDUSTRY AND TRADE

The aim of this chapter is to look at the economic developments during the Ottoman and Early Modern eras the South Balkans and Greece, in particular, in combination with the causes and the results of these developments at a generalised scale. This is important for the examination of the changes within the settlements and the movements of sites that are related to it. More specifically, the main assumption is that the changes noted in the economy are reflected in the house types and vice versa. At a later stage this will allow the establishment of a generalised pattern of change in construction, use of space and meaning of the vernacular buildings that coincides with the changes noted in the economy of the period and area under consideration.

It will be attempted to examine the general demographic, economic and social developments in the Ottoman period, stretching from the mid 15th to the early 19th centuries. A short overview of the first few decades of the newly founded Greek state will, then, be presented in combination with parallel developments in the Epeiros, Macedonia and Thrace districts of the Ottoman Empire. Concluding, the similarities in the processes described between the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires will be evaluated in relation to the role of other European states, whose own policies very much affected the economic and political developments of both the Byzantine and Ottoman administration.

I have divided the period Ottoman Empire in the region of Greece (15th - early 19th centuries) in centuries even though this may not always coincide with the changing points of the Ottoman economy itself. Each period will be examined as far as the sources of production and land ownership, the manufacture, the trade, the general policy of the Ottoman state and its relation with European powers. It would be an omission, though, not to mention the basis of the Ottoman organisation. Islamic religion played an important role in political, social and economic developments throughout the lifetime of the empire. The state was ruled according to the *Shari'a*, or Islamic Law, and the *'Urfi Kanun's*, or state laws that were issued by the Sultan, the lawful leader of the state

and representative of Allah. The Islamic Law was the basis of all Ottoman legislation on every aspect of the state's institutions (Inalcik 1969). It seems, though, that it was less influential than the Laws issued by the Sultan in the form of *firmans*. During the 18th century, in particular, when the need for reform became more urgent (Inalcik 1977: 28), legislation was put forward that threatened vested interests of the *ulema* (= religious elite), the *Janissaries* and the secular aristocracy. Often upsurge was caused by these classes and it seems that such attempts led to the overthrowing of the Sultans Mustafa II and Selim III (Naff 1977).

There have also been a variety of interpretations of the Islamic Law depending on the social background and the economic and political fluctuations of each period. Whereas the *Shari'a*, for instance, protected the right of the individual on land, the *Kanun* (state law) was concerned with the maintenance of state control on land and production. This is apparent in Inalcik's statement that "the history of landholding in the Ottoman Empire, or in Islamic countries in general, can be summarised as a constant struggle between the state and the individual for control of agricultural lands" (Inalcik 1984: 105). Two interpretations that are concerned with the accumulation of wealth through trade give a good picture of these trends. Whereas the *Hanafite* School of Law regarded trade a religious duty, luxury praiseworthy and suggested to rulers that they should favour and encourage merchants, the Orthodox Islam mentality represented by *al-Ghazali* was opposed to the mercantile capitalism and claimed that the merchants should not make more profit than what sufficed to maintain their family. The latter were in favour of the guild system that prohibited competition and provided harmony and subsistence to the society (Inalcik 1969). Apart from these interpretations there were two more Schools of Law (four in total) that were somewhere in between these two approaches (Hourani 1991: 65-71). The *Ulema* (= a loose term for the Muslim religious class) was usually in favour of the strictest interpretation of the *Shari'a*. The Sultan and his bureaucratic court, though, adopted the less extreme interpretations according to the circumstances.

15th and 16th centuries

It has often been claimed that the 15th and 16th centuries were a period of economic and demographic decline throughout the Balkan Peninsula that was the result of the invasion of the Ottomans. This is supported by accounts of the very few travellers of the mid 17th century that found the land devastated and assumed that this was the result of the first two centuries of the Ottoman occupation. But as there is a gap of two centuries in the western sources on what happened in these two centuries, Kiel (Kiel 1990, Kiel 1998) rightly concludes that it is misleading to rely on such generalisations. After all there is a vast number of tax registers for this and later periods that have been little studied and the few that have been published give a very different picture (Balta 1992, Kiel 1987, 1988, 1990, 1997, 1998). The Ottoman tax registers allow a reconstruction of the demographic and economic expansion of the period that can be related with remains of art and architecture of the period in question.

The registers (*Tahrir*, poll tax, *Avariz*) could be either detailed containing every name (*mufassal*), or synoptic mentioning the village name, the total number of households and the tax revenue (*idjmal*). For the south Balkans there is great number of registers surviving covering more or less the whole Ottoman era. Kiel (1987, 1990, 1997, 1998) and Balta (1992) have concentrated on the 15th and 16th century registers of Central Greece, mainly because they are better written, easier to decipher and very important for this unknown period. Contrary to the dominant historical belief until the last few decades, these registers suggest that the 15th and 16th centuries were years of demographic and economic expansion that was the result of the stable period established with the Pax Ottomanica. After the turbulent years of the Frankish period and Black Death, the countryside was left devastated and agricultural lands were abandoned. Villages were deserted and otherwise cultivated plains became sources of epidemic illnesses. The plain of Thessaly was empty when the Ottomans (1388-89) arrived as the earliest surviving register (1455) suggests. The plain was resettled by Turks of Western Anatolia and Greeks from the mountainous hinterland. In the following century the total population shows a rapid increase and is doubled (e.g. Atalanti) or even quadrupled (in areas of Boiotia; Kiel 1997, 1998).

This increase of population, noted in other areas of the Empire as well as the rest of the Mediterranean (Braudel 1972-1973), is parallel to the economic boom that can be noted from comparison between registers. In Attika the production of wheat remained stable between 1507 and 1570, barley almost doubled, olive oil increased slightly, the production of wine rose from 1,331 to 8,446 *medre* and the number of sheep doubled (*Figure 3*). Thus, until the 1570s it seems that the economic expansion closely followed the rapid rise of the population (*Figure 4*). Similar process is noted in

Thessaly (Kiel 1990, Kiel 1998, Lawless 1977), Boiotia (Kiel 1997), Atalanti (Kiel 1990, Kiel 1998), the Balkans in general (Inalcik 1978) and Anatolia (Faroqhi and Erder 1979). The claim, therefore, for economic decline and flight from the lowland areas during the first centuries of the Ottoman rule cannot be supported any more. The Balkans, consequently, can be firmly regarded as part of the general development of the rest of Europe and the Mediterranean at that time (Braudel 1972-1973, Faroqhi and Erder 1979).

A closer look at the numbers retrieved from the archives shows that, whereas the population and the production increased, the inelasticity of agriculture would suggest a general rise in food prices followed by a rise in the prices of other commodities (Faroqhi and Erder 1979). This implies that the real *per capita* income did not very much increase throughout the century. Thus, the economic decline in the last quarter of the century combined with the continuing population rise and the slower rate of agricultural land expansion (Faroqhi 1992, Inalcik 1978, Inalcik 1980) probably caused the crisis of the later 16th century (Faroqhi 1992, Faroqhi and Erder 1979). The disproportionate rate of population and production growth is not necessarily the sole reason for the decline (Faroqhi 1992, Faroqhi and Erder 1979, Gerber 1982). The so-called "Little Ice Age" in the 17th century must have exacerbated the problems especially on the uplands, where the settlements were particularly hit (Kiel 1998).

The Islamic Law gave the right to every adult male of free and permanent possession and use of *miri* (= land owned by the state). To use the land the *re'aya* (= peasantry and non-Muslim tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire) had to pay revenue to the Sultan, who in turn was responsible for the protection of the land from third parties that had the potential to change its use and turn the *re'aya* into labourers, sharecroppers or serfs. Thus, each household had a plot of land (*çift* or *çiftlik*) that was part of the wider military institution, called *timar*. The *timar* constituted a tax area and was, therefore, rigidly controlled by the state. Beside the *sipahi* (= the holder of the *timar* and cavalry man), it supported not only the vast bureaucratic machine of the Empire, but also the military needs by providing products and cash for the Janissaries as well as the needs of large towns (Istanbul, Edirne, Sarajevo, Thessaloniki etc.). During the second half of the 16th century, these lands gradually came under the control of private individuals. The change of control marked also a change in the organisation of production, which even though not so prominent in the 16th century was increasingly more widespread in the centuries to come. The relation, though, between the *re'aya* and the landowner was not very different from that under the *timar* system. At this point the change into plantation-like cultivation was still a very rare phenomenon (Inalcik 1972, Inalcik 1984, Stoianovich 1953). It was encouraged, though, by the shortages within and

outside the Empire. From the mid-16th century onwards there was a series of wheat shortages in Venice and Italy followed by shortages within the Empire (e.g. Anatolia; Aymard 1966 *cited in* Inalcik 1978). The former were due to bad harvests that triggered exports from the empire especially at the west coasts of the Balkans. It is at this time that the Empire imposes export prohibitions due to local shortages and war. The limitations imposed on trade and the increased need for local food supply had as result the increasing investment of local wealth in land and tax farming (Braude 1979, Inalcik 1978).

The gradual change to tax farming marks a number of developments in the manufacture and merchant world, which is centred in towns too. Manufacture of cloth, mainly of wool and silk during this period, seems to be predominant in provincial towns (Thessaloniki, Safed, Pleven, Trikala, Larissa etc.). It was there that the sometime in the 16th century Jewish exiles from Spain settled and established cloth industries comparable to the English and Spanish. The conditions were ideal as there were ample raw materials available, skilled labourers, competitive technology and a government that was interested (Thessaloniki, for example, was appointed to provide the *Janissaries*). This development went alongside the imports of English textiles that were already traded to the Empire since the 15th century and the Italian, mainly Venetian, that penetrated the Balkan economy and dominated in the sphere of luxury cloths, the local industry producing kerseys and less expensive broad cloth. The prices for local and Venetian cloth were similar as both industries were supplied from the Balkans with raw material. England, though, was at an advantage due to the large scale of its industry, the more stable price of wool and its organisation in Companies (Venetian and Turkish). When these Companies merged into the Levant Company, England managed to make its trade in the area more effective, monopolising trade to and from the Levant, whether it concerned wool, Persian silk, spices etc. The English domination of the market assisted the decline of local wool and silk manufacture (Stoianovich 1953). The local industry, though, was destined to disappear, as the government did not attempt to secure it from international competition. Its only interest was in the supply of the *Janissaries* and domestic needs (Inalcik 1978).

I should add here the role of the 16th century fairs in the Balkan region (*Figure 5*). There is reference of two types of fairs. The one had local character supplying the necessary goods meant to last for a whole year (shoes, cloth, pottery etc.). The other was organised for wholesalers to meet retailers, who would distribute the products to the consumers. These too, though, seem to have been affected by the crisis of the late 16th century that caused a great decline in their number by the mid 17th century (Faroqhi 1978).

It has been claimed that, despite the steep demographic expansion, the incommensurate expansion of the economy and the agricultural lands as well as the penetration of European trade, the Ottoman economy was the victim of its own success (Gerber, 1982). He examined the decline from a monetary point of view. In particular, he attempted to look into the reasons of devaluation and debasement of the main Ottoman currency, the *akçe*, and quotes C. Cipolla (Cipolla 1963) for the basic framework. He suggests that the most important factors are:

a. The high demand for money, due to the increase of population and/or of income and/or of the "monetisation" of the economy.
b. The increase of the governmental expenditure and deficit.
c. Disequilibrium in the balance of payments.
d. Wear of circulating coins, and lack of a mechanism to control it.
e. Fluctuation in the exchange rate between gold and silver (Cipolla 1963, Gerber 1982).

In this respect, the 16th century was a period of rapid demographic increase (see above) that would require an increase of currency in circulation. This is the case already from the time of Mehmet the Conqueror, who in 1454 exempted silver imports (bulk and coins) from custom duties, with the condition that the bulk silver would be brought to the mint (Inalcik 1993). The shortage of precious metals was a general phenomenon in Europe at the late Middle Ages (Gerber 1982, Inalcik 1993) and as far as the Ottoman Empire is concerned it continued in the 16th century too. Similarly, even though it is hard to decide whether the *per capita* income increased or decreased (probably there are different regional trends), it is a fact that the economy expanded and there is evidence for growing monetisation (Gerber 1982). At the same time the expenses of the government increased, due to the decline of the *timar* system (the *sipahis* that were supplied by the *timars* were not any more effective against the Christian infantry equipped with handguns), the need to finance the ever growing standing army (1550s 13,000 *Janissaries*, in 1600s 38,000) and the payment of the salaries of the *levend* units (independent mercenary groups with handguns; Inalcik 1980). The debasement of the *akçe*, therefore, in 1584 was probably the result of the deficit of the Treasury.

One would expect that the contemporary "price revolution" in Europe would have affected the Ottoman Empire too, but this does not seem to be the case. The merchants of the Empire were mainly trading products from the Middle East (Iranian silk that was processed in Edirne and other towns of the Empire; Inalcik 1969) to the West, causing all the incoming money to flow eastwards rather than remaining in the Empire (Gerber 1982). This is evident from orders issued by the sultan against this flow of currency. Despite the eastward flow, it has to be noted that the 1584 debasement coincides with the flooding of Spanish silver in the Ottoman market, and the start of the counterfeit era, that affected the Ottoman

Empire until the mid 17th century (Inalcik 1993). On top of this, wars that continued for long periods in the late 16th and early 17th centuries without large spoils worsened the state of the Treasury. The observations are very useful for the following centuries too, especially the 17th that shows similar trends at least for the first half.

The 17th century

The economic fluctuations of the late 16th century had a substantial impact on the later economic, political and social development of the Empire. The rebellions within the Empire, the continuous war with Austria and Persia for most of the first half of the century, the gradual decentralisation and the inability of the government to reform in order to follow the developments of the rest of Europe changed the course of the Ottoman Empire. The developments of this century resulted in the 18th and 19th century economic subjugation of the Empire to the European Powers.

The economic crisis that had started in the late 16th century and the continued increase of the population had a serious effect on the society of the Empire. In Anatolia, in particular, the increase in the number of independent armed units (*levends*) equipped with handguns implies that many men regarded it as an alternative occupation to land cultivation. The continuous warfare (Mantran 1977) with neighbouring states seemed to encourage the increase in their number. These units were used as mercenaries by the state, as the *sipahis* that were supported by the *timar* system. However, they were proven ineffective against the armies of the Christian states (see above; Inalcik 1980, Inalcik 1993). The increase in the number of these units had three immediate consequences. Firstly, it meant that the state had to finance these groups as mercenaries straining the Treasury even more. Furthermore, the decrease of the agricultural population meant that there was less income from taxation. This decrease also led to the desertion of much agricultural land, that, under certain circumstances, would be available for exploitation by local nobility that was eager to extend their properties (*mukata'a* or *malikane* system; Chetkova 1977, Inalcik 1984; it is also attested by the increase of sheep breeding in early 17th century Boiotia, for instance, that requires less people and more land; Kiel 1997, Kiel 1998). Thus, the tax revenues decreased causing additional problems to the Treasury. The third consequence was the transformation into bandit groups from these *levends*, whenever the government did not have money to pay them or they were not needed anymore (Faroqhi 1992, Inalcik 1980). These groups having no other means of subsistence, other than being employed as mercenaries resorted in the plundering of villages. The upheavals (*celali*) caused in the beginning of the 17th century were organised by these groups.

Faroqhi (Faroqhi 1992, Inalcik 1980) suggests that the economic crisis, the overpopulation and the effects of the "price revolution" in Europe did not have but a secondary contribution to the *celali* rebellions (traditional view). The increased taxation due to prolonged warfare and deficit of the Treasury, and the violence that accompanied the collection, as seen from official complaints made village life unattractive (Faroqhi 1992); this is also noted in Thessaly, (Lawless 1977). Thus, young peasants abandoned the villages and concentrated in towns or created bandit groups that rebelled against the authority. She, therefore, suggests that the *celali* uprisings were political rather than demographic. This phenomenon is notable further north in the Balkans (Wallachia, Albania etc.) too, but to a lesser extent, because these areas were not affected as much. They had resorted in legal and illegal trade with Europe that compensated the losses of the economic and demographic crisis (Inalcik 1972; Levant wheat once again replaces the Baltic wheat due to its lower price in 1600-1629; Faroqhi 1978, Inalcik 1978).

The political nature of the revolts has also been presented by the study of Faroqhi & Eder (Faroqhi and Erder 1979) that examined the population increase of two totally different Anatolian *kazas*, Kocaeli and Karahisar. After a swelling of the population in 1560-1570 there is a gradual decline (1615) that according to the scholars cannot be explained by plain demography. Movement of villages to new locations in order to avoid taxation, conversion to nomadic lifestyle and swelling of urban population are regarded as the main factors for the attested population decline and, therefore, the registers should be treated with caution. One should bear in mind that they were made when the situation had very much departed from the previous register, causing series of complaints and confusion (Faroqhi and Erder 1979).

The upheavals and the general confusion affected the Balkan fairs too that during this period (early 17th century) decreased very much in number. The situation was made worse by the increasing number of *Janissaries* that, rather than guarding the fairs, organised raids in order to substitute their salaries that had almost halved (Inalcik 1972). Faroqhi (Faroqhi 1978) adds to these bandits that dressed like *Janissaries* very often attacked the fairs too. The fear and losses caused by such attacks led to the decline of the fairs and the loss of another income to the Treasury, as fewer goods were being marketed and consequently taxed.

A very important change during this period that had a long term effect on Ottoman economy and state organisation was the spread of the *çiftlik* system. The movements of the population throughout the late 16th and early 17th centuries and the *celali* disturbances resulted the desertion of villages and large agricultural areas. Private individuals acquired these lands for a lifetime (*mukata'a*), but because of the shortage of farmers they converted them to stockbreeding. This

was also encouraged by the state and in periods of financial problems, like the early 17th century, it leased out abandoned *miri* (= plots of land) to individuals. In this way the state was substituted by a landowner or tax-farmer. Initially, the relation between the peasant and the landowner was the same with the relationship to the *sipahi*, but this was to change soon. These farms, widely known as *çiftliks*, initially were very small comprising of 2 or 3 peasant households (Kiel *pers. comm.*). The continuing difficulty of the state to control the provinces sufficiently and the financial problems it faced, though, allowed the landowners to abuse the *mukata'a* system and later the *malikane* that gave them hereditary right over the land, and rapidly increased their properties in size (Inalcik 1984). By the end of the 17th century one may talk about a rise of large estates, known in the registers as *çiftliks*.

These processes reflected the gradual alienation of the central government from the provinces that is so clearly described by Inalcik's article on Ottoman administration (Inalcik 1977). The decentralisation was even more prominent in the later part of the 17th century, when the collection of income and state revenue was left in the care of local agents or landowners. These were men of wealth, who in later periods are referred in Ottoman texts as *ayan*. From 1680s onwards one of the local *ayan* was elected representative of a *kaza*, receiving more power than ever before and causing the genesis of a local landed elite (Inalcik 1977, Inalcik 1984, Sadat 1972). Some very powerful *ayan* also acquired private mercenary forces to protect their properties from bandit raids, but also to enforce the acquisition of additional *miri* from peasants and labourers to work for their farms. Often in the attempt to avoid taxation many great landowners converted their tax-farms into *wakf* estates (= religious endowments), decreasing the state income further more (Chetkova 1977).

The steady rise in the number of tax-farms is not accidental, though, and definitely not the result solely of the desertion of agricultural land. The decentralisation of the Ottoman Empire coincides with the evolution of strictly centralised monarchies of Europe (Naff 1977). After the 16th century "price revolution" the European countries were in great need of raw materials to sustain their cloth production. The Middle East was a cheap and easy area for provisions in silk, cotton, wool and mohair yarn as well as the world centre of the spice market (this was already established since the conquest of Egypt and the transfer of the spice market to Istanbul; (Mantran 1977, Stoianovich 1960). But the discovery of the Cape route, that up to the 16th century had not affected the Ottoman trade, appeared more threatening that ever before. The war of the Empire with Persia that lasted for most part of the first half of the 17th century, and the diplomatic background shows how crucial this trade was for the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East as well as the competing European countries (Inalcik 1993). The closing of the silk and spice route by the

Ottoman Empire in order to cut off Persia from the Mediterranean trade resulted the permanent loss of the spice market that moved to Amsterdam (the Dutch had preferred the Cape route already from the early 17th century; (Inalcik 1993, Stoianovich 1960). Similarly, the Europeans were now more or less forced to use both the Mediterranean and the Cape route for their supplies that threatened the Ottoman merchant economy. After the end of the war the silk route was reopened and the trade flourished again even though not in the same extent (Inalcik 1993).

Despite the Cape route, the Ottoman market was still very important for the European powers. It was a nearby and secure source of raw material. The stagnation of the Ottoman power after all, and the inability of the state to adapt to the new circumstances (lack of a coherent merchant middle class; Inalcik 1977) gave the chance to the Europeans to establish agreements (capitulations) with the Ottoman government that gave them privileges and tax exemptions for the export and import of various products. These agreements only occasionally were taking into account the interests of the local producers, industries and merchants. In the late 17th century, and especially after the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) that established the European superiority, these capitulations became very frequent and very often were taken for granted and included in treaties and alliance agreements (Mantran 1977, Naff 1977).

It was this interest in raw materials by the European countries and the lack of interest of the Ottoman government to protect and encourage local cloth industry that caused its decline. Braude (Braude 1979) refers to the rise of the Balkan wool prices (that should, though, be considered in relation to the debasement of the *akçe* and the relative prices elsewhere), the rise in the number of the *Janissaries* (that Thessaloniki, for instance, was forced to supply; Faroqhi 1980), the attitude of the Ottoman government, and the industrial innovation and exporting mechanism of the English, as the main factors of the collapse of the industry. To these we should add the war with Persia that stopped the silk supply of silk manufacturing and trading towns like Edirne, Bursa and Aleppo (Inalcik 1993). It is clear that the Ottoman attitude towards the economy was based solely on supplying local demand. The administration was, therefore, mainly interested in controlling the exports of goods necessary for the needs of the state, without actually attempting to balance them with the imports, which stripped the state of much of its revenues and, in the case of the silk supply, shortly discussed above, from the primary manufacture of major cities (Çizakça 1985).

In this context, the European demand for raw material can be connected with the rise of tax farming during the 17th century. Many landowners and merchants made efforts to invest their profits in land, which was regarded secure and profitable. The increasing demand and the decentralisation allowed

these landowners, that simultaneously acquired hereditary rights on the land, to increased the production and resort to re-farming and illegal exports, in order to improve their profits. The constant shortages in food supplies in the cities are clear manifestations of this (Inalcik 1972, Inalcik 1978). It is, therefore, often claimed that this is the period of the transformation of the Ottoman economy from the Asiatic Mode of Production to becoming part of the Western European based world economy. This suggests that the Ottoman Empire entered the periphery of the European capitalistic system, supplying raw materials and providing an open market for European manufactured products (Faroqhi 1992, Inalcik 1984, Inalcik 1993, Keyder 1987).

The replacement of the re-exportation of manufactured products by raw material trade from Anatolia and the Arab provinces, due to the efficiency and innovation of European trade and manufacture, as well as the rise of landed local elite contributed to the increase of imports of industrial products from Europe. The rise in demand of imported, often luxury, goods that were manufactured and therefore more costly, and the disproportionately low exports of raw material, drained the reserves of the treasury. This was continued within the 18th and 19th century, when peripherilisation of the Ottoman economy was firmly established (Mantran 1977).

The 18th Century

Despite attempts by the administration during the Küprülü period, the developments of the 17th century had as result for the government to be bankrupt, weak and corrupt. The centrifugal processes of the 17th century and the increase of the power of the *ayan* together with the revival of trade with Eastern and Central Europe through the land route caused the crystallisation of the new social structure (appearance of the local landed notables or *ayan*) and the expansion of the *çiftlik* regime. In response to the increasing demand of Europe for particular raw materials, the *çiftliks* were converted into plantations with commercial nature producing cash crops, mainly cotton, wool, corn, tobacco and wheat (Sadat 1972, Stoianovich 1953). These developments contributed to the economic changes during this period. It should also be added that the military (defeats in wars against the Christians), diplomatic (treaties, alliances) and political (attempts for reform) developments were very crucial in this process.

The signing of the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699 has been interpreted as an acknowledgement by the Sultan of the superiority of the European Powers (Naff 1977). From this point onwards the approach of the Ottoman Empire towards Europe changed following the transformation of trade that had just preceded (second half of the 17th century; Mantran 1977). The Ottomans retreated to a policy of peace that had as

result the transformation of the empire from militaristic to bureaucratic. This may be related to the decline of *devsirme* or *paidomazoma* (= the levy of youths to be trained for Ottoman posts) and the growing influence of the *pashas* and the *ayan* (Itzkowitz 1977). The administrators involved in the bureaucratic machine of the Ottoman state, despite not having realised the need for reform yet, were more open to new ideas, more pragmatic and realised the need to co-operate rather than oppose the Europeans. Therefore, attempts were made in order to establish alliances with major powers that would be crucial for the survival of the Ottoman Empire (Naff 1977). Part of these agreements were the capitulations that gave various privileges to foreign diplomats, traders, producers, but at the same time deprived the Ottoman state from industrial and economic development. The slow reaction of the government to the developments in the European political and economic scene was mainly due to its inability to control the situation and especially due to the lack of interest in the development of local manufacture and trade.

The ineffective policies of the Ottoman government were exploited by the European powers, which secured their privileges through an increasing number of capitulations. The capitulations guaranteed ambassadors and consuls *berats* (= patents) that allowed them to administer commercial, personal and legal affairs of the religious community they represented (= *millet*). Often such *berats* were passed on to merchants too, in most cases illegally, by the ambassadors or consuls. Many local merchants were also benefited by this practice, as 200,000 *berats* were issued in Moldavia by the Austrians for instance. Thus, "the Ottoman Empire became an open free market for Europe" (Naff 1977: 103). Every reform organised in order to reclaim the central power by the Sultan led to revolts and even to the overthrow and murder of Selim III later, in 1807.

The economic crisis of the 17th century increased the power of local notables, the *ayan*, who were investing their profits from tax farming and trade in land. The growing estates were mainly incorporating abandoned or wasteland under the *mukata'a* and *malikane* systems. The bad harvests, the insecurity and increasing debts of the peasants too forced them to abandon their lands and either escape to the towns or the mountains changing their economy to semi-pastoral (Sadat 1972: 354). Combined with the rising demand for raw material, the great landowners adopted plantation agriculture and introduced cash crops (cotton, wool, corn, tobacco, wheat; Stoianovich 1953). The products were then legally or illegally exported, providing the landowners with large profits that allowed them to consolidate their position, through bribing and enforcing their will often with the powerful mercenary armies that they had established. These were even used in order to pressurise the peasantry and obstruct labourers from abandoning the *çiftliks*.

The Government in order to cover the treasury's deficits resorted in the "hiring out" or "auctioning" of lands and offices. As result, the *çiftliks* became even larger and hereditary (*malikane*), as did various administrative offices (Inalcik 1977). The local aristocracy of the *ayan* gradually became crystallised and the recognition by the central government of their existence in 1768 charged them with the administration of the *kaza*, the responsibility for local security, provisioning of towns, collection of taxes and dispatch of troops. This was, though, just a confirmation of the status quo (Chetkova 1977, Inalcik 1977, Sadat 1972) and a desperate move by the government in order to insure provisions and men for the war with Russia.

It should be noted that large-scale *çiftliks*, though, were not a wide spread phenomenon. They were mainly concentrated in large fertile plains near inland waterways (Central Balkans and Macedonia), at coastal plains (Thessaly and Albania) or close to trade routes (Inalcik 1984, Sadat 1972). Their location, therefore, proves exactly the purpose of their existence and suggests the large profits that they yielded for the landowner. The 18th century *çiftlik* plantations, for instance, and the introduction of maize in the mid and late 17th century Balkans allowed a second season of re-farming of the land with cotton, a practice that permitted substantial tax evasion (Faroqhi 1976, Mantran 1977). Stoianovich (Stoianovich 1960) estimated that illegal exports of products in many cases exceeded the 50% of the production (40% of grain, more than 50% of cotton and tobacco). The local rise of prices does not seem to have affected the European demand, mainly due to the debasement of the *akçe*, the foreign monopolies and the technological innovation (Çizakça 1985, Naff 1977).

As far as the manufacture is concerned, there is a recovery of the silk and mohair production in the 18th century. Similarly, cotton industry seems to thrive too. The skilled labourers, the low prices and the good quality make Ottoman cotton cloth favourable in Europe and in many cases it is preferred to English (Çizakça 1985, Stoianovich 1960). The local cotton industry declines only at the end of the 18th century, when the market is flooded by the industrialised cheap English cotton yarn. It is the period when cotton-producing towns of Thessaly, like the town of Ambelakia, the regions of Pelion and Macedonia are thriving (Kiel 1998, Lawless 1977, Stoianovich 1960). The attempts made in the later 18th century to revive the textile industry failed due to the lack of interest of the Ottoman government and the conflicting foreign interests. The attempt of S. Papadopoulos, for instance, to establish a soap industry in Methoni and Navarino (1760s) had similar luck. Thus, despite the will of many wealthy Greeks to invest in industrial production (macaroni, soap etc.) within the Ottoman Empire, there was no positive gesture by the central government and they were forced to invest abroad (e.g. Ukraine; Stoianovich 1960).

The neglect of the state, the interests of the foreign powers and the protectionist policy of their government, increased the disequilibrium of payments in the Ottoman Empire, due the unbalanced import/export rate. This meant that the Ottoman state was ready to be totally peripheralised ensuring the total subordination of its economy to the Europe-centred economic system, in a Wallersteinian sense. The first major indication had been the *çiftlik* tax-farm or plantation that provided the first signs of capitalism within a feudalist framework.

Considering the increasing number of capitulations discussed above and the clauses in Treaties about "favourite nations" it is clear that the Ottoman government was directly controlled by the policies of the European Powers. The western predominance in Ottoman international trade and the inability of the state to encourage local merchants forced them to acquire *berats* from the foreign powers. Thus, the Christian merchants increasingly entered trade under foreign flags according to the circumstances, which encouraged their foreign relations (Sadat 1972). With the internationalisation of the Ottoman Mediterranean and the opening of the Black Sea the trading activity increased and provided more opportunities to minority merchants operating with *berats* under the protection of a European power. Under the pressure of the illegal exports and the deficit in the balance of payment, the government was forced to increase taxation of the peasant that together with the technological stagnation of the Ottoman Empire increased the tension between the population and the state. The contacts with Europe and the pressure of the Ottoman government and the landed elite increased the social consciousness of the subjects, which was often expressed in the form of nationalism, and caused revolts and the crumbling of the Ottoman empire (Mantran 1977, Sadat 1972).

The 19th Century

The 19th century is characterised by the total peripheralisation of the Ottoman Economy. It is a period of national revolutions of the Ottoman subjects and the fragmentation of the Empire. These were, mainly, the result of the continuous and increasing pressure on the peasants (*re'aya*) by the great landowners and the central Government. In addition, the economic crisis that occurred in the beginning of the 18th century and its effect on the local manufactures of the Balkans contributed in the increase of dissatisfaction with the central Government. In this part of the chapter it will be indirectly shown that the revolutions did not have a nationalistic character when they were first encountered. They seem to have been mainly expressions of social dissatisfaction to the oppression and neglect that characterised the Ottoman state during this period.

It has been noted above that the *çiftlik* regime was not as wide spread as the literature suggests (Inalcik 1984). Todorov (Todorov 1977), looking at Bulgaria, concludes that the bulk of the peasants up to the liberation of the country (1878) were owners of the small plots of land that they cultivated. The social stratification, the flee of *re'aya* to towns and their migration to neighbouring countries to make a living were not just the result of state exploitation. He claims that the deteriorating feudal system, the relative shortage of arable land and the distribution of land between the Muslims and the Christians (the former occupied mainly the more fertile areas, even though their state was not much different from the Christian peasants) were more to blame. At the same time, the concentration of migrant populations in the towns rapidly increased the number of hired employment and urban poor that were not able of employment. The former provided a good ground for the development of industry of capitalist nature (Todorov 1977).

These developments can be followed in the history of textile industry of the period. Ambelakia in Thessaly, the villages of Pelion, other towns of Macedonia and the south Balkans that developed a competitive textile industry from the mid 18th century onwards, got involved in long distance trade with Central Europe and the Near East. The craftsmen and middlemen of these textile manufactures both belonged to the same guild and in principle had equal share in the town industry. Stratification, though, developed with the expansion of these industries, as, at a first stage, additional labourers were employed and, gradually, individual traders and craftsmen prevailed (Mouzelis 1978, Todorov 1977). Thus, capitalistic tendencies started to develop, despite the initial communal character of the establishments. The rate of capitalist expansion, though, was restricted by the powerful guilds that were supported by the Government as means of control and taxation. It should be added, though, that innovations and new machinery was neither introduced nor encouraged by the manufacturers and their guilds, causing the capitalist manufacture to remain at a low level (Todorov 1977).

The decline of the textile industry, as well as shipbuilding, in the second decade of the 19th century coincides with the realisation of the effect of the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe (Mouzelis 1978, Naff 1977). The uncontrollable acquiring of *berats* during the previous period and the failed attempts by Selim III (Inalcik 1977) to limit the capitulations, expand taxation on imports and exports, forward centralisation and protect the peasant agriculture from exploitation by local notables caused the complete subjugation of the Ottoman Economy to Europe (Naff 1977). At the same time, the flooding of the Central European, Ottoman and Near Eastern market by machine spun treads from England at very low prices was the ultimate hit to the local textile manufacture (Mouzelis 1978, Stoianovich 1960). By

1833 the export of cotton yarn and the industries at Ambelakia had disappeared (Lawless 1977).

During the mid 19th century the first industries are established in the Balkans. The interest is still focused on textile production (wool and cotton). Todorov (Todorov 1977) mentions the broadcloth industry established in Sliven (Bulgaria) in 1836 by Dobri Zhelyazkov with Russian and French looms. The Ottoman Government, interested in the supply of the regular army, provided a loan for the construction of a state factory, that fully met the requirements of the time. Later, in 1848, the capitalist industry of "Gurusgerdan Brother" was operating privately with Austrian machinery, that acquired official protection from the Ottoman Government.

Similar developments occurred in the newly established Greek Kingdom. The establishment of an industry for the manufacture of cotton yarn in Livadeia, Boiotia, was envisaged in 1836 and 1837, but both attempts were abandoned. It was not until 1862 that the establishment of the first cotton processing industry started to operate. The same year Livadeia produced 92% of the total processed cotton of the Kingdom. Since then other industries involved in the processing of cotton were established in Livadeia and the production did not cease until the mid 20th century (Melios 1997). The textile industry was here too supported by the state and developed due to its interest.

The Industrial Revolution had as result the further increase in demand of cheap raw materials and the opening of new markets for the manufactured goods. The protectionist policies of the centralised European Governments encouraged the penetration into the Ottoman economy and the limiting of the local industries that could obtain the means to compete their own. The inability, due to the capitulations, or the lack of interest of the Ottoman Government to support local manufactures, the corruption and the increasing penetration of the European economy accelerated the decline of local initiatives.

Later in the century when the Ottoman state showed interest in the development of industry, even if it originated from the need for state supplies once again, the establishments thrived and expanded. This can be confirmed by the Greek case too, that had the same peripheral role to the European world economy. The 19th century was a period of decline, which was not due to the lack of raw material, most of which was exported to the Europe and its industries, but because of the political and social structures of the Ottoman state still in operation during large part of the century (Issawi 1977).

The Byzantine Empire: a comparison

Before concluding, I would like to provide a comparison between the Ottoman and the Byzantine Empire. Both Empires were based on a traditional

system of surplus appropriation (through taxation) and rigidly centralised fiscal and military organisation. For this purpose a new "service elite" (Haldon 1992: 82) was established that rapidly developed into a "service aristocracy" (Haldon 1992: 83). This group gained enough power and influence to be able to divert resources from the state for its own interest. As in the case of the *ayan* in the 17th century, the landed military aristocracy of the provinces had already from the 10th century occupied land of the peasants that were supposed to guard the Empire. The attempts of Basil II (976-1025) to restore the economic status of the peasants (*allelengyon*) failed, as did those of Selim III. The decentralisation affected the traditional frontier armies with consequent dramatic increase of the indigenous and foreign mercenaries. The draining of the resources of the treasury in order to maintain the soldiers forced the Comneni to offer state revenues as grants (*pronoiai*) increasing the alienation of resources from state control (Charanis 1953, Haldon 1992).

In the cities strict state control was accomplished trough the organisation of the domestic trades and professions into private and public guilds supervised by the Government, in order to ensure provisions for cities. Foreign commerce was centrally controlled too, especially for the collection of the 10% import and export tax. The regulations were later relaxed allowing Venetians (12th century) and Genoese (13th century) to be exempt of the trade taxes. Despite the breakdown of the controls and the consequent crumbling of the Empire, the central Government remained in control as late as 1453, when the Capital was captured by the Ottomans (Charanis 1953).

This type of state economy, that was initially based on a strong bureaucracy aiming at the reduction of the power of the aristocracy, is representative of the, so called, Asiatic Mode of Production (AMP), with free peasantry in villages largely isolated from the market, cultivating land offered by the state. The need of the central bureaucracy to have strong representation in the provinces in order to collect the taxes may have increased the power of local representatives vis-à-vis the central Government and encourages the tendency towards feudalisation and decentralisation (Keyder 1987). This seems to be the case in both the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires.

Conclusion

The basic economic trends of the Ottoman period in the Balkan Peninsula seem to be directly related with the degree of centralisation of the Government. Thus, the period of economic growth during the 15th and 16th centuries coincides with the most centralised era of the Ottoman state and, similarly, the decline in the late 16th and 17th centuries occurs at the same time with the start of decentralisation. Of course, other factors influence the economic change as well. Factors such as the relation of population and economic growth, and the rate of acquisition of new lands contribute very much to the understanding of the processes at work. The increasing power of the European nations and the political and economic relations with Empire are very crucial in this process. The discovery of the Cape Route and Americas affected the behaviour of the merchants, the production and the course of the political affairs. A very important aspect too is the relationship of the Ottoman Empire with the neighbouring states that played an important role in the economic and social decisions taken. All these aspects, discussed above, provide a better understanding of the period in question. Finally, it has to be noted that, despite the abundance of raw materials, many of which have not been discussed here, there was an increasing shortage of manufactured goods, especially in Anatolia, that caused the Ottoman Empire to be dependent on European imports (Issawi 1977). The lack of interest in industrial production, the slow adoption of new technologies and the low rate of capitalistic development left the Ottoman Empire in the periphery of the developing Europe-centred world economic system.

3   HOUSEHOLD AND GENDER

The household economy and organisation as well as the gender relations are central aspects in the understanding of the house development and spatial organisation of the structures. Throughout the long period examined here, the structure of the household and the relations between genders did most certainly not remain static, even though changes at the level of the Byzantine, Ottoman and Early Modern society in question should not be exaggerated. Information on both aspects is limited to the analysis of written sources hinting at changing attitudes in legal records and chronicles, especially for the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. Any conclusions drawn for these two periods rarely answers questions on the vast majority of the peasant households and the gender perceptions below the ruling aristocracy. Nevertheless, a number of inferences are going to be attempted in this chapter in relation to the household economy and gender issues of the Byzantine and Ottoman eras in Greece, often drawing on comparable data collected by ethnographers and anthropologists for Early Modern and 20th century Greece.

Byzantine society was characterised, especially during the Middle Byzantine period and before the infiltration of certain Western social attitudes after the Fourth Crusade, by relatively weak vertical and horizontal social links, weak urban self-administration when compared to contemporary Western societies, flourishing nuclear family replacing ancient order with Christian relationships, and centralisation of administration (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 30-36). However, the weak vertical and horizontal links seems to refer to the Byzantine elite rather than the entire social organisation. Social divisions were quite acute, a phenomenon that was exacerbated by the Byzantine ideal of relative immobility of peasant populations, that were fixed to their domicile and therefore unable to move freely (new settlers were introduced only by imperial authorities to sustain population and military protection; Charanis 1962-1963). These divisions had direct impact on the structure of the household and even the role of the genders, as we will see below. For the purposes of the present research, broad division between the aristocracy, the urban population and the peasants would suffice.

Similar is the case in Ottoman Greece, even though the hierarchy of the Empire seems more rigid especially in the later years. The cities seemed to have had some degree of self-administration but the majority of decisions were to be taken through imperial decrees pointing to the increased central control and imperial administration. Within this equally to the Byzantine multicultural society the notion of the strong nuclear family prevailed in Christian populations, even though extended families and clans were dominant in Albanian and Slavic communities (Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 80). The broad divisions between a local elite, an urban and a peasant society therefore will be maintained with the addition of a manufacturing and merchant class in the 18th and 19th centuries. The latter gained increasing financial power and in the case of the Greeks and other Balkan ethnic groups financially supported their social and national revolutions. The remains of this division of the society survived in the first few decades of the newly founded Greek Kingdom, which gradually encouraged industrialisation and assured the decline of local elites and the development of a powerful entrepreneurial class of manufacturers and merchants.

Changing household economics?

Most information on household economics of the Byzantine period is for the aristocratic households. The aristocracy was a small sector of the Byzantine society but its power and control was significant throughout the entire period of the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, fluctuations in its power were equally significant and closely related to the effectiveness of the central imperial bureaucracy and the position of the Empire in the global arena. Thus, whereas during the 10th and early 11th centuries the imperial bureaucracy had managed to control and restrict the centrifugal tendencies of the aristocracy, in the aftermath the elite families succeeded in extending their powers and control over the empire. Together with the expansion of their powers came the increase in their economic activities. These were never really extended beyond the household into the creation of substantial manufacturing or trading institutions. Some scholars have attributed the reluctance to fear of the new and the challenge, others to the socio-ethical concepts that prevented the extension of manufacturing and commercial activities beyond the needs of the household and even to the unwillingness of the aristocracy to expand beyond the bounds of the cities and especially Constantinople, being protected under the umbrella of imperial authority (Laiou 1980-1981). However, aristocratic households, besides their

traditional vested interests in land and landownership, are known to have been involved in manufacturing, trading and trade investment, as well as money lending. Their activities seem to have extended rapidly after the late 11th century having tipped the balance of power in their favour, in spite of imperial efforts. The fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire following the Fourth Crusade boosted their activities and influence over local communities. However, the trend was controlled and reversed in the late 14th century due to the internal disputes and the westward advance of the Turks.

To a certain degree the Ottoman elite was also confined to landownership, even though the ultimate owner of land was the Sultan who distributed it so as to support his military forces and members of the administration. The lack of interests in trade and manufacture beyond the needs of the household, the military and the imperial administration has already been noted and the attitude seems to have been widely adopted by the elite especially in the 15th to 17th centuries. Even though not directly comparable, similar centrifugal forces to the Middle Byzantine period were noted during the 17th century in the Ottoman Empire, leading to a substantial weakening of central imperial control and the rise of an ever more powerful provincial elite. During the 18th century there is clear evidence that members of the elite were directly involved in the often illegal trade of cash crops and cloth with Europe, investing the returns into land rather than trade and manufacture.

Despite their much lower social and economic standing, the urban populations in both empires seem to have had a wider range of sources supporting their household economies. A combination of small-scale manufacturing, commercial and agricultural activities shared the costs of urban life. Craftsmen and manufacturers would trade their goods in the urban markets while supporting maintaining small-scale garden crops. Additional agricultural products would be brought to the cities from the countryside or supplied by the crop gardens at the fringes of the city. The variations in wealth would depend on the success of individual households to ensure self-sufficiency, while successfully producing and trading goods for the urban and wider markets. The urban populations followed similar flourishing and decline of their power and activities to the aristocratic and elite groups in chronological terms, since the centrifugal tendencies encouraged by the aristocracy benefited the urban centres of the empires and allowed the urban growth noted in the archaeological and architectural record especially after the 11th century in the Byzantine Empire and during the 16th and 18th centuries in the Ottoman. It should be noted that provincial cities were to no extent comparable to Constantinople/Istanbul or Thessaloniki. Most bureaucrats from the imperial capital would loathe being sent to the provinces in Byzantine and Ottoman times. The urban centres were much smaller, less busy, less multicultural and lacking

the opulence of Constantinople/Istanbul. Nonetheless, the urban populations developed significant commercial and manufacturing activities as is demonstrated by the urban houses in the Byzantine and Ottoman eras discussed in the following chapters.

Peasant households are much less known in both periods. Information on their economic organisation may be derived indirectly from surviving tax registers and suggests limited possibilities. The economic capabilities of peasant populations were further limited by the restrictions in mobility imposed by both Byzantine and Ottoman bureaucracies. Peasants were registered and attached to their villages usually for life. Settlers from other parts of the empire were often placed by the imperial administration especially in depopulated areas, so as to boost agricultural production, increase tax revenues and provide military security. However peasant populations were prevented from moving at free will around in both Empires.

Peasants could have been owners of small parcels of land, tenants attached to the estate of a magnate or simple workers. Ratios between the three categories varied according to central imperial control over the provinces, the power of local elite and the general and local economic, political and climatic circumstance. It is generally believed that in periods of powerful central control over the empires peasant landownership was quite extensive, especially considering that the entire security system of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires relied mainly on recruitment of local self-sufficient populations. Whereas the peasant landowners were the most privileged in the peasant communities, they often had to deal with heavy taxation, lack of crop security and military and public duties that disrupted the agricultural cycle. As the power of local elites increased so did the number of large estates and consequently the number of peasant tenants and workers (Goodwin 1997: 49). Many peasant landowners would sell their plots to wealthy landowners to pay debts or under the increasing pressure from the elite groups. As tenants attached to estates they would enjoy some degree of security, despite being obliged to remain at the services of the landlord and participate in services and chores. The simple workers were the worse off without security and low wages. The living conditions for the peasants were very poor. Living in mud-brick houses and reed huts (Charanis 1962-1963), they mainly struggled for self-sufficiency and in the best cases managed to produce small surpluses to be exchanged or sold in the local or near-by urban market. According to 15th and 16th century Ottoman taxation archives it seems that only in periods of significant growth and central control would the peasants enjoy some degree of prosperity. But also in areas around centres with significant manufacturing activity especially in the 18th century would peasant populations have a better living standard (e.g. in the region of Pelion).

In Early Modern Greece the conditions were not very much improved, especially in the early years after Independence. Beside the lack of an economic infrastructure and the devastated countryside, competition between the pre-existing landed elite and the wealthy merchants delayed reform and added to the further impoverishment of the peasant population. It was not until the last decades of the 19th centuries that the peasants managed to improve their position, while the embryonic industrialisation absorbed a small percentage creating a minute working class mainly around Athens and in small pockets at the major urban centres (Mouzelis 1978). However, this working class remained involved in agricultural activities so as to achieve self-sufficiency, while industrial labour provided cash flow for the acquisition of market goods. Furthermore, the local elite that had survived the war of Independence was gradually absorbed by the merchant and manufacturing middle classes, which took control of the state administration and fully introduced the Greek economy into the periphery of the European capitalist system and drew both peasantry and the entire state away from the Byzantine and Ottoman centralised imperial systems.

Gender balances

Attitudes towards gender varied not only through time but also between the social strata whether in the Byzantine, Ottoman or Modern Greek states. In this context I will restrict the discourse to the relation of men and women in the household organisation, rather than examining the range of genders that could be deducted from the literary and art sources (James 1997). Very little is known about the role of men and women in the household organisation and economy in the peasant context until the first mainly Western travellers to the region started to share their observations with us and the first ethnographers and anthropologists initiate their studies usually in remote and distinct communities. It is therefore not surprising that most scholars devote most of their research to the elite when dealing with the Byzantine and Ottoman eras (Goodwin 1997, Kazhdan and Constable 1982, Laiou 1981, Laiou 1993, Smyth 1997).

It is usually supported that women during both Byzantine and Ottoman periods were highly secluded even within the domain of the house, where they were locked up in the *gynaecium* or *gynaikonitis* and the *haremlik*, respectively. However, it seems that in both instances this notion is highly exaggerated. During the Middle Byzantine period and especially from the 11th century onwards, it seems that women were gaining an increasingly more important role in the economics of the household and the wider economic activity of the society. This was supported by the introduction of greater flexibility in the legal framework that protected the property of the women especially that acquired as dowry when they entered a marriage. Whereas high

ownership of the dowry remained to the wife, often comprising two thirds of family possessions, usufruct was reserved to the husband, who was nevertheless obliged to retain the principle undiminished. The wife could even bring the husband to court if the dowry was believed to have been badly administered and the court could force the husband to return the losses and surrender administration to his wife. The wider legal framework though in an attempt to protect the resources of the wife caused a number of legal difficulties in the management of the dowry especially in periods of social unrest and insecurity, and therefore resulted in a relaxation of its applicability and an increase in flexibility. This allowed on the one hand for the husbands to gain fuller control over the dowry especially in periods of financial hardship for the family, but on the other permitted for the woman to be given usufruct beside ownership of the dowry property, a phenomenon that according to the study of legal archives by Laiou was at the increase during the 13th and 14th centuries (Laiou 1981: 237-238). Consequently, the change removed some of the limitation for the women to enter economic activities beyond the household self-sufficiency, which according to the Byzantine ideology was the primary and only accepted economic function of the women (Laiou 1981: 245). It seems that an increasing number of women, whether in wedlock or widowed, got involved in risky trade investments and artisan enterprises, money lending and changing, other economic transactions and some even gained control over imperial fiscal and economic matters (Anna Dalassena was granted the responsibility by Emperor Alexios I; Laiou 1981: 242).

However, such economic potential was only available to women of aristocratic descent with vast properties at their disposal. Urban women were economically active in much smaller scale. They would be involved in waged cloth making and working as doctors and midwives. Furthermore, the majority of artisans and sellers in markets of Constantinople were women in the early 14th century (Ibn Battuta *see* Laiou 1981: 246). Whether as owners or operators of shops women were actively involved in the economic life of the cities working in bakeries, dairy, grocery and beverage shops. Their role was further encouraged by the growth of urban centres in the 11th century and the relative liberalisation of dowry property. In the countryside women should be expected to actively participate in the agricultural production, whether in a domestic basis cultivating groceries and rearing animals for household use or in a broader sense assisting in the cultivation of the fields next to the husbands contributing to the finances of the household. Unfortunately, little is known about these activities, apart from the fact that a number of contemporary writers did not approve of such involvement, themselves however belonging to the elite groups of Byzantine society (Laiou 1981: 248). In addition, Laiou notes that women in the countryside are known

to have formed partnerships for the exploitation of mines and the sale of the products extracted (Laiou 1981: 246). Women though never managed to extend their accepted role from maintaining household self-sufficiency to the economic organisation of the state. In the words of Smyth they remained the 'outsiders' and the paucity of information on their activities allows us to get only glimpses of their reality and in most cases the reality of the lucky few (Smyth 1997).

In Ottoman times the role of women in agricultural communities was central to the household economy. It appears that women were not secluded, but actually they would have to participate in the harvest and threshing, while they were also responsible for tending the village flocks (Goodwin 1997: 49). Women were also responsible for the household chores. They used to keep grocery gardens and tend a few animals for household consumption. Goodwin informs us that women of strong character could hold substantial power especially because husbands were often absent and the entire responsibility for the household fell on their shoulder. Thus, 'nothing could be achieved without a certain equality and veils were left to townswomen' (Goodwin 1997: 54). Nevertheless, women would have to retreat to an inner room that served as the *haremlik*, when the house was big enough, at the presence of other men (Goodwin 1997: 55).

The role of geography should also be stressed in the understanding of the construction of the female experience. We are often informed by travellers in Ottoman times of the liberal nature of women on the Aegean islands, for instance. On the island of Patmos women, although good looking, were so heavily made up that they horrified travelers, while women on the 'extrovert' island of Mykonos would not hesitate to meet and gossip in the streets well beyond the domain of their household (Photiadis 1987). On the islands women would often be the sole administrators of both agricultural activities and property, since their husbands spent most of the year away from home (Dawkins 1902-1903). The entire property of the family would even be passed from mother to daughter to avoid complications in the case of death of the male members of the family. But beyond the practicalities, the independence of women on the islands and certain rural communities, possibly in the villages of the travelling builders of the mainland, is characteristic

and exceptional to communities with travelling populations (Beopoulou 1992).

The urban women in Ottoman times were more secluded depending on their social status. It would not be surprising, though, if a large number of urban women engaged with economic activities similar to those described in Byzantine context. The houses of the wealthier families would provide for most of the facilities that were needed by the female members of the household. Their movements would be restricted within the boundaries of the houses and they would not be allowed to leave the domain of the house unattended. Women though often followed trades privately and even acted as moneylenders among them. While the market was no place for them, they would be kept entertained and informed of all the happenings in the town by women peddlers going from door to door (Goodwin 1997: 95-97; also characteristic to other societies around the Mediterranean: Cutileiro 1971, de Pina-Cabral 1984). At the top of the Ottoman social structure women were even more restricted in the domestic sphere. But many managed to exercise substantial influence and not unlike their Byzantine counterparts rule Istanbul in the absence of the Sultan or even the entire Empire.

In Early Modern times attitudes did not change dramatically. Despite the slow rate of industrialisation during the late 19th and 20th century, women got rapidly involved in the sector mainly in areas were cloth manufacturing thrived (e.g. Livadeia and Athens). This traditionally female occupation attracted a large number of women, who in this way managed to supplement the family income with a regular salary for longer periods of time. The role of women in these semi-industrialised settings allowed for an improvement in their position in society, which was seen as competitive to the role of the men. Urbanism and modernisation of the Greek countryside, however initially caused a further peripheralisation of the women, due to the introduction of agricultural machinery that have been monopolised by men and household utensils that have eased the difficulty of the traditionally female tasks. The 'certain equality' noted by Goodwin in the Ottoman peasant households (Goodwin 1997: 54), seems to have given way to increasing isolation of women, a phenomenon often noted in recent anthropological work (Dubisch 1986).

4   REVIEW OF GREEK VERNACULAR

Introduction

The conquest of Greece, as a geographical term, and Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks marked the beginning of a new political, economical and social era. Even though the archaeological data available is limited, textual evidence, especially taxation censuses, suggest that the late 15th and the 16th centuries were periods of demographic and economic boom. The exact period of flourishing varies from province to province, but it is possible to say that up to the mid 16th century most areas show a sharp rise in production and population (Faroqhi 1978, Faroqhi and Erder 1979, Inalcik 1972, Inalcik 1978, Inalcik 1984, Kiel 1987, Kiel 1988, Kiel 1997, Stoianovich 1960). After the mid 16th century the production levels do not seem to follow the increase of the population causing a collapse of the system. This is the period of transition from the *timariot* to the *çiftlik* system and could be regarded as the beginning of the development of some sort of provincial landed aristocracy. The transition was gradual leading from small *çiftliks* with one or two subordinated families in the beginning of the 17th century to large estates with many households and even settlements dominated by fortified towers and tower-houses in the 18th and 19th centuries (Faroqhi 1987).

Only two excavated examples have been published from the 16th and 17th centuries (no. 78, 12 respectively; *see* Appendix B) and are very different from each other. They may, though, permit some generalisations when compared to earlier and later excavated and surviving houses. In Arta (no. 78) an early Ottoman house was recovered along a Byzantine road (Papadopoulou 1989). It had probably three rooms whose function is not determined. It was built of *spolia*, rough stones and mud. The large L-shaped room may have been the main living space. In Corinth (no. 12) a large rectangular house with a veranda set back into the north facade was excavated (Robinson 1964). The veranda was accessed through two archways and provided access to all rooms of the house. Two small rooms flanked the veranda on the east and west sides and a long space divided by two broad archways was located to the south of the veranda. The south space may have been the living and reception area of the house. This arrangement is comparable to the ground floor plan of 18th and 19th century houses that survive in the N. Greece. The particular house was later

extended to the south with the addition of one small and a large room, the latter being divided into two by an archway. It is possible that a second storey was added during an even later phase. Unfortunately, the functions of the rooms were not identified in relation to the ceramics. It may, though, be possible to get some information from later examples concerning the organisation of space.

During the 18th and 19th century some areas of the Balkan Ottoman provinces show clear signs of prosperity. The proximity to major land and sea routes and manufacture of cotton and woollen textiles allowed a development of the local economy. Settlements and houses of this period seem to reflect this prosperity. A very large number of houses still survive in cities, towns and villages of Thrace, Macedonia, Epeiros and Thessaly and isolated examples elsewhere in the Greek mainland. These houses will be studied according to the six regions into which the current Greek has been divided; the insular area of Greece (the Aegean), the Western islands (the Ionian), the Peloponnese, Central, Western and Northern Greece. These regions demonstrate some architectural homogeneity and geographical unity, even though differentiations do occur within them and architectural forms do not seem to be strictly limited to the particular regions.

The Aegean

The Aegean islands, despite not having a strong internal geographical unity as a whole, have a number of aspects that allow scholars to group them together (*Figure 6*). These can either be the location on main trade routes in the Mediterranean, from an economical perspective, direct control over them by Italian city-states of the Renaissance up to well into the Ottoman period for the rest of Greece, affecting administrational and historical developments, or distinct architectural types, especially as far as the "humble" vernacular architecture is concerned.

The distinctive architectural nature of the islands, in particular, triggered the interest of various architects (e.g. Le Corbusier see Michaelides, 1974), especially at the dawn of architectural modernism. The simplicity of form as an outcome of the replication and

multiplication of a basic rectangular unit and the human scale of the settlements inspired the modernist pioneers and established a tradition of architectural studies of the Aegean islands and the Cyclades, in particular. "Nowadays when architects travel [to Greece] they visit Mykonos and Hydra, rather than the Acropolis of Athens..." (Montgomery, *see* Michaelides, 1974: 53; *Figure 7*).

Michaelidis, in particular, influenced by these trends dealt with the Aegean settlements in a general sense with the intention of describing their organisation and functionality. The organisation of the settlements in their current form were primarily established during the Late Byzantine/Frankish, period and have been continuously occupied up to our days. In all cases the sites are fortified either being enclosed by a fortification wall (e.g. Mastichochoria, Chios) or being "open-ended" (Michaelides 1974, p. 58-60) with complex street plans. The distinction is made to stress the advantages of the latter and the similarities with the mega-structure concepts dominating urbanisation theories at the time. The basis of both settlement types, though, is regarded to be the repetition of a basic form, the house unit. The houses considered in this context are two storey houses with a vertical division of humans, animals and production, and a courtyard for the arrangement of auxiliary activities. The living area, on the second storey, is either undivided or has two rooms. Details about the use of space or the internal organisation are not provided since the study focuses on the settlement pattern, the house being a basic unit within the "mega-structure" (Michaelides 1974).

It was soon realized that that similar architectural forms were to be found elsewhere in the Aegean as well. It was not the Neoclassical spirit or the grand, Ottoman in many cases, architecture of urban or rural *archontika*, i.e. mansions, that attracted the attention of architects, but the simple and basic structures that later made the Greek islands popular as tourist destinations.

Together, though, with the structures mentioned above other types of architecture were also looked at, especially as the impact of tourism promoted a change in the orientation from a traditional insular village economy to an international and commercial one. A series of studies were published that aimed at the preservation of the traditional settlements as "living organisms" rather than stagnant museums, while at the same time accommodating the vast needs of the economic re-orientation and the explosive development that tourism had resulted (*Figure 8*; Lindos: Hope, 1967; Patmos: DOXIADIS-ASSOCIATES, 1974; Photiadis, 1987; Mykonos: Scott, 1985). The main body of studies aimed towards the pattern of organisation and the solutions for reorganisation of the settlements, rather than the house structures themselves (*see* Ekistics Journal). Research on the actual houses remained at a descriptive level.

Thus, Hope studied the settlement organisation of Lindos on the island of Rhodes. His aim being the preservation of the settlement and its protection against rapid tourist development, he described the road network of the site (T-road arrangements) and the particular characteristics of the settlements and suggested ways for their preservation. Like Michaelides he regarded the courtyard house as the basic constituent of the settlement and the determinant of the particular organisation. The basic house type is described, in short, placing stress on the closed courtyard arrangement that is treated as an integral part of the household. Throughout the largest period of the year it is the central communication and social area of the household, providing access to all structures built around it as well as the road as an intermediate space to the house interior. Concluding, he states a series of practical suggestions in relation with the improvement of circulation, the pedestrian character, the planning solutions and the development of particular features of the settlement (Hope 1967).

Similarly, Photiadis concentrates on the settlement of the Chora on the island of Patmos. After a short introduction and a reference to the geography of the island in relation to the island group of the Dodekanese, he focuses on aspects of the settlement, its nature and history, with particular mention to stylistic changes that can be readily related to social and economic developments of the wider region. Treating the house a the basic module of the settlement, he makes a detailed description of the *monospito*, or single-unit house, back to which he has traced all the traditional house types of Chora. Then he moves on to refer to particular characteristics that relate directly to social perceptions and symbolisms, such as the relation of the interior space with the exterior, degrees of privacy mirrored in the arrangement of the activity areas and the centrality of the courtyard in the lifestyle of the household. This analysis is provided, though, in order to achieve a better understanding of the structural features of the settlement that would lead to a restoration and improvement of the settlement with respect to the traditional forms of life. He proposes that this attempt could be supported by the legal system of the country and the initiation of public works, on the one side, but also privately in relation with restoration or building of house structures, on the other. Thus, the choice of building materials and the respect of the human scale of the settlement are crucial for this purpose and are presented in direct relation to the private, public and religious sector of the island (Photiadis 1987).

Other studies of the islands, whether collective (e.g. Filippidis, 1983-1990) or in the form of localised evaluations of vernacular architecture, were published, aiming at the introduction of the public to these settlements, spectacular in simplicity of form and complexity of social organisation. Interestingly, environmental aspects, despite being stressed in all studies, have been treated as restrictive, mainly concerning the building materials and the form (*Figure 9*; Varveris, 1960, Radford and Clark, 1974, Filippidis, 1982), in addition to aspects of settlement location.

Social attributes, which may have been relevant, were scarcely introduced into the discussion.

Santorini, or Thera, is characteristic for such studies. Varveris discusses the various domestic forms with particular reference to the topography, geology and climate of the island. Thus, the location of the settlements at the steep ridges of the caldera of the volcano as well as the soft pumice was crucial for the development of the local vernacular architecture, since houses were frequently subterranean dug into the soft bedrock. Even the local building rules and laws seem to reflect the importance of this practice and indirectly of the environmental factors: "Those with a dug house are not permitted to enlarge it cutting the foundations of a neighbouring structure", and "it is not allowed to plant a vine or other trees over dug houses or cisterns, to avoid the possibility of damaging the structure below" (Varveris 1960). The building materials as well, are treated in a similar manner, putting stress on the lack of wood, which is substituted by the use of domes made of a mixture of lime and hydraulic mortar locally dug. As far as the structures themselves a short typological description is provided and indirect reference is made to the relation of structure depth and privacy. The importance of the yard is implicitly mentioned, as an intermediate space with the outside world and a central communication point of the auxiliary rooms arranged around it. Particular attention is paid on specific structural details, such as the chimneys, gates and windows. Unfortunately, no chronological depth is provided, reflecting either the difficulty in assigning dates to structures or a little differentiated architectural tradition (Varveris 1960).

Similar is the approach of Radford and Clack in their study of Santorini, though they do not restrict themselves to description of building materials and forms. Their interest is more orientated to possible comparisons with settlements on other Cycladic islands, their aim being to discover patterns among the late medieval, or Frankish, fortified settlements of the island group, and to trace the forms as far back as possible to suggest a continuity based on the environment and climate. Chronological depth is achieved through comparison with structures from other sites, often not on Santorini itself. Finally, they express their hope to have provided a contribution to the attempt of preserving the architectural tradition of the island, very much in line with the character of other contemporary studies (Radford and Clark 1974).

The study of other house structures that did not comply with the main Aegean types, especially at the fringes, also started to develop. The limited survival of older examples of Aegean house types in those areas was very much affected by the economic revival that was experienced from the early 18th up to the mid 19th century and the introduction of architectural prototypes from Asia Minor (Turkey) and the Balkans, due to proximity (Angeloudi 1980, Angeloudi and Velenis 1983, Apostolou 1960, Papaioannou 1982, Vostani-Koumpa 1982). The simplicity of the more, so called,

Aegean types and the apparent contrast with the splendour of international Ottoman examples, so widespread in those areas, became the motive for extensive surveys by architectural scholars (*Figure 10*; Lesvos: Apostolou, 1960; Thasos: Angeloudi, 1980, Angeloudi and Velenis, 1983). These studies, despite dealing with a very interesting shift from a local to an international style, do not deal with the deeper causes of the changing attitudes towards housing traditions and identities as reflected in architecture. Still, they provide a valuable index of forms and details that would have otherwise been lost.

One of the earliest studies for the island of Lesvos was carried out by Apostolou. Her interest was focussed on the domestic forms of the islands whether they were located in urban centres, villages or lay dispersed throughout the landscape. Her initial observation allowed her to make a clear division between the village architecture of the rural southern plain and the wealthier northern coastal settlements. The former are more in line with the architectural forms of the rest of the Aegean with many similarities to the use of space in the Cyclades and the Dodekanese. The latter, on the contrary, show a clear preference to the developments of the, so-called, international Ottoman style and follow the trends noted on mainland Turkey and Greece. Others have studied such structures as well and in particular Charitonidis recorded an *archontiko*, or mansion, in Petra village aiming for its restoration (Charitonidis 1965). Interestingly, both Aegean and Ottoman types seem to be influenced from the eastern decorative patterns, as far as the interior is concerned (Apostolou 1960), a tendency also characteristic on the island of Karpathos as well (Filippidis 1984). Similar is the aim of Vostani-Koumpa in her description of the architecture of Lesvos twenty-two years later (Vostani-Koumpa 1982). Unfortunately, this interesting architectural divide between the north and south on a small island like Lesvos, also noted in the study of Zagorissiou *et. al.* concerning the possibilities of management of the architectural heritage of the island (Zagorissiou and Gianoulellis 1995), has not been examined further.

Thasos presents equivalent architectural developments. The influence from the mainland, though, seems to have been more extensive than on Lesvos, from what is discussed in the studies of Angeloudi (Angeloudi 1980, Angeloudi and Velenis 1983). All structures mentioned in the study date from the late 18th to the late 19th century and are located in the old settlement of Kastro, in the centre of the island, or Rachoni, towards the North. Many of the houses have similarities with the mainland. Some could be regarded as belonging to the Ottoman international tradition that is characteristic of the period elsewhere in the Empire. A short typological account of the domestic structures and a passage of the 19th century traveller Conze add some colour to the study of Kastro (Angeloudi 1979). At the same time the detailed history of the phases of the house in Rachoni

contribute to the narratives for the island (Angeloudi 1980).

Concerning the settlements themselves, there seems to be a great variety of patterns throughout the islands. The settlements most frequently found on the islands were fortified, nucleated and at visible locations. They may either have a regular or an irregular plan. In both cases the settlements were either walled and then built up, or built in such a way so that the outer walls of the houses were at the same time the fortification of the settlement. This type of settlement required a strong central organisation that was imposed by Venetian rule, in most cases (the Mastichochoria on Chios were built by the Genoese, *Figure 11*; Eden 1950, Tyrwhitt 1966). The degree of regularity depended on the location of the settlement. Thus, regular plans are mainly found in settlements built on plains and generally flat terrain (*Figure 12*), whereas irregular ones are on slopes or hilltops, where the alleys and the rows of houses follow the contour lines of the slope (*Figure 13*). These places originated and developed during the Middle Ages, especially after the 13th century, and most are still used in fairly similar ways (Eden 1950, Sanders 1996).

Both Eden and Sanders are examining the settlements from a historical perspective, with the intention of tracing the development phases of the settlements in question. Sanders in particular, in his study of the Medieval fortified settlements of the Cyclades, introduces travellers' accounts relevant to demographic changes. Whereas the house structures as such are not studied (detailed description of the main types is has been made by Lambakis and Bouras 1960, for Chios; Thalassinos 1960, for Tinos; Karathanasis 1960, for Paros), a short description of the prevailing type of a two storey, single space house is provided (Eden 1950, Sanders 1996).

Tyrwhitt, though, is more interested in the organisation of the settlement from a social perspective, describing the relationship of the settlement foci with the social organisation. A short reference to the arrangement of the house as a basic unit of the settlement structure is sufficient for this purpose. Furthermore, inferences to prehistoric sites with apparent similarities in structure and organisation are made, implying convergence based on functionality and environmental correlations (Tyrwhitt 1966).

Social conceptions of space seem to play an important role in the house and settlement organisation, in the approach adopted by Thakuresai. The sense of space within the island settlements seems to be determined by sociability. The space itself is generated in relation to social movement and maximises human contacts. This seems to be advocated by the centrality of the *plateia*, or market square, in a social but also spatial sense (Thakurdesai 1972). One could apply this hypothesis also on the household arrangement around a courtyard, a feature common on the mainland as well as the islands.

A similar hypothesis has been introduced in the argument of Polychroniadis *et. al.* examining the settlement arrangement of the Chora, on Naxos. Repetition of structure, defence and continuous social interaction are the basic ingredients regarded by the authors as integral to the development of the settlement. It seems that the individual houses are once again treated as a reflection of the organization of the settlement itself at a smaller scale. Thus, rather than individual houses being treated separately they are integrated in the general study of the settlement (Polychroniadis and Chatzimichalis 1974).

Dispersed settlements are rather uncommon, due to increased insecurity often thought to have been caused by fear of pirate raids or, more currently believed, the total concentration of the land in the hands of the local aristocracy, or *archons* (Cherry, Lewis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 406-407). Generally, the only structures built in the countryside, before the mid 19th century, were huts whether of branches or stone (Devletoglou 1960, Filippidis 1984). The filling of the landscape came as a result of the reforms introduced during the 19th century, dissolving the aristocratic regime that prevailed on the islands from the Venetian and Frankish periods (Cherry, Lewis, and Mantzourani 1991, pp. 406-407).

In contrast, large islands, which accumulated a lot of wealth during the 18th century, do show a higher degree of dispersion (Andros: Aravantinos, 1960, Charitonidou, 1982, Chios: Smith, 1962, Aneroussi and Mylonadis, 1992, Lesvos: Apostolou, 1960, Skopelitis, 1977, Vostani-Koumpa, 1982) especially in the vicinity of urban centres. The freestanding houses of these settlements have clear features for protection against local bandit groups (Apostolou 1960). These features may be high yard walls (*Figure 14*) or robust stone house walls with few or no openings at ground floor level. Despite the fact that these buildings were used as summer residences by the wealthier inhabitants of the islands, the design may differ significantly from island to island, indicating different traditions as well as varying degrees of external influences, whether from the West or the East. Having developed during the same period, though, these dispersed countryside houses indicate a period of economic prosperity and social changes on these particular islands. Thus, whereas on Lesvos there is a strong influence from the Turkish mainland, with tower-houses of the Ottoman tradition marking the landscape (Apostolou 1960, Skopelitis 1977, Vostani-Koumpa 1982), Chios, slightly to the South, developed an architecture of dispersed mansions, especially in the Kampos valley, that is more reminiscent of Western and Italian styles, in particular (Aneroussi and Mylonadis 1992, Smith 1962).

House styles seem to have varied too in relation to the settlement patterns. In nucleated and fortified settlements there seems to be a preference for narrow-fronted houses that develop in depth, whether single-storied or multi-storied (*Figure 15*). These may have

been accessed either directly from the street through a *hagiati* (wooden balcony with staircase) or via a *doma* (roofed structure built against the façade of the main structure) that provided an intermediate space between the road and the interior of the house. In less nucleated settlements, where space was not as limited, square or broad front houses developed. These were accessed from small courtyards, around which, in many cases, auxiliary spaces were built (*Figure 16*). The courtyard, being regarded as an integral part of the household, was always kept clean and tidy, and was often decorated with pebbled floors (Apostolou 1960, Devletoglou 1960, Smith 1962a) and flowerpots. An arch often supported the roofs of such broad-fronted houses, due to their dimensions (*Figure 17*). This arch, though, provided a conceptual division of the internal space as well, which in many cases was followed as the division took a physical form, respecting the relations of space provided by the arch.

Devletoglou studying the vernacular architecture of the village Kritsa on Eastern Crete introduces a general typology of the basic structures, described above. These are not integrated, though, with the socio-economic developments of the area since no chronological depth is considered. The general trends seem to be consistent with those prevailing elsewhere in the Aegean (Devletoglou 1960). To the contrary, Lee-Smith *et. al.* provides an analysis of the settlement and house form of Lindos, Rhodes, that is more related to the inhabitants and their conceptions. Functionalities are considered as part of the development of the structures, in addition to social characteristics relevant to the settlement development providing an insight to the possible processes applicable not only for Lindos itself, but also elsewhere in the Aegean basin (Smith 1962a).

At the fringes of the Aegean, apart from these types, other architectural forms were either introduced or developed. In most cases, settlements with close contacts with the mainland, whether Greek or Turkish, show a preference during the 18th and 19th centuries for Ottoman international architecture (e.g. Lesvos, Thasos, Rhodes, Crete; *Figure 18*). This may be related to the economic development and the close contact with the Ottoman mainland already from the end of the 17th, but mainly during the 18th and 19th centuries. Scholars consider the availability of particular building materials (stone and wood) that were required for the building according to this style, as the predominant reason for the development of the architectural form. The most elaborate examples, though, required materials and artisans that had to be brought in from elsewhere, a practice that is common elsewhere in Greece and Turkey as well (Crete: Rackham and Moody 1996; Lesvos: Apostolou 1960). It is the period when the Ottoman Empire opened up economically and entered the western commercial international economic systems. Local producers, manufacturers and traders were given an opportunity to develop and expand their enterprises not only within

the Empire, but, most importantly, with the rest of Europe. During this period, the architectural styles readily available originated from Istanbul and the mainland, where a similar course was followed (e.g. Pelion, Macedonia, Epeiros and pockets in the Peloponnese; Kizis, 1994). Furthermore, seemingly traditional and westernised islands, like Tinos (last stronghold of the Venetians in the Aegean until the early 18th century), follow to some degree this general trend (*Figure 19*). There the lack of appropriate building materials, such as wood, did not seem to have prohibited the inhabitants from introducing new styles, even if they had to adapt their techniques to new developments.

Thus, Rackham and Moody in their book on the rural structures of Crete, categorise them according to functionality and settlement type, and introduce the notion of social etiquette. They argue that the inhabitants, despite using architectural forms common to the rest of their settlement and, in broader terms, the Aegean, make a distinct attempt to personalise their houses by importing masoned lintels and other architectural features. The effort put in distinguishing themselves from the rest is not treated as an architectural peculiarity like in many other instances, but as a social phenomenon that needs special attention (Rackham and Moody 1996).

Such development occurred on Crete not only during the 18th century, when Ottoman international architecture is introduced, but also in earlier times, before the Ottoman conquest in 1669 (*Figure 20*). The prototypes during the preceding period were introduced from Venice, whether the houses belonged to Venetian or local aristocrats. Crete, though, besides the rich architectural evidence, has a large number of legal documents, especially, from the Venetian period, which have been studied and provide invaluable information about the organisation of such households (Dimakopoulos 1977).

Economic growth, though, may have allowed alternative developments. Pre-Ottoman and local architectural styles may also have evolved to more complex and grand structures, despite the Ottoman rule and influence. Scholars, though, have not provided any thorough analyses of this aspect. It is notable that the characteristic tower and tower-house (*pyrgos* or *pyrgospito*) of Naxos, Andros and Chios became larger and more elaborate under Ottoman rule (*Figure 21*). We should link this distinct process to the preceding architectural tradition and the survival of the local aristocracy. The latter, having preserved some of its rights, was boosted by the economic growth that came with the internationalisation of the Ottoman economy, as well as by the very important privileges that these islands obtained.

The degree to which the relationship is stressed between geographical location, settlement pattern and house-form, varies significantly between studies. It is common to provide some short and general historical and economic narratives. The architectural trends,

though, are rarely integrated to local as well as wider social and economic changes and fluctuations.

Similarly, symbols displaying identities and cultural value have rarely been taken into consideration (*Figure 22*; Crete: Rackham and Moody, 1996; Karpathos: Filippidis, 1984). These aspects are introduced into Greek vernacular studies in relation with developments elsewhere. The analysis remains, though, very limited to architectural features (decorated lintels, Crete; Rackham and Moody 1996), architectural materials (wood for panelling, Karpathos; Filippidis 1977) and decorative aspects (floral designs on fan-lights, *Figure 23*; Tinos; Florakis 1989, Florakis 1993) that have been imported from elsewhere. The changing attitudes towards the organisation and use of space have been neglected, though, or treated as indigenous developments, disguising the context of changes in vernacular architecture. Certain anthropological studies have attempted to approach such fields (Pavlides and Hesser 1986, Sampson 1997, Tsenoglou 1983). They concentrate and exhaust a particular feature (e.g. decoration of the house interior) or field of activities by integrating it into a wider conceptual paradigm, that may result in very interesting conclusions concerning the use of space and social perceptions as reflected in it.

Pavlides *et. al.* argue not only that gender relations are manifested in the arrangement of household and the wider settlement in the village of Eressos, on the island of Lesvos, but actually that the vernacular environment itself is formulated according to the genders represented in it, and in this case mainly the women. For this purpose a historical and anthropological background is presented with special reference to objects and decorative features. In this respect aspects of national identity are introduced illustrating the movement of attention from the East to the West especially after the late 19th century. Modernisation of Greek society in the more recent years is also considered as a factor affecting the domestic architecture of the village, but also the relations between the genders represented (Pavlides and Hesser 1986). Similar general notions are noted by Tsenoglou, even though her aim is not the description of the household as such, but the general settlement organisation of Kastellorizo, in the Dodekanese (Tsenoglou 1983).

A final interesting aspect that prevails in many of the studies is a very clear tendency towards an ethnocentric continuity of forms. Links are readily drawn with the Byzantine past, Classical Antiquity and even prehistoric times, mainly Mycenaean, based on faint archaeological, architectural and historical evidence. The aim is to identify the roots of the Modern Greek nation state with the "glorious" classical past, discarding any external influence and advocating a racially pure Greek continuity. As far as the Aegean islands are concerned, this approach is limited to a few studies and takes the form of

comments relating to "the long periods of slavery" whether under the Arabs on Crete, the Venetians in Central and South Aegean or the Turks. The approach not only disguises a more complex sequence of events, but also places burdens against the development of new methodologies in the study of vernacular structures. It also seems to underestimate the imagination and potentials of the people to develop independently from their past and according to their current needs, and additionally restricts their culture to ideals valid for our own times.

A more open approach towards cultural variety independent of ethnic ideals would possible result in a renewal of ideas and methodologies. The complexity of vernacular architecture could be demonstrated in relation to the social diversity during the periods under study. It may, thus, be possible to identify local characteristics and interpret in more depth architectural forms, whether indigenous or foreign as they were developed and integrated into local traditions and changing needs and approaches of space (Kizis 1994).

The Ionian Islands

The Ionian Islands are located off the West coast of Mainland Greece (*Figure 24*). Their location at the entrance of the Adriatic Sea and the Mediterranean, in a wider sense, had a crucial role in their development, whether from a socio-economic or cultural perspective. Despite having preserved the Greek language enriched with many Italian words and expressions, the long domination by Normans, Sicilians, Genoese, Neapolitans, Venetians, French and British, isolated them to a certain degree from the Byzantine and Ottoman mainland. The effects of this direct contact with the West are evident in the architectural forms, especially the polite architecture developed to accommodate the land-owning, merchant and aristocratic families, characteristic for the islands (Aalen 1984, Zivas 1974). The main stylistic trends that seem to have been dominant were the Venetian Renaissance, the Baroque and, later, Neoclassicism.

This architecture, peculiar to the rest of Greece and developed at the fringes of the Greek-speaking world, seems to have attracted the attention of a number of scholars that, despite their different backgrounds, have shown a particular admiration for the forms developed, whether polite or vernacular. The destruction on Kefalonia and Zakynthos (Zante) caused by the severe earthquakes in 1953 (Aalen 1984, Zivas 1974) and the replacement of traditional structures as well as building techniques by modern constructions, together with the extensive use of concrete that followed, also seem to have played an important role.

The architect Zivas seems to be one of the first to show interest in the architecture of the Ionian Islands with two meticulous studies of the types of

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Zakynthos (Zivas 1970a, Zivas 1970b). A more general study of the architecture of the island group (Zivas 1974) shows a clear attempt to integrate a historical perspective with the various architectural forms to be found on the islands. Thus the long Venetian occupation introduced Renaissance ideals that not only influenced the architecture, but also other forms of art (poetry, painting, music). As far as the urban plans of Zakynthos town, Argostoli on Kefalonia and Kerkyra (or Corfu) town are concerned, despite having developed under similar socio-economic and political circumstances they do show distinct differences (*Figure 25*). Corfu town was confined within fortification walls that permitted only vertical development of structures, leading to multi-story "apartment" blocks that often had 5 and 6 storeys (*Figure 26*). In contrast, Zakynthos and Argostoli expanded linearly along the coast emphasising the importance of the sea for their development. Unfortunately, correlation with contemporary Italian towns is not attempted, especially as far as the distribution of public buildings and housing quarters are concerned.

When looking at the house architecture, Zivas places a clear emphasis on urban and rural polite architecture. The mansions, or *archontika*, were characteristic for their size, baroque decoration and symmetry, whether in the arrangements of the elements of the façade or in the internal plan and organisation of space itself (*Figure 27*). Enclosed courtyard arrangements did not fit the arrangement of these urban or rural mansions. A large yard replaced the courtyard at the back of the mansions, in urban contexts, or at the front in countryside examples. The detailed description of the polite architecture is followed by a shorter reference to vernacular types whether in urban sites or villages (*Figure 28*). Most features are compared with equivalent polite types implying an attempt to imitate higher architecture. This relation seems to be over-emphasised with the better surviving rural structures of the 19th and 20th centuries mentioned in the study, and ignoring the bulk of popular housing (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985).

Equivalent records of mansions of the Ionian Islands are to be found in the studies of individual structures that have been published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* as preliminary reports prior or after restoration. Kalligas (Kalligas 1966) provides a detailed historical study of the 17th and 18th century archbishop's house in Kerkyra, with the intention of reconstructing its internal plan. He therefore uses information drawn from Venetian records concerning its original purpose and attempts to reconstruct its history up to the present day. In addition, contemporary pictorial evidence is used from a painting depicting the main hall of the mansion (*Figure 29*). Georgopoulos (Georgopoulou 1981) provides only some limited information concerning the restoration of the rural tower of Domeneginis on the

island of Zakynthos and provides architectural drawings of its facades (*Figure 30*).

It seems that the studies mentioned above were intended to describe and preserve structures and types as a record. The socio-economic background is often summarised so as to provide a context within which these structural forms developed. Details, though, concerning time depth and changes of the social space of the house are neglected or regarded as mere imitation of the elite (Zivas 1974).

On the other hand, the two studies of the historical geographer Aalen seem to go into more depth (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985). It is noticeable that they are both focussed on the island of Kefalonia, and the Erissos region in particular (the northernmost peninsula of the island). Contrary to Zivas, he devotes his attention to the vernacular architecture, providing only general information about the polite forms. His main aim is to look at the distribution of houses in the villages on this particular peninsula, integrating their size and function to the social factors that predominated in the area (*Figure 31*). The prevalent form on the island seems to have had a single storey, undivided room housing both humans and life-stock, equivalent to the longhouses found on the mainland (*Figure 31: A*). It possibly represents a peasant group that worked on the estates of wealthy Venetian landowners, if we are allowed to push the type as far back as the serfdom regime of the Venetian period (14th-18th centuries). Larger houses are raised above the ground by exploiting the difference in slope, having a basement, in many cases dug out into the slope, and an upper storey (1 ½ storey houses; *Figure 31: B*). Thus, the livestock is separated from the humans, placing the latter at a higher level above the animals. At the same time, though, the upper storey is subdivided into three or four rooms, indicating a higher degree of spatial specialisation. The author suggests that self-sufficient farming families were housed within these particular structures, a group that seems to have grown in numbers throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. Actual two storey houses seem to appear in rural areas during the mid 19th century (*Figure 31: C*). They seem to have developed as part of a general social restructuring with wealthier farmers or people engaged in commerce and professions such as medicine or law still attached to their places of origin and willing to display their success (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985).

Unfortunately, the method of construction of the houses seems to have undergone few changes over time preventing any firm conclusions to be drawn about the types prevailing the preceding centuries to the 19th. Aalen, though, seems to favour an evolutionary development of the structures from basic single room and one-storey houses to more complex forms found on the islands (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985) It seems plausible, though, that in addition to an evolution of structures according to the changing

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needs, more complex pre-existing types or introduced new forms were adopted.

Interestingly, polite architecture seems to provide not just general information about the period of construction of the houses, but very often also precise dates of restoration, reorganisation and reuse (*Figure 32*; Georgopoulos 1981, Kalligas 1966, Zivas 1974). In contrast, the evidence is slim when one is dealing with vernacular structures (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985, Zivas 1974). This seems to be the case on the Ionian Islands as well. It is only possible to speculate and to attempt to project trends noticed in recent periods into the more distant past. This method has been adopted by Aalen for Kefalonia, providing a possible model for the Venetian past of the island. It seems that the two storey houses would have been much more limited in number than today, if any actually existed in the countryside. The villages would have been predominately occupied by peasants acting as serfs to a wealthy landlord, who lived in a rural mansion in the vicinity. External influence, such as the Renaissance, Baroque and Neoclassical trends would possibly have passed unnoticed and had limited impact on the peasant house types of the villages. A restructuring of the society brought by British rule during the early 19th century and the final incorporation of the Ionian Islands into the recently established Greek state in 1864, had as a result a wider distribution of wealth and the development of the countryside (Aalen 1984, Aalen 1985, Zivas 1974) that may have led to the adoption of Western housing patterns in the villages (Zivas 1974) a trend also observed elsewhere on the mainland (e.g. Messenia, *Figure 33*).

The Peloponnese

The Peloponnese being at the edge of the Balkan Peninsula has been the southernmost limit of population movements, whether in Prehistoric or Medieval times, and the destination of invasion, either from the East, West or North (*Figure 34*). Its location in the Mediterranean could be regarded as relatively central, and control of strategic points along its coast crucial for monitoring sea routes between east and west, north and south. Both aspects allowed it to become a melting pot of different cultures and were the cause of its troubled history throughout the Middle Ages up to the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods.

Despite the abundance of literary sources, especially from the Late Byzantine, or Frankish, period, onwards little is known about the archaeology and lifeways of the area, and in particular the settlement patterns and house architecture. A number of settlements and castles, all grouped under the name *kastra* in Medieval times (Angold 1997 [1985]), survive up to today in rather good condition, but are not well documented and studied, and cannot be regarded as a representative sample of either the settlement patterns or the house types that may have dominated the Peloponnese at the time (Bouras 1974b, Bouras 1982-1983). Even so, existing studies do provide some information about the nature of these settlements and an index of various house types (Mistra: Mouriki 1987, Orlandos 1937; Mouchli: Moutsopoulos 1985; Geraki: Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989-1990; Longanikos: Bouras 1982-1983; Monemvasia: Kalligas and Kalligas 1985; see also Chapter 6: *Excavated and surveyed houses in Post-Roman Greece*).

Studies on vernacular architecture of the Ottoman, Venetian and Early Modern periods seem to be as limited. A certain degree of uniformity of types throughout the region, though, may allow some generalisations. Many of the studies were either part of wider reviews of vernacular architecture in Greece (i.e. Doumanis and Oliver 1974, Filippidis 1983-1990, Michelis 1960) or interdisciplinary archaeological projects (Aschenbrenner 1972, Aschenbrenner 1976, Brenningneyer, Cooper, and Downey 1998). In both cases an attempt is made to place the areas or settlements studied into a wider context, whether that is contemporary architectural forms or chronological comparisons within a region.

In this framework, Benechoutsou (Benechoutsou 1960) provides a detailed description of the architectural forms of the region of Gortynia in Arkadia. The region having prospered during the late Ottoman period (18th and 19th centuries) due to its flourishing pastoral and manufacturing economy, presents a distinct architectural development. According to the author, the isolation of the area contributed to the local evolution of forms that originated from simpler structures, common elsewhere in the Peloponnese. The location of the region high up in the mountains of Arkadia, is regarded as having limited external stylistic influence as well, even though many features seem to belong to the international Balkan or Neoclassical architectural styles.

In particular, houses have two, three, four or in some cases five storeys, exploiting the steep slope within the settlements. The lower storeys are usually used for storage of produce, stabling or household production of carpets, the latter having contributed to the prosperity of the region. The living areas, located at the top floor comprised in most cases either two rooms, or two larger rooms separated by a small entrance hall, the extension of which added an extra small room at the back (*Figure 35*). In multi-storey houses the store below the main living space (*mesopatoma* or *cheimoniatiko*) was also used for the everyday activities of the family, especially during the winter. Building materials and decorative features are also described (Benechoutsou 1960).

A similar approach is followed by Chrysafi-Zografou (Chrysafi-Zografou 1987), who studied the architecture of Korinthia. She introduces the study

with a history of the region mainly concerning the conquests and movements of populations. After a short description of the various settlement types she moves on to the architecture. All different types are dealt with ranging from the simplest forms (i.e. single storey long houses) to the more complex (i.e. multi-storey tower-houses). Despite the range of information, though, the social context of the structures is not considered.

Christopoulos (Christopoulos 1985) in his study of similar houses in the province of Achaia looks also at aspects of nationality. Achaia was settled by large numbers of Arvanites, or Albanians of early migratory waves, and up to recently the original Albanian toponyms were still in use. The architecture, though, as presented by Christopoulos does not seem to have any differences from that of other regions in the Peloponnese, suggesting that nationality may not have been reflected through the architectural forms. The author, at the same time, tries to draw some ties between the architecture and the readily available materials in the region, distinguishing between the lowlands where mud-brick predominates and the uplands where stone is the basic building material. He also introduces Neoclassicism, which seems to appear in the region in the late 19th century as an important factor in architectural development, especially of the more urbanised centres.

Arkadia attracted the attention of other scholars as well. Petronotis (Petronotis 1985) made a study of the various building types of central Arkadia introducing social aspects into his arguments. The domestic buildings do not seem to vary from the other areas mentioned above, but social and economic factors are considered in more detail and not plainly mentioned in an introductory manner. Continuity is also incorporated with reference to nationality, namely in relation to the preceding Frankish and Middle Byzantine periods. The reference to the *diplo*, or double, house is interesting as far as the social implication involved. The double house is a structure comprising two attached identical houses, like a mirror image. Each house belongs to a separate nuclear family with strong family links with each other (i.e. two brothers' families). One of the two houses predates the other and was usually the original family house. As the family expanded the house was not split between the heirs, but a new identical structure was build along the original. These houses, elsewhere known as *aderfomoiria*, are very common in other areas of Greece as well. In a wider respect the settlements were also divided in a similar manner. Thus, Petronotis mentions the *machalas*, or neighbourhood, as an important factor for the development of various quarters within settlements. These quarters had a patrilineal link that often allowed an almost mythological connection with the past to develop (for a similar situation in the Mani, Saitas 1987-1988, Saitas 1990).

Kynouria is an area on the west coast of Arkadia studied by Filippidis (Filippidis 1985). Beyond the types mentioned above, Filippidis adds the *monospito*, a term used for a single storey house comprising one undivided space. It is noted that both humans and livestock used this space at the same time, the only division between the areas utilised by each only being conceptual rather than physical. The author shows scepticism concerning a continuity of architectural form extending back to the Middle Byzantine and Frankish periods, namely the surviving examples of Mistra, contrary to most other studies. His argument is based on the fact that the houses of Mistra are mansions that are not comparable in size and decoration with the peasant architecture of Kynouria. At the same time, due to limited research on the nature and degree of external influences, mainly from the West, Filippidis hesitates to make conclusive statements. It seems that he prefers an insular pattern of expansion of new forms and ideas within the geographical region of Southern Greece, whether the prototypes came originally from East or West.

Within villages and towns the notions of *machalas*, or clan, arrangement of the settlements prevails in Kynouria as well. The settlements developed naturally with respect to the topography. During the 19th and 20th centuries isolated hamlets become more frequent, filling the landscape and replacing the dispersed huts that were used seasonally to provide proximity to the cultivated fields or pastures (Filippidis 1985).

A similar approach is used by Alexaki for the Zarakas region in neighbouring Lakonia (Alexaki 1985). Once again the houses do not show much variability from the types mentioned above. Neoclassical features, though, are stressed more in this study, but they seem to be limited to decorative aspects of the façade rather than affecting the plan and arrangement itself.

The impact of Neoclassicism is more evident in Messenia, though. Grigorakis *et. al.* focus their study on the rural neoclassical domestic buildings of Methoni and Koroni. Despite touching on the very interesting subject of the introduction of this style in the rural areas of Greece, they do not provide a detailed analysis of either the architecture or the process itself, but suffice with describing the decorative features characteristic of the style (Grigorakis, Migado, and Charalampous 1985).

A series of publications centre their attention on the architecture of one particular settlement, in many cases covering a variety of aspects besides the house architecture (Allen 1976, Koster 1977, Moschos and Moschou 1981, Moschos and Moschou 1982, Zagorissiou 1997). In particular, Zagorissiou conducted a detailed architectural survey of a number of houses in the village Dimitsana located in Gortynia, Arkadia, and prepared a proposal for their restoration addressed to the Greek Ministry of Tourism. She then published her results and conclusions concerning the architectural management of the settlement. In the volume she is not concerned with the details of the

domestic structures she studied, but rather the legal infrastructure that will permit the restoration and public use of the buildings. Some information, though, is provided in relation to the settlement history, as well as plans and short descriptions of the buildings in question (Zagorissiou 1997).

Beside settlements, individual houses have been studied for restoration purposes, providing some information about more grand architectural forms, like tower houses and *archontika* (mansions; Kakouris 1978a, Kakouris 1978b). These publications are mainly recording the state of restoration rather than making detailed descriptions of the building, though often include information about the status of the original owner as well as a short historical background.

Special attention has been paid to the region of the Mani, the central peninsula at the southernmost part of the Peloponnese. The region has attracted a lot of scholars due to the peculiarity of the house forms, which seem to be rather different from those found elsewhere in the Peloponnese, as well as the rather romantic history of its inhabitants (*Figure 36*). The area is naturally isolated from the rest of the Peloponnese by the high mountain range Taygetos and its extremely poor natural resources and agricultural land. The dramatic landscape of Mani is regarded as having affected the lifestyle of the inhabitants, the architecture and the perception of the region by outsiders (Saitas 1990). Two types of studies predominate, the one looking at the movement and development of settlements, and the other recording the variety of building types. The former group of studies, usually, deals with earlier phases, the introduction of lime mortar in the 17th century providing a clear chronological and typological division (Kalligas 1974). Thus, before the 17th century the settlements were built inland, at the foothills of mountains and in locations that were not easily visible (Moschos and Moschou 1981, Moschos and Moschou 1982). This is thought to be due to pirate and Arab raids devastating the area, especially after the latter established their control over Crete during the middle Ages. The houses, two storied in most cases, were built of roughly cut big boulders and pitched roofs covered with slates (*Figure 37*). The interest of these studies is actually focused on the changing settlement patterns rather the actual architectural forms. For the period after the 17th century, though, more attention is paid to the house structures. Settlements moved gradually from the lowlands to hilltops with visibility over the nearby coast (*Figure 38*: Vatheia) or to littoral locations (*Figure 39*: Limeni), showing signs of a possible economic recovery and a wider sense of security. The house structures at the same time become more fortified and much higher (construction of multi-storey towers) due to the introduction of lime mortar (Kalligas 1974, Saitas 1990). Saitas, in particular, has conducted a very interesting study of the Maniot houses throughout this period, providing a detailed typology of the main types. In addition, he provides a

meticulous study of the organisation of the settlements, and attempts to place both vernacular architecture developments and settlement changes into a wider environmental, social and historical context (Saitas 1990).

Other studies examine the anthropology and economy of particular villages or regions in the context of a wider regional archaeological survey (Allen 1976, Aschenbrenner 1972, Aschenbrenner 1976, Koster 1977). Since their aim is mainly to provide interpretative models for the surveys, drawn from a contemporary societies and settlements, they do not focus on the house architecture as such. The production and the economic organisation of the villages seem to dominate these studies. However, settlements that would not have otherwise been taken into consideration have been recorded, enriching the record of vernacular architecture.

Thus, Aschenbrenner in collaboration with the Minnesota University Expedition in Messenia conducted a survey of the small village Karpofora west of Kalamata and ancient Ithomi. The aim was to collect data related to the local economy, including land-use, agriculture, livestock, and production, as well as information concerning the development of the settlement, the demography, the lifestyle and the domestic architecture. This agricultural community, established in the late 19th century, was chosen in order to provide an ethnographic parallel for the prehistoric settlements that were the core subject of the Minnesota Expedition. The houses, mentioned in the study, had a single storey or, being built into the slope, a second storey over a partly underground basement (1 ½ storey house). In both cases their facades were broad. Internally, they had either one undivided space or two rooms, separating, in the single-storey houses the animals from the residential area, or in the 1 ½ storey houses, the formal room, or *sala*, from the everyday living area (Aschenbrenner 1972). In a later publication he mentions an extra type, where the two rooms are divided by a corridor or hall (Aschenbrenner 1976).

Similar is the study of Koster in the Argolid. He focussed on the changes in land-use in the region related to pastoralism. In addition to the data collected he provides a short description of the main vernacular house types. The latter do not seem to vary from the types found elsewhere in the Peloponnese. Comments concerning the internal organisation of the space examined and general features, such as the number of storeys of the structures, are related to general economic and social fluctuations during the late 19th century (Koster 1977). Allen (Allen 1976), being interested in the patterns of population fluctuations in the Mani region, presented a study of the village Aspida. Here too, despite the houses not being the main purpose of the research, he provides descriptions comparable to the houses of Karpofora, at least as far as more general features are concerned (Allen 1976).

Concluding, the majority of the studies seem to concentrate on the description of house types. Evolutionary models are most frequently applied, without an explicit theoretical background, suggesting simply that complex forms derive from simple structures (*Figures 40* and *41*). Social and economic aspects are implicitly associated with these processes, but no clear integration with the changing architectural forms is provided. These studies are in their majority architectural and do offer a rich collection of detailed architectural drawings (Alexaki 1985, Christopoulos 1985, Chrysafi-Zografou 1987, Filippidis 1985, Grigorakis, Migado, and Charalampous 1985, Kalligas and Kalligas 1985, Benechoutsou 1960, Petronotis 1985).

In some cases there is a clear intention towards conservation of particular houses or entire settlements (Zagorissiou 1997), the study of the architectural types as such being secondary. This seems to be the case in the reports published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* too. Here, though, rather than settlements, individual houses (*Figure 42*), often in the countryside, have been studied with the aim of their being conserved. These belong, mainly, to the Ottoman period and the 17th and 18th centuries in particular (Kakouris 1978a, Kakouris 1978b).

There is a notable tendency of some authors to dismiss relationships of the architectural types to preceding Medieval or Byzantine prototypes (Alexaki 1985, Bouras 1982-1983, Christopoulos 1985, Filippidis 1985, Petronotis 1985). Movement of populations and nationality play an important role in their interpretation, in the sense that the authors recognise that different ethnic groups (Slavs, Albanians and Turks) settled in the wider region. Continuity of settlement and house traditions seems to be treated with caution and it is stressed that destruction of settlements (Antoniadis-Bibicou 1965) and movement of villages were common phenomena (Wagstaff 1978). Similarly, direct or indirect influences on vernacular architecture from the West (*Figure 43*) and sometimes the East are often mentioned, not only detected in the decorative features, but also in the plan and the organisation of domestic space, (Filippidis 1985, Grigorakis, Migado, and Charalampous 1985, Saitas 1990) demonstrating close links, sustained through trade.

Central Greece

Central Greece comprises, in this study, the Eastern provinces of Sterea Hellas and the whole of Thessaly (*Figure 44*). This area can be regarded as an intermediate region between the North, West and South of Greece, as well as the insular areas of the Aegean Sea. Thus, at its fringes it shows clear influences from the neighbouring regions, gradually fading away as one moves towards more central areas.

In addition, a series of important urban centres developed in this large unit, some with important administrative roles and thriving manufacture and commercial activity, especially during the Late Ottoman and early modern periods. These developments are also detectable in the architectural forms adopted and adapted to the particular circumstances of the regions under study.

Architecturally, the region is not very well studied, but particular sub-regions of the provinces have had concentrated attention due to the architectural forms, associated with a particular localised economic development of the late 18th and 19th centuries, and their vital role in the Enlightenment and Independence periods. I am referring to the town of Ambelakia and the Pelion region, in the provinces of Larissa and Magnesia respectively, which showed an unprecedented economic advancement and industrial organisation, despite being located in seemingly isolated geographical areas. Regardless of the bias towards these two regions, a number of studies have concentrated on settlements or wider regions of Central Greece. The approaches vary considerably, from urban development to internal spatial analysis, and from description to anthropological research.

Two studies on urban settlement development are going to be examined in the first instance, so as to evaluate the role of settlement analysis and growth in the study of houses. Both studies are concerned with settlement organisation in Greater Athens, Ilissos (Maltby et al. 1966) and Mesonisi in the Brahami municipality (Roe 1979), both developing during the 20th century, the one by refugees from Asia Minor (western Turkey) from the 1920s onwards and the other as part of the rapid growth of Greater Athens during the 1960s and 1970s. The development of both communities is treated with a stress on functional and economic as well as legal urbanisation issues, providing an integrated interpretation both of the physical and social organisation of the two regions. Thus, whereas proximity to the centre of Athens, public services and means of transport were crucial factors for the development of the Ilissos community, the settlement itself developed into a tightly packed and inward looking built environment characterised by narrow winding streets and the lack of open public spaces (Maltby et al. 1966). Similar is the situation in the case of Mesonisi. The author of the latter study, though, mainly interested in the study of the factors behind and the results of illegal housing within an urban context, reveals characteristics similar to the ones described in the case of Ilissos (Roe 1979). In turn, housing is very much affected by the particular settlement development. "Generally, the houses were built room by room, often with inadequate internal circulation space, which makes the use of courtyards necessary for circulation, thus giving a sense of activity and movement" (*Figure 45*; Maltby et al. 1966: 192). This development of the house was not only regulated by the functional needs of the

household, but also by the social ones that seem to be represented by the increase of average space for the family in Mesonisi from 5 m^2 per person to 19 m^2 over the years (Roe 1979: 93). The provision of additional privacy to particular functional areas of the household and the attempt to arrange activity zones hierarchically indicated the movement of the traditionally agriculturalist family, in the case of Mesonisi, towards an urbanised and more individualist household organisation. Similar household organisation and developments can be noted elsewhere in Attika (*see* Dimitsantou-Kremezis 1986).

Anthropological research in the area of Central Greece has also contributed to our understanding of domestic space in the region. Despite their aim being not so much the description of the house, but rather the understanding of the organisation and nature of the communities in question, these studies provide valuable information on the spatial arrangement of the household and the activities within the architectural shell. Friedl, for instance, in her study of Vasilika in Boiotia provides a description of the various house types in relation to the social status of the inhabitants and the purposes they serve for each household (Friedl 1962). Thus, as noted elsewhere, the majority of the population used to live in single-storey rectangular houses with one to three rooms, within which the various activities were arranged hierarchically. In single room houses there are no windows, the floor is made of compact earth and both human and animals are kept under the same roof, the latter occupying the corner farthest from the entrance. The boundaries between the various activity areas can be regarded as conceptual and may be crystallised later on by the construction of internal walls, physically separating these particular activity zones. As result, many of these single-storey houses acquired three separate rooms, one with a plank floor used as a living and reception room (*saloni*), a second room as a bedroom and a third with compact earthen floor as a kitchen. The author notes that these houses could easily be mistaken for stables or storage structures that seem to have the same design (Friedl 1962).

The few two-storey houses of the village show a similar uniformity. The ground floor is usually divided into two activity areas, either physically, with a wall or curtain, or conceptually. One of the sides along the long axis of the house can be regarded as a multipurpose area and may have a cemented floor, plastered walls and a fireplace. In many cases, a shallow cement-lined basin can be found in one of the wide window ledges within this area. This part of the ground floor is used as a main living area, kitchen and bedroom. A large table in the middle of the room surrounded by chairs, and a bed against one of the sidewalls complete the furniture of the room. The second ground floor area is reserved for storage of supplies. The second storey is rarely approached internally from the ground floor. It is accessed from an outer staircase leading to a roofed terrace, the *hagiati*.

The terrace itself may be used for various activities, such as hanging out the washing, for the Easter dinner celebrations and to sleep during the summer. It is always decorated with flowerpots. The upper storey is most commonly divided into two, the *cheimoniatiko* and the *saloni*. The former is a smaller replica of the multi-functional room on the ground floor and may have a fireplace like downstairs. The latter, though, is the ceremonial room of the household, where the family may present itself to the outside world. It contains a large table, a couple of trousseau trunks (*baoula*), and a bed for the guests, possibly a wardrobe and a mirror (Friedl 1962).

When the organisation of domestic space is conceptualised into the social environs of the community and the settlement arrangement, the author claims that the stress on the private is more pronounced than that on the public. Thus, most activities will take place within the house or its vicinity in an attempt to avoid being seen by the neighbours and included in the gossip of the day. The importance of the house for the family is emphasised in the role of the evil eye and the superstitions related to it. The priest not only blesses a new house, but is also supposed to protect it every year by means of the annual *ayasmos* ceremony (Friedl 1962).

Similar is the case at Ambeli, in Euboia, according to the observations of Du Boulay (1974). She provides a more detailed description of house construction and stresses its role as a shelter for those who live in it, whether humans or animals. "Membership of this group and right to this shelter were obtained not only by those who by blood or marriage were related to the central family, but also by those who contributed by their work or their produce to its life. These four walls, therefore, housed an exclusive group in which everything, down to the least chicken, was a full member, bound together by mutual obligations according to which the animals were entitled to protection, and the men, service" (Du Boulay 1974: 15-16). The social role of the house and its connotations for the family with the rest of the community are analysed in detail, as the author devotes an entire chapter of her study to domestic space (Du Boulay 1974).

Sant-Cassia and Bada in their book on 19th century Athens (1992) look at the house from a different perspective. Their main interest is the study of marital patterns and traditions in the Athenian society, and they treat the house as part, or not, of the bridal dowry. The analysis of dowry documents and wills seem to suggest that during the 18th and 19th centuries the houses were passed along the male line of the family. The strong lineage ties prevented immovable property to be divided and to be passed on to women, whether sisters, wives, widows or daughters. At the same time it is argued that the house was not as important as one may assume. It is claimed that it provided neither an important public reference point, nor a significant economic resource. Therefore,

a separate house does not seem to have been a precondition to marriage, its importance being restricted mainly to the establishment of a link between different generations (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992).

In search of the multi-period occupation patterns in the surrounding area of Halos, in Thessaly, the archaeological group of Amsterdam and Groningen Universities rediscovered and studied one deserted Ottoman and early Modern village, locally known as Baklali. The village is of interest due to its status as a *çiftlik* during the Ottoman period, which are large "quasi-private land properties" (Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990: 149) with an associated settlement of tied labourers. Most of the houses were either rebuilt in the 1930s, according to the authors, or if new, they seem to conform to the same internal space organisation. They were built vertically to the contours so as to exploit the slope difference for a small, almost subterranean, basement used as a stable (*Figure 46*). The upper floor was used as the main living space and was divided into four separate spaces; a small entrance hall in the middle of the long side of the house, a small room often used as a kitchen as its extension, and two large rooms on either side. One of these two rooms may have had a fireplace and was the main household living area. The second one, though, was reserved for family receptions and other formal occasions. The domestic space of the settlement is, unfortunately, briefly discussed and receives limited analysis. It is important, though, that it is regarded as part of the archaeological survey and recorded in some detail (Haagsma et al. 1993).

Within the context of a study on the economic history of the Ottoman period in the wider area of Thessaly by Lawless, reference is made to some house types in the region, associated mainly with the economic role of particular settlement types. The brief discussion of the *çiftliks* refers to lines of small cottages built of mud-brick and roofed with thatch. A multi-storey tower house, or *konak*, dominated the settlement emphasising the position of the landowner over the sharecroppers and physically manifesting the control over the village. Such settlements may have been either new establishments with a standardised plan (*Figure 47*), or old villages that were forced to accept a *çiftlik* status and, thus, retained their original natural organisation. Within the towns the houses did not differ very much from those in the countryside. The author believes, though, that during the 17th century larger two- and three-storey houses become more common. He provides a more detailed description of these townhouses, many of which survive up to our day. Based on a stone sub-structure, the timber-framed upper storeys could extend over the streets so as to capture the sun and breeze, and enable the women to observe, themselves unseen, the streets below. Lawless, despite being primarily interested in the economic history of Thessaly, does attempt to provide some general explanation for the origins of

domestic differentiation in the Ottoman period. His assumptions may be partially correct, but the study seems to be an initial effort to provide some time depth for the discussion of the house (Lawless 1977).

Comparable is the in-depth study of settlement and housing patterns in Boiotia by Nancy Stedman. Her aim was to extract some basic information from 18th and 19th century travellers in Boiotia, and combine it with existing evidence from an extensive survey of the contemporary settlements included in the study. The author, after a discussion of the history and settlement development of the region concentrates on the house types that prevail. The houses are divided into single storey and two storey types based, mainly, on social and economic differentiations that they may imply. Thus, she assumes that the vertical separation of humans and animals, noted in the latter form, can be regarded as an indicator of prosperity and social etiquette, explaining their predominance within towns when compared with villages. The single storey houses, in particular, show a high degree of uniformity and are arranged in a regular alignment across many villages (*Figure 48*). They are long and rectangular with a 2:1 ratio of the sidewalls. A separate structure was built within the yard for the oven and another for the wine press (*patitirio*). The interior of the houses was not necessarily divided with walls and, commonly, accommodated both humans and animals. A fireplace along one of the short walls would identify the human living space. The two-storey houses seem to date from the late 19th century onwards within the villages, most incorporating older single-storey structures. In settlements with steep slopes the houses usually exploited the slope difference to add a small basement underneath the main domestic structure. In both cases, though, the two floors were entered independently and did not have internal communication (Stedman 1996).

An interesting point of the discussion is the reference to the building materials. Despite the similarity of the structures on the mountains and the plains, the materials readily available vary. Thus, on the plains and especially in the vicinity of the nowadays-drained Kopais Lake the inhabitants used to build with mud-brick on top of low stone foundations. The mud-bricks were kept in place with thin wooden beams at regular intervals that also provided security against the occasional earthquakes. Frequently, the mud-brick would be plastered over for protection against wind and rain. Travellers mention that the roofs were made of thatch, material that has been replaced in more recent times with clay tiles. On the mountains, though, the structures were built predominantly of stone. Wooden beams are used in this case as well to provide extra support to the structure. The houses, though, are not plastered externally retaining the simplicity and austerity of the stone and design (Stedman 1996).

The majority of studies, though, for the region, as elsewhere, concentrate on the architectural aspects of the houses, whether of the simple village domestic

structures or the more architecturally elaborate buildings of the towns. The collection in the volumes of Greek Traditional Architecture illustrates the house types of the area well. Three wider regions are discussed (Attika, Fokida and Pelion; Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986, Leonidopoulou-Stylianou 1987, Kouremenos 1987) and one individual settlement (Ambelakia; Diamantopoulou 1987). In all studies a short historical background is put together so as to provide a general context for the settlements and house-types to be studied. In the case of Ambelakia and Pelion the stress is placed on the economic expansion during the 18th and 19th centuries that led to the development of an advanced domestic architectural style. In these two particular cases, directions of influence are sought to be reconstructed, in an attempt to explain particular trends and sometimes details of the design of the domestic space (Diamantopoulou 1987, Kouremenos 1987). Beside these general observations, particular houses are then described in detail or general house-types are assessed, starting from the simplest forms to the more elaborate structures. Typological lists are not included in these studies, but they are often implied, suggesting an evolutionary pattern of development. The degree of elaboration, though, is related to social differentiation, and information from 18th and 19th century travellers is introduced into the discussion (Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986, Kouremenos 1987). Unfortunately, it seems that the authors avoid giving a time depth to their studies and many of the structures remain without date and prevent evaluation of the evidence on a chronological basis.

Aalen, in his study of the very southernmost part of Euboia, attempts to look beyond the architectural structure into the processes that led to the development of certain types. The houses of the region are reminiscent of the Cycladic islands, and rather different from those in the central and northern districts of the Euboia. To explain this phenomenon, he seems to agree with Wagstaff (Wagstaff 1969) introducing considerations of environment into his discussion. According to Aalen, the climate, the rainfall, the degree of slope and the available building materials play an important role in these processes and determines the house construction and form. Thus, the flat roof and the repetition of the cubical constructions as basic units of the domestic space, mainly characteristic of the Central and Southern Aegean islands, should be considered as result of the relatively arid environmental conditions of the area, where rainfall is limited and mainly restricted to the winter months. It should be noted that he does recognise the importance of social factors as well. Exchanges of cultural trends and changes of social conditions are also discussed to some extent. His central argument, though, is the evolutionary model of development that implies a gradual process towards more complex forms starting from the very basic architectural units. Even though this hypothesis may provide us some

theoretical chronological depth, it seems that many simple forms were contemporary to more complex (Aalen 1982). The degree of complexity also seems to be related to social and economic status and change, since many complex forms may have existed for longer periods and persisted as such together with simpler constructions. The spread of the more elaborate plans could, therefore, be related to social and economic developments, as well as architectural evolution.

The book on the houses of the Pelion peninsula during the Ottoman and Early Modern periods by Kizis (1994) is an attempt to approach the subject from different angles. Having provided a detailed historical, economic and social background for the region, he concentrates on methodological issues of house analysis. He seems to challenge monocausal typological and environmental approaches, without, though, dismissing their importance. He believes that social and cultural considerations are more relevant to the discussion of the house. His groupings are, therefore, not so much based on typology, but on common features of spatial organisation, whether they are from the Pelion region or the rest of the Balkans, Turkey and the Aegean Islands. Thus, he makes distinction between elongated and square rooms as basic cells of the house construction, indicative of different traditions and perceptions of the domestic space, and further introduces the notion of visibility into a room in relation with the position of the doorway to analyse the arrangement of the activities revealing underlying hierarchies of activities and organisations. When looking at more elaborate forms, he recognises the role of the simple structures, but does not overstress their importance. Kizis insists to distinguish between the two, that is complex and simple structures, by stressing the different purposes they originally served (Kizis 1994).

Moving on to the discussion of the houses of Pelion, in particular, Kizis firstly concentrates on general considerations regarding aspects of their chronology and internal organisation. Thus, he divides the architectural forms into three chronological categories reflecting changes in the forms, the Early, "Classical" and Later periods. The Early period is represented by fortified stone built "tower" houses often with overhanging open or closed extensions, or *hagiatia* and *sahnisia* respectively, at the uppermost floor (*Figures 47 and 49*). They usually consist of one square room per floor or a vertical multiplication of this basic square unit. Based on these basic agricultural structures so-called urban adaptations were made in the "Classical" period of domestic architecture in Pelion (*Figure 50*). This is seen as a result of the rapid economic advancement based on textile (mainly silk) and olive oil production followed by exports of dried figs. The development of trade brought the inhabitants in contact with large urban centres of the Ottoman Empire and Central and Western Europe. The influences these manufacturers and merchants received

were not only reflected in their everyday life (for instance the advancement of education, the creation of libraries etc.) and material culture, but also in the architectural choices they made for their houses. Based on the preceding architectural forms they did not only introduce new decorative patterns and arrangements, but also additional rooms and more complex spatial organisations belonging to more urban settings. The style developed conforms to the general trends of the International Ottoman Style that seems to have spread throughout the Balkan Peninsula and Turkey. The Later period is marked with the introduction of Neoclassicism to the architectural forms (*Figure 51*). This change is initiated by the construction of houses and mansions by people originally coming from Pelion but living in Egypt. It is not so much the symmetry, the decorative features, the staircases, the windows and shutters that mark this development, but actually the internal organisation that totally reforms the houses. The various types are summarised further in the book in tabular form (Kizis 1994).

He then devotes much attention to the structural details. The materials of construction, the stone and wooden construction themselves, the finishing features, the installations, the frames, the wood furnishings and the decoration are treated as a separate section. The details are mainly studied from a construction and manufacturing point of view. Still the techniques and the artistic qualities described give us a clear impression of the elaboration of these structures and the social and symbolic connotations they represent and reproduce (Kizis 1994).

In the final part of his study Kizis provides an architectural study of the most representative house types, dividing them into four groups: the stone core with independent wooden overhanging extensions (towers and tower houses, fortified houses), the wood-framed houses (single-space rectangular, rectangular with two spaces, rectangular with three spaces, L-shaped houses, U-shaped houses), the stone houses and the more recent houses. These are illustrated with detailed descriptions, photographs and plans of existing houses and, although they are discussed independently, they become part of the detailed preceding analysis. This final presentation of the raw data culminates in the composition of a typological table. Having challenged its usefulness in his methodological discussion discussed above, it is presented not in order to claim an evolutionary development but to assess chronologically the different architectural types as they were introduced, formulated and modified according to the differing needs of the households (Kizis 1994).

A notable aspect of this attempt to summarise some of the studies on domestic architecture in the region I have termed Central Greece, is the large variety of approaches and methodologies adopted. Thus, ranging from urban settlement analysis and illegal urban development, social anthropology and archaeological survey, to historical geography,

architectural description and spatial analysis, we have seen the variety of topics that can be adopted as well as the variety of interpretations that can be applied. It is interesting to note the apparent lack of ethnic considerations. There are, of course, some authors dealing with this region that have expressed such ideas, but they have not been dealt with in this discussion (e.g. Megas 1946, Megas 1951). Chronological depth seems to be lacking and little treated in many studies, but even in the detailed analysis of Kizis it would have been very difficult to reach concrete interpretations on the chronology without the high number of dated houses in Pelion (Kizis 1994). It seems once again that dating is a major issue, especially for simple domestic structures that do not conform to dated widespread trends.

It is characteristic that many studies devote some attention to the settlement-house relation. Looking at a wider picture of Central Greece it seems that beyond the distinction between clearly urban and agricultural settlements, which indeed present some distinct examples of domestic architecture, there are a series of "pockets" or enclaves where an intermediate type of settlement developed with its own architectural character. This type should include settlements like Ambelakia and those of the Pelion Peninsula, which were introduced to a sort of proto-industrial economic system, despite their apparent physical isolation on high ground elevation. The development of these isolated settlements had as result the introduction and adoption of architectural styles that are reminiscent of major urban centres of the 18th and 19th centuries. These styles were not merely imitated, but adapted to the existing architectural forms and particular needs of the inhabitants. It can be claimed, therefore, that domestic architecture is very closely related to the settlement type and its economic activities, while at the same time actively reproducing the values and the forms of society.

Western Greece

The term Western Greece, as introduced in this study, encompasses the two westernmost provinces of Sterea Hellas, that is Eurytania and Aitoloakarnania, and the large district of Epeiros (*Figure 52*). It is a region with very rugged terrain, steep mountains, deep gorges and few sizeable plains. Despite the high altitude and the adverse climatic conditions away from the coasts, the population managed to thrive at various historical occasions, especially in the Northern parts of the region. Since the better agricultural land was mainly limited to the coastal areas, the interior of the region specialised in stockbreeding with some agriculture to ensure self-sufficiency. The development of large flocks of sheep and goats on the mountains boosted the economy of these remote areas and contributed to the advancement of the settlements to centres of economic

and cultural life (e.g. the Zagorochoria). A major factor in these developments was the proximity of the northern part of the region to trade routes between the East and West, not only during the Ottoman period, but also in preceding periods. Centres such as Metsovo and Ioannina developed into important commercial and manufacturing foci, the latter being the seat of administration for the wider region as well. In addition to these centres, coastal settlements, such as Igoumenitsa, Parga, Arta and Mesologgi, developed as outlets of commerce, produce and manufacture of the inland towards the West, simultaneously providing strong contact points with the developments in the West.

As for the architecture of the region, it seems to reflect the multiple activities of the inhabitants of the region, showing a high degree of adaptability to the environmental constraints, while keeping up to date with stylistic developments in East and West, yet without compromising the main local principles and ideologies surrounding the domestic space. The variety of forms seems to have been captured by studies on the vernacular architecture of the region. The different approaches employed, being complementary to each other, do provide a satisfactory picture of the area. Besides studies aiming at the reconstruction or refurbishing of single structures, wider architectural studies focusing on settlements or areas have been conducted and provide an overview of the architectural variability of the area. Unfortunately, though, only one study seems to escape the traditional architectural evaluation of regions, being an archaeological recording of a classical fortress named Ragion in the province of Thesprotia (Preka-Alexandri 1988).

The fortress of Ragion is a prehistoric site and a classical fortification that was reused in Ottoman times (*Figure 53*). The archaeologist Preka-Alexandri recorded at least fourteen domestic structures including one tower-house of the later Ottoman era (a 19th century date is claimed for the latter, *Figure 54*; Preka-Alexandri 1988: 353). The domestic structures survive up to 1m above the surface and seem to have been single-storied. In some cases there is evidence of internal divisions that may separate the domestic space into separate rooms or define features, such as hearths and storage pits. The report, though, does not specify particular uses so as to allow further discussion. It is characteristic that most structures are long, possibly equivalent to longhouses found elsewhere in Greece. The exact date and nature of the settlement is not specified in the report. The presence of a large tower, though, dominating the site suggests that the site was a *çiftlik*, or large "quasi-private land property" (Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990: 149), of a local landowner.

Five studies throughout the region deal with individual buildings. The aim of the short reports is the maintenance and conservation of these domestic structures. All five are large houses, four of the Ottoman period and one rural Neoclassical example

from the late 19th century. The two oldest houses, from Euenochori in Aitoloakarnania and Konitsa in the province of Ioannina (Chalkia 1980, Triantafyllopoulos 1976b, respectively), belong to the Turkish tower type, or *koula*, and date to at least the early 18th century. Despite the fact that the towers are not described in detail, it seems they were modified and extended through time. In the case of the *koula* in Euenochori the original square tower seems to have been extended into an L-shape (*Figure 55*). In addition, a circular tower crowned by an open kiosk was attached to its west side. It seems that the original windows of the top floor were enlarged at a later stage, possibly as result of increased security in the area. The tower, though, is still entered from a height of 3.6 from the ground surface and is surrounded by loopholes providing security to all sides of the tower (Chalkia 1980).

The *koula* in Konitsa, known by the name of its owner Chamko, is a rectangular, possibly four-storied building (*Figure 56*). It was provided with a large rectangular complex to the south that seems to have been used as a cooking installation. The windows of both the tower and the auxiliary building were small and, in the case of the tower, regularly arranged. Once again the tower had a series of loopholes protecting it on all four sides (Triantafyllopoulos 1976b).

In the village Paramythia in the province of Thesprotia another Late Ottoman period *koula* has been conserved (*Figure 57*). This tower did not have any extensions. Whereas its doorway is not on ground level showing a conscious attempt to harness the tower with extra security, it had larger windows as well as a section of its third floor converted into an enclosed veranda. Loopholes added extra security to the structures (Triantafyllopoulos 1978). Furthermore, the tower being situated within the village seems to have belonged to a prominent person and possibly a powerful landowner controlling the land and population of the settlement.

The last Ottoman building belongs to another type of domestic structures of the period (*Figure 58*). These are the, so-called, *archontika*, or mansions of local landowners, wealthy merchants and manufacturers. The particular house conserved belonged to an Albanian called Sisko Kontsa in the town of Konitsa. The house had three storeys exploiting the slope difference. It had a U-shaped construction enclosing part of the yard and, thus, providing extra privacy. Whereas the two lower storeys were built of stone, the top floor was of plank, reed and plaster construction. The light construction of the top floor allowed it to extend beyond the stone substructure increasing the overall functional space of the floor (Triantafyllopoulos 1976a). The rooms in such structures are usually arranged with reference to the yard, increasing the sense of centrality of the structure.

Finally, the last domestic structure to be discussed here, as part of a conservation programme, is

that of the Palamas family in Mesologgi (*Figure 59*; Lazaridis 1966). This is a house with a Neoclassical façade, typical of the style of rural Neoclassicism in late 19th and early 20th century Greece. Whereas the façade shows clear Neoclassical features such as symmetry and decoration, the rear of the house has an enclosed veranda, or *hagiati*, reminiscent of the Ottoman or Traditional architectural types of the region. This is a typical feature of the era of Neoclassicism in Greece, when older structures were either refurbished and given a Neoclassical façade or aspects of both Traditional and Neoclassical styles were incorporated so as to suit the need and ideologies of the inhabitants (Sigalos 2001).

A general characteristic of all these studies is that they limit their discussion to the conservation works conducted on the buildings, which are not described or actually presented as such. Whereas their importance may be obvious, they are usually not evaluated or placed within a wider historical or architectural context. Even their dating seems often rather questionable, especially when no particular historical event is attached to them. An important aspect is that they are treated as monuments and included in the archaeological record of the Ottoman and Early Modern past of Greece.

Moving from the archaeological and architectural evaluations of individual buildings, a series of studies have been conducted for towns and cities of the region. In the book of Michelis (1960) on the Greek house two studies for the region have been incorporated, one on Metsovo and the other on Ioannina (Charissis 1960, Loukakis 1960). It is characteristic that both studies attempt to view domestic space in relation to society and economy, mainly of their period of construction. The houses are divided into types with clear reference to the social classes of the period. Thus, types of popular, bourgeois (especially for Ioannina) and wealthy houses are discussed, and classified according to their arrangement, size and décor. A striking difference between the two studies is that, whereas in the case of Ioannina most of the popular and bourgeois houses are built continuously next to each other within the urban building blocks, all the houses in Metsovo are freestanding. The former is actually a densely occupied commercial and administrative centre, contrary to Metsovo being a rural centre concentrating the pastoral produce of the region and exploiting its location on the trade route between the East and North of the Balkans. Similarly, while Ioannina was already built in the 10th century (Loukakis 1960), Metsovo was an establishment of the mid-17th that managed to extract privileges from the Ottoman authority and develop autonomously into an important regional centre (Charissis 1960). The different role of these two centres seems to be reflected, therefore, in the range and style of their architecture.

The study of Ioannina revealed two distinct types of domestic structures, the town houses and the *archontika*, that were further divided according to their size and grandeur, as mentioned above. The town houses were usually two or three-storied, long and built at right angle to the street (*Figure 60*). They were accessed through a covered corridor that led to a small paved yard and vegetable garden. This corridor, though, provided access to the house itself via a staircase and the auxiliary rooms that were flanking it. Thus, the staircase would lead to a room, often open towards the corridor, on the first storey, or *metzopatoma*, that provided access to one room at either side. The room facing the yard of the house had an auxiliary role to the everyday activities of the household, whereas the one towards the front of the house was the *cheimoniatiko*, a room used as the main living area during the winter. In the case of *Figure 60*, a tiny and low-ceiling room above the corridor, which was possibly used as the women's quarters or for wine storage, flanked the latter (Loukakis 1960).

The open room, located centrally to the *metzopatoma*, was also the central access point to the upper storey. A staircase would lead to a large, often irregular, space the *iliakos* or *hagiati*, in this case incorporated into the main domestic structure. This room was the central communication point and busiest area of the house. Here guests would be received for feasts and the household activities would take place during the summer months. Two or more rooms would open onto the *iliakos*, one of which was the formal *cheimoniatiko*. Notable is the lack of furniture within the rooms, usually restricted to a low built bench, or *basi*, along the three sides of the room and a large built-in wooden closet, or *mousandara*, in the fourth wall. The *mousandara* did not reach up to the ceiling, providing enough space for the women to hide behind a screen above it at the presence of visitors. In addition, its location right in front of the door created a small entrance hall that restricted the view into the room. Variations to this basic structure could take many forms, but the principles remained the same. It is important to note a peculiar obsession with almost rectangular rooms, or *ondas*, often sacrificing the regularity of the *iliakos* and extending the rooms themselves with overhangs, or *sahnisia*, over the streets (Loukakis 1960).

The *archontika*, contrary to the majority of the town houses, were directed towards the garden of the house (*Figure 61*). Rather than acquiring a long shape, they were U-shaped. This had as a result that the rooms were arranged along a long semi-open corridor or large veranda. The veranda was reached by means of a double staircase of monumental nature. The auxiliary rooms would be located at ground floor level and the living activities arranged on the upper storey. Despite the larger number of rooms, the basic principles discussed for the simple town houses would be retained, providing additional differentiation of activities and seclusion of women (Loukakis 1960).

Beside the very interesting description of the domestic structures of Ioannina, the author seems to

neglect distinguishing between religious groups. Whereas it is mentioned that Christians were not permitted to live within the fortified castle area, it is not clear whether religious beliefs affected the architectural design. The author, though, seems to suggest that distinctions can be made, when referring to a Jewish house (Loukakis 1960: 204). Such a distinction or not may be important in evaluating the degree of seclusion of women, for instance, within the domestic space in the multicultural pre-modern society of Ioannina.

A very interesting feature of the houses was the importance of the yard and garden. Despite the lack of space within the urban organisation, the inhabitants seem to have always managed to have a small orchard. Larger houses are directed towards the garden, having larger plots within the centre of the town. The garden is regarded by Loukakis as a vital part of the household, contributing to the relaxation and leisure of the inhabitants (Loukakis 1960: 200).

A similar treatment of domestic architectural forms has been made for the town of Metsovo. The houses, though, are divided into two categories according to the social groups that adopted them. Thus, the non-elite houses are two-storied, the upper being entered both from the ground floor as well as independently from the backyard, due to the inclination of the ground (*Figure 62*). The living spaces, restricted to the upper floor, consisted of three basic rooms, the *seraï* (located centrally, being the first space reached when entering or visiting the house), the *ondas* (or *cheimoniatiko*, located to the best orientated side of the house and used as the main living room of the family) and the *chotzares* (or *kalokairino*, positioned opposite the *cheimoniatiko* and reserved for formal reception of guests). The *seraï*, like the *hagiati* elsewhere, was the central communication point of the whole house. Often extended with an overhang over the street, it was a main household activity and informal reception area. A staircase would lead from it to the auxiliary rooms of the house on the ground floor, which, according to the profession of the owner, would be stables, storerooms or workshops. The *ondas* would have a large broad bench, *basi*, taking up almost half of the room surface, which was the main everyday activity area. All members of the household would eat, socialise and sleep there, changing the function of the room according to the time of day. The *chotzares* would also have a *basi*, this time though much narrower and along three sides of the room, placing emphasis on communication and reception rather than everyday functionality (Charissis 1960).

The *archontika*, or elite houses, do not vary very much as far as their organisation is concerned. They too are arranged around the *seraï*, but are supplied with more living and reception spaces as well as auxiliary rooms. In addition, every room seems to have had a fireplace, a feature that beside its functional role was a prestige element, a decorative feature and a focal point within the rooms. The houses could have various

shapes and arrangements depending on the size of the plot and the degree of slope. Most frequently, though, they are freestanding and square in plan, each space occupying one of the four corners (*Figure 63*; Charissis 1960).

Once again stress is placed on centrality in the arrangement of the house. The *seraï*, being central in the communication of the house, is the focal point of all activity. Similar focal organisation is discernible within each individual room, whether by the arrangement of the benches, *basi*, or the location of the fireplace. Interestingly, no mention of seclusion of women is made in the study, despite similarities in the organisation of the house with Ioannina. This aspect seems either to have been neglected or treated as non-existent, possibly due to the religious beliefs of the inhabitants who were Christians in their majority (Charissis 1960).

As for the structures themselves, they are of less urbanised nature than the houses of Ioannina, despite local development and close contacts with large urban centres of the Balkans, Central and West Europe. Local architectural traditions may have been more resistant to outside influence. The heavy winters and the steep slopes, against which the town has been built, may have contributed to the resistance to lighter and less austere architectural forms. Resistance was limited to the general architectural form, though (Charissis 1960). Internally, the houses combined decorative features of Baroque and Rococo styles with carved ceilings and stained glass, imported from Central Europe, as well as Ottomanising objects and general lifestyle.

Beyond these architectural studies focussing on one settlement, a few researchers have attempted to extend their scope to broader regions. Thus, rather than examining sites exceptional for their development, they turn their attention to villages and settlements that may provide a more representative picture of the area. One of the initial attempts was by Loukopoulos in 1925, an ethnographer who studied the architecture and material culture of the mountainous regions of Aitolia (currently part of the wider province of Aitoloakarnania). He restricted his study to the village of Artotina claiming that it concentrated the representative forms of the region. After a short historical introduction to the region, Loukopoulos dealt with a series of domestic types having as starting point, not the most simple but the most common house type. Thus, he avoids applying an evolutionary model to the architecture of the region and treats the different types independently.

The most popular type of house in Aitolia, according to Loukopoulos, was the *sterfogalaro*, or the 1½ storey house, found in almost every region of mainland Greece (*Figure 64*; Loukopoulos 1984, *see also* Aalen et al. 1997). Whereas the type is very common the author records a very crucial aspect that may have many implications for the further study of the particular house, its name. He mentions that the

term *sterfogalaro* is a combination of two words *sterfi* and *galario*, referring to the male and female sheep, respectively. The author mentions that the name is closely related to the pastoral activities of the local population, but as Du Boulay has mentioned elsewhere it may indicate the integral role of the household animals to the family (Du Boulay 1974: 15-16). Next, the regional version of the characteristic longhouses of the mainland are discussed, not only for their original use as domestic spaces, but also after their abandonment when they were converted to sheepfolds and storage rooms.

Other house types include the so-called *monospito*. This is a two-storey structure with a square plan. Each floor consists of one single room that at ground floor level is used for storage and the domestic animals, whilst the top floor is the main living space (Loukopoulos 1984 (1925)). As already discussed in the case of Pelion, this square organisation of space presents a strong focus on centrality of activity (Kizis 1994). The multiplication of a *monospito* or *sterfogalaro* could result into a *divetiko* structure, elsewhere also called *diplo* or double. The additional rooms could be used for guests or, most frequently, by members of the family, that in need of extra room, as the family grew, built an equivalent to the original house adjacent to it. This structure is suggestive of social organisation of the family, often very deeply rooted in time (*see also* Laiou-Thomadakis 1977).

The *koula* or tower house, also discussed above, is seen by Loukopoulos as an important symbol of power (Loukopoulos 1984 (1925)). The symbolic control it imposed over the settlements or the countryside was significant, and it was, therefore, adopted in later periods as well, when it did not serve any defensive or protective purpose (*cf.* Chaironeia tower in Boiotia). Thus, tower houses were built in Aitolia until the very late 19th century by politicians and military people to establish their power and control physically as well as symbolically over the local population.

The study of Loukopoulos is a very interesting ethnographic work. Being one of the first conducted in Greece does not undermine its importance. Actually, despite its concise volume, it illustrates both architecture and material culture with sufficient quality to be regarded exemplary for many ethnographers and architects in Greece. Whereas its main aim is to describe the main aspects that characterise the wider region, it is a record of invaluable information that may allow further analysis of the use of domestic space and symbolic aspects relevant to the evaluation of both architecture and material culture.

In the 1990s the architect Papaioannou attempted to investigate further the architectural tradition of the modern province of Aitoloakarnania (Papaioannou 1991). Despite supplying detailed architectural plans, though, his study lacks the originality and importance of Loukopoulos' work. The author introduces an evolutionary model of architectural development.

Thus, simple agricultural structures are regarded to have evolved into complex multi-storied mansions and towers, stripped from social symbolism and historical depth. Furthermore, Papaioannou, based on scholars like Megas and Moutsopoulos (e.g. Megas 1951, Moutsopoulos 1971), adopts a very ethnocentric stance towards the origin of the domestic architecture in the region. Ironically, Loukopoulos mentions in his introduction that the population of the region was of Vlach origin, writing in a period that nationalism in Greece was at its heights (Loukopoulos 1984 [1925]). This architectural study, though, being a characteristic example of vernacular architecture studies in Greece, is valuable not least for research into the development of ideas and ideologies in Modern Greece.

A simple, but very informative, research into the vernacular architecture of Epeiros was presented a few years ago by Kosmas (Kosmas 1998). The types do not show any divergence from those presented by Loukopoulos for Aitolia. Kosmas, though, presents additional information about the builders, their origin and the construction customs and superstitions. Interestingly, two-storey houses were built by groups of five workers, responsible for both the construction and the provision and transportation of the building materials. As for the houses themselves, we are provided with simplified plans that record various features of internal organisation and use, invaluable for spatial as well as symbolic analysis (*Figure 65*). Here too the discussion of the origin of the vernacular house follows an ethnocentric approach, relating it to classical and prehistoric domestic structures (Kosmas 1998).

In the context of a general historical study of Epeiros, Sakellariou includes a concise discussion of the main advanced architectural forms of the district (Sakellariou 1997). From his analysis it seems that he focussed on the sites of Ioannina, Metsovo and the region of Zagori, all three presenting examples of the advanced Ottoman architecture of the Balkans. Initially, he refers to the great economic advancement of the area during the Late Ottoman period and briefly evaluates the external influences on the architectural development, whether they originated from the East or West. The influence of "Turco-Baroque" seems to have been central in forming the design and décor of the houses of the region. Western travellers are also employed in his evaluation to confirm these developments and to provide information on the organisation, size and economic activity of the region in question. In the case of Ioannina, he refers to three categories of houses based on social class (*see above:* Loukakis 1960). Sakellariou seems to suggest that these three categories are also found in both Metsovo and the Zagori region, a generalisation that a comparison with Loukakis and Charissis does not seem to support (*see above*, Charissis 1960, Loukakis 1960).

Finally, an anonymous text aiming for a wider Internet public of tourists, probably by a local hotel

owner, shows how the population of the Zagori area perceive their architectural tradition (Anon 2001). The house is seen as a shelter within nature as well as a social milieu, integrated to the environment physically and conceptually. The region is treated as a homogeneous architectural entity allowing all settlements to be discussed under the notion of the vernacular architecture of the Zagori region (*Figure 66*). The author, adopting an evolutionary approach, attempts to provide a chronological sequence for the development of domestic architecture in the region.

Thus, the older type appearing in 1650, in the description, is referred to as the vernacular "grandmother". It is two-storied, exploiting the inclination of the ground. The basement being used for storage or for the animals, allowed the upper floor to be reserved for the humans. It consisted of one or two square rooms. A hearth without chimney (*gonia*) was marked on the ground by stones in one of the corners. One or two cavities within the wall provided the only cupboards in the house and could be regarded as the only pieces of furniture of the household. For sleeping, mattresses were laid on the ground, which during the day were removed for daily activities. The vernacular "mother", emerging in the 1700s, was introduced from outside. The travels of the local population and their return to the homeland introduced the region into the wider architectural developments of the Balkans. The type seems to have been similar to the *archontiko* type of Metsovo, discussed above. Finally, the most elaborate and advanced form was the vernacular "daughter" which should be dated to the later 18th century. The migration of many villagers, the accumulation of wealth by their families and the privileges the Ottoman administration granted to the villages assured a rapid development of the region. The return of immigrants coincided with the building of grand *archontika*, mansions, based on foreign prototypes and fully incorporating the region to the Balkan Ottoman architectural tradition (Anon 2001).

Despite the rather simplistic approach of this introductory note to the domestic architecture of the Zagori region and the seemingly naïve classification adopted, one may say that it reveals basic perceptions of the house by a local inhabitant. The choice of a female gender for the organisation of the evolutionary tree of the house indicates the role of the woman within the household. Birkalan, when studying the Ottoman houses of Safranbolu in Turkey, notes that the house is the domain of the woman. Despite the seclusion of women even within their domain in the presence of men, the house is decorated and given the personal touch of the women inhabiting it. Thus, "while men built houses..., women...turned these houses into homes" (Birkalan 1996: 24). Would it be therefore plausible to adopt such an interpretation in the case of the houses of the Zagori region? In spite of the population being predominantly Christian, the society in the wider region of Greece and the Balkans was conservative. Women were possibly not invariably secluded within the house or confined to the women quarters, but their domain was certainly restricted to the domestic space.

It has been demonstrated from the studies dealt with so far, that the region of Western Greece has an architectural wealth that has only been partly studied. Whereas many reports exist on the conservation of individual buildings, in-depth research may only be claimed to have been undertaken for Ioannina and Metsovo. The work of Loukopoulos is invaluable as a source of information for vernacular life in the south of the region, but fresh research seems to be necessary for the evaluation and examination of vernacular architecture. The studies by Kosmas, Papaioannou and the anonymous Zagorite may contribute to our knowledge of the architectural traditions, but their scope is rather limited and inclining towards sheer ethnocentrism. Moreover, all studies lack time-depth into the Early Ottoman and Medieval periods and only focus on the 18th and 19th centuries. Are the researchers avoiding dating the structures or is the data at their disposal too limited to draw any chronological conclusions? The admittedly increasing external stylistic influences could possibly provide some fixed chronological pointers. These trends, though, as such, are still very valuable for the investigation of social developments and economic advancements of the region in question. Not only do they demonstrate the close contacts of the region with the East and West, but also mark the need of the merchants, manufacturers and elite social groups to re-identify themselves (Sigalos 2001).

Northern Greece

The area of Northern Greece encompasses the two large districts of Modern Greek Macedonia and Western Thrace (*Figure 67*). Geographically, it is bounded by high mountains especially to the west, the Pindos mountain range separating it from Epeiros and the Ionian Sea, and to the northeast, where the Rodopi Mountains provide a natural border between the Bulgarian plain and the lowlands of eastern Macedonia and Thrace. Enclosed by these mountain ranges are sizeable and fertile plains that, beside dynamic human habitation, attracted invasion, disruption and violent warfare throughout history. The littoral regions are climatically similar to the rest of the Aegean, in contrast to the inland areas that have a more continental climate, reaching to alpine at high altitudes and on the Pindos range, in particular. Northern Greece as an area was located right on the main land routes between East and West. Furthermore, it was the outlet to the Aegean Sea for the central continental areas of the Balkan Peninsula. Being in the vicinity of Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul, Northern Greece was the direct hinterland of the capital of both Empires from the Late Roman period

until the early decades of the 20th century, when they were separated politically and economically with the annexation of the region to the Modern Greek State. Ever since, Thessaloniki, being a major political, economic and cultural focus of Northern Greece since Roman times, has partly taken over this role for the wider region.

The landscape, climate, economy, social structure and geographical position of this large region seem to have played an important role in the formation of the local traditional form of the domestic space. These are the main factors that have been pointed out in all the studies discussed below, with more stress on one or the other, according to the background of the individual scholar. In general, most of the studies seem to favour an economic explanation for the development of the architectural styles of the region, which is mainly supported by its strategic location between east and west, north and south. Landscape and climate, as well as the availability of materials essential for the construction of the houses, are regarded as less determinant to the general form and use of the structure, and are usually treated as restraining or encouraging factors for innovative developments. The discussion of social aspects is more or less restricted to class differentiation. Scholars seem to refrain from discussions of ethnic or religious variations, for instance, or differences between town and countryside. Furthermore, the studies often deal solely with the larger, wealthier and elaborate houses, or *archontika*, often neglecting the majority of basic and unpretentious examples, which are so rapidly disappearing from the Modern Greek towns and villages.

From the studies presented in this part, six major approaches and themes can be regarded as prevailing, many having close parallels with the other regions of Greece and this indicating general trends in the approach to vernacular architecture. A series of studies have been conducted on individual buildings, within the context of attempts of the local archaeological authorities to rescue and preserve some relics of the vernacular past from rapid development in the wider region. A number of architects have attempted to summarise the main features of the domestic architectural forms of parts or entire settlements, usually concentrating on the most representative examples. It is often the case, though, that more stress is placed on the larger mansions rather than the commonest examples, but there is an attempt to shed some light on the wider trends within the settlements. Interestingly, some ethnographers, in a similar manner to Loukopoulos discussed above (Western Greece), have provided us with detailed reports of various aspects of life in particular areas or settlements, as well. Often their approaches are meticulous and full. Their observations and valuable records of material culture, habits and symbolic beliefs present in-depth insights into the life of the inhabitants. The description of the main house types, as an integral part of these studies, does offer us a complete view of the use and life of these structures, especially when combined with the wider context of the study. Broader studies of the historical, economic, political and cultural profile of the two large district of Macedonia and Thrace do also exist, in the framework of which the house is often discussed, whether as a cultural characteristic or a historical phenomenon. The main aim of these studies, drawing from a wide range of disciplines, is to illustrate a homogeneous picture of the districts. Moreover, the wider region of North Greece has been discussed architecturally in more detail in two books by the architect Moutsopoulos, stressing common historical processes and architectural developments (Moutsopoulos 1971, 1993). Finally, geographers have attempted to provide a social and environmental explanation of the villages, their architecture and development, mainly focusing their attention on Central Macedonia.

In particular, Bakirtzis has been making series of contributions in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* (the journal of the Archaeological Service in Greece) on the rescue and restoration of individual structures in the town of Kavala. The town seems to have had many houses representative of the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, which were threatened by the development of the town during the 1970s and 1980s. All the houses presented belong to the urban type and can be divided into three categories: the houses with purely Ottoman style characteristics (18th and 19th centuries), the Neoclassical structures (late 19th and early 20th centuries) and the intermediate types that show signs of Neoclassical symmetry and decoration on the façade and gradually adopt symmetrical internal organisation. The Ottoman style houses usually flank the street and possess a walled yard and garden either around two or three sides, when freestanding, or at the back, when the houses are terraced (*Figure 68*). They may have two or three storeys, which are accessed either internally from the ground floor or through an open wooden roofed veranda construction at the backyard, the *hagiati*. Since the aim of the studies was the preservation and conservation of these houses, stress has been placed on their stylistic nature, both internal and external. Thus, Bakirtzis emphasises the distinction between the stone construction of the ground floor and the light plastered wooden construction of the upper storeys (Bakirtzis 1976b, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d, 1977e). Similarly, the contrast between interior and exterior design should be mentioned. The plain surfaces, whether of stone or plaster, of the exterior and the heavily decorated interiors, with carved ceilings, elaborate wooden panelling and colourful so-called Turco-Baroque wall paintings, present us with inward looking domestic structures guarded from the exterior with high courtyard walls and austere and sober surfaces (Bakirtzis 1976b, 1977b, 1977d, 1977e). An interesting observation is made concerning subsequent vertical subdivisions of houses into two independent

domestic spaces (*aderfomoiri*) housing the families of two brothers (Bakirtzis 1977f, 1977i). Further subdivisions could also take place with the use of the ground floor as a separate living space. The decreasing domestic space caused the internal reorganisation of the house, as the needs of the increasing number of related families housed within the same house expanded, but also coincided with the introduction of spatial symmetry, in accordance with the spirit of the late 19th century and the influence of Neoclassicism (Bakirtzis 1976b).

Parallel to these developments of the Ottoman style house, during the late 19th century new structures were built under the stylistic influence of Neoclassicism (*Figure 69*). Whereas they kept the general structural aspects of the Ottoman tradition, the introduction of symmetry and the new decoration patterns showed a clear turn towards the Western architectural styles of the period (Bakirtzis 1977f, 1977g, 1977h, 1978). Thus, decorative wooden pillar designs at the corners of the structures, Neoclassicising timber framing around the windows, imitation of regular masonry on plaster and symmetrical arrangements of the openings, were characteristic introductions of the new spirit of the period. The new style of Neoclassicism was rapidly introduced in its totality in a very short time and in Kavala the house of Tokos (the old Town Hall; *Figure 70*) is a very good example (Bakirtzis 1976a, 1977a). These new houses conformed to all the features of Neoclassicism, whether in internal and external decoration or spatial organisation. This rapid change from Ottoman to Neoclassical architecture should be related to the influx of the European capitulations and privileges into the Ottoman Empire, Kavala still being part of it until the end of the First World War, and the attempts of the Ottoman administration to modernise its institutions and to westernise its organisation. Thus, Bakirtzis with his contribution aiming to preserve the architectural heritage of Kavala has provided us with a historical tour through the architectural developments from the 18th century to the early decades of the 20th, examining individual and representative elite houses of the town.

Equivalent studies of individual houses aiming at their restoration have been carried out elsewhere in Northern Greece as well (e.g. Theologidou 1987 in Kastoria). Unfortunately, though, these studies have focussed solely on the individual structures and have not been presented so as to contribute some generalising result on the development of domestic architecture through time. In contrast, architectural developments and mainly diversities have been observed in more generalised studies of particular settlements or neighbourhoods (*machalades*) of the region. Thus, Chrysopoulos, an architect, has studied the variations in domestic architecture within the town of Veroia as reflections of social diversity (Chrysopoulos 1960). The main distinction made is between the *archontika*, wealthy mansions, and the *laïka*, non-elite, houses. The diversity is noted in their

size, the number of auxiliary spaces at ground floor level and rooms (*ondades*), as well as the elaboration of internal decoration. The *laïka*, or non-elite, houses are usually terraced and, not unlike the *archontika*, utilise the ground floor area as a roofed yard opening to the garden (*Figure 71*). From this often-cobbled yard a steep wooden staircase led to the open roofed veranda, or *liakoto* (elsewhere known as *hagiati* too), on the first floor. This deep *liakoto* facing the garden was used for most everyday activities of the household, such as cooking and weaving. It also provided access to the two small and low-ceiling rooms of the house, the *ondades*. One of the rooms would have a fireplace between two symmetrically located windows. Along the windows cushions would be placed in order to allow observation of the street below. The other room was smaller and had a cupboard used to hide the bedding during daytime (Chrysopoulos 1960).

Wealthier houses did not very much differ from this simple domestic organisation (*Figure 72*). The roofed yard within the ground floor may have been partially divided into separate spaces for particular use (storage of straw, some stabling, baking, cellar). The *ondades* would have been larger and possibly with *sahnisia*, or overhanging bay windows, overlooking the street. Both rooms would have fireplaces, a feature displaying wealth, and wooden built-in cupboards, *mousandres*, right in front of the doorway. This position of the cupboards, according to Chrysopoulos, acted as a windscreen during the winter days. In addition, a steep staircase within the *ondades* led to a low *dipato*, a screened space above the *mousandres* used by the women during the presence of men not belonging to the household (*Figure 73*). The author clearly states that this was a feature of both Turkish and Greek houses, regardless of religious background, indicating the extremely conservative notions of gender in both groups in the region (Chrysopoulos 1960: 291). One should note that many archontika had a larger number of rooms and possibly a second storey, which did not necessarily extend over the whole structure. Internally, the decoration would be more elaborate, with carved ceilings, decorated fireplaces and colourful wall paintings. The rooms were still arranged along the *liakoto*, or *hagiati*, which was the main communication and activity space of the household (Chrysopoulos 1960).

A similar approach is adopted by the two architects Sideris and Tsironis, who studied the architecture of the town of Siatista (Sideris and Tsironis 1960). They concentrated on the more elaborate houses of the settlement, the *archontika*, that do present the most interesting architectural characteristics and innovations. Thus, two types of archontika have been distinguished, the L- and the U-shaped houses, the latter treated as an elaborate development of the former. The houses are usually freestanding within a large walled yard with a series of auxiliary buildings around it. All houses demonstrate a

fortified character, with robust stone-built walls with small openings at ground and first floor, and light timber framed construction at the top floor associated with large windows and overhangs, or *sahnisia*. All houses are accessed solely from a ground floor doorway, which leads to an internal yard, or *katoi*, which is flanked by storage spaces and the cellar (*Figure 74a, b*). A staircase from the *katoi* reaches an internal balcony overlooking the *katoi* and leading to the rooms of the *mesopatoma* (middle floor). The rooms of the *mesopatoma*, beside others, are the *cheimoniatikos* (the living room during the winter) and the *maeireios* (the winter kitchen). The *diliakos*, or *iliakos*, is an open room to the staircase used as an internal *hagiati* that has been incorporated into the structure of the house, rather than being an external feature like elsewhere (Sideris and Tsironis 1960).

From the internal balcony at the *mesopatoma* a staircase leads to the top floor, the *anogi* or *kalokairino* (*Figure 74c*). This was the main living space of the family during the summer and acted as the formal reception area of the household. From the staircase one reached a large open space, the *sala*, which occupied the central part. The various levels of the floor within the *sala* distinguished the various subspaces, the lowest being the central communication area and the highest the central reception area with a *sahnisi* overlooking the garden. Flanking the *sala* were a series of rooms, mainly related to the reception of guests, the *kafe-ondas* (coffee room), *bas-ondas* (guest room), the *maeireios* (kitchen) and the *kellari* (storeroom), and the toilet. All the rooms seemed to focus onto the *sala*, while keeping their autonomy. Thus, most rooms would have had a fireplace and cupboards for utensils, clothes and beddings. Their autonomy may also be demonstrated by the continuous row of fanlights, or *feggites*, all around the *ondas*, whether in the external or internal walls of the *ondas* (Sideris and Tsironis 1960).

The authors having described the main features and rooms of the archontika proceed to a short examination of the non-elite (*laïka*) houses of Siatista. It seems that the same principles are followed in these cases as well. Thus, the houses are usually freestanding with a sizeable yard. They do not reach, though, beyond a first storey, which often does not even extend over the whole ground floor. The main spaces found at a *mesopatoma* of an *archontiko* are located, in this case, at the ground floor. This limits the storage capacity of the household considerably, reflecting the diversity of the production possibilities. The first floor comprises the main reception areas. The small area of the first floor may be divided into two rooms representing the different levels within the *sala* of an *archontiko* (Sideris and Tsironis 1960).

The non-elite houses of Siatista are evidently treated as imitative of the archontika, contrary to the approach adopted by Chrysopoulos, which seems more open to a dialectic interaction between the two types. Thus, whereas the *laïka* of Siatista are seen as inferior

attempts, limited by the economic possibilities of the owners to reach the high architectural styles of the archontika, Chrysopoulos implies that both classes of buildings are parallel developments based upon the same principles. Conforming mostly to the approach of the latter, Zarkada-Pistioli investigated the development, planning and architecture of the *machalas*, or neighbourhood, Varosi in the town of Edessa (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988). A concise history of the economic development of the *machalas* is used to introduce the two main house types. The production of silk and the necessity for large spaces for sericulture has influenced the domestic organisation of both non-elite and elaborate houses. In addition, the general organisation of the building blocks of the neighbourhood, had an effect on the building plots and, consequently, on the arrangement of the household. The compact arrangement of the house plots around a common fully enclosed courtyard with a church determined the size and shape of the building parcels. Thus, the fact that the plots were very narrow and long meant that the rooms would have to be arranged linearly along one long side of the plot (*Figure 75*). Along this line of household spaces the rooms for the silkworms had also to be arranged, further limiting the space. Still the semi-open area provided by the roofed veranda, the *hagiati*, was not sacrificed, stressing its central role in household organisation. As elsewhere, the ground floor was used for storage, the first floor for everyday activities and the top floor for formal reception (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988). The main difference to the houses we have seen until now is the actual linear arrangement of the rooms along the *hagiati*, which may be found in other densely built urban centres of Western and Northern Greece. Internally, the individual rooms do not differ in organisation and arrangement from those found elsewhere. Here too the fireplace, if present, is the focal point, with low benches arranged around three walls of the room, the *mousandra* occupying the fourth side and providing sufficient space for the storage of utensils, clothes and beddings, according to the use of the room throughout the day. Larger freestanding *archontika* are also found in certain parts of Varosi, which have similar characteristics to those of other urban centres of Northern Greece (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988).

Concentrating his attention on one single settlement, an early Greek ethnographer, Georgios Megas, investigated and described various aspects of life of the inhabitants at the town of Siatista, already mentioned above (Megas 1963). As far as the domestic architecture is concerned, he focused on the evaluation solely of the *archontika* of the town, bearing in mind that "the initial aim of the house being to house the family and to cover the most basic needs for its survival, it seems to develop in response to the economy and the social circumstances and, thus, in stages and organically towards more complex forms" (Megas 1963:6). Thus, the economic growth of the 18th

and 19th centuries in Siatista, as result of the successful commercial activities of the inhabitants in Central Europe, contributed significantly to the development of the architecturally advanced local domestic forms. The main principles of the organisation of the house in Siatista have been discussed above. The author, though, draws some noteworthy conclusions about the architectural characteristics in relation to the economic activities of the inhabitants of Siatista. The frequent travels of the wealthy traders of Siatista to Central Europe are regarded as a possible source of inspiration for the architecture of the *archontika*. Thus, many features, especially decorative, such as ceilings and glass fanlights, seem to have been directly imported from Austria and Germany, as well as the naming of rooms and features (*kouchni* –Küche, *firchania* – Vorhänge etc.; Megas 1963:9) confirming the close links of the particular regions. Megas, though, believes that these features did not necessarily characterise the nature of the whole architectural form of the houses, since only the materials have been imported and not the actual design or manufacturers. Actually, he stresses that the houses were built by local contractors coming from the builders' villages of Epeiros or the vicinity of Konitsa. Thus, the architecture is regarded as a local development, rooted in the architectural styles of Byzantium and even Archaic and Classical Greek prototypes. Any Ottoman influence is explicitly denied, since the Byzantine styles were adopted in their totality and are, therefore, not genuinely Ottoman (Megas 1963:12).

A more neutral approach has been adopted by an ethnographer studying the Pomak populations of the villages on the mountains of the Rodopi range in Northern Thrace (Theocharidis 1995). These are Muslim communities speaking a language that is based on Turkish, with Bulgarian and Greek admixtures. The main aim of the book is to examine different aspects of the life of these semi-pastoralist communities, including their history, origin, language, religion and habits. Their architecture, on which I will concentrate my attention, in the larger villages of Echinos and Oraio conforms to the general characteristics of the urban and semi-urban non-elite houses and *archontika* described above. In more rural areas, small villages and hamlets, the houses are much simpler and can range from huts to two and three storey houses. The huts, or *dam*, belong to semi-nomadic groups that are travelling seasonally with their flocks to the pastures. Such communities are rapidly ceasing to exist as a result of the modernisation processes enforced upon the region. The huts may be circular or long, the latter approaching the characteristics of simple one- or two-storey houses, or *kosta*. The *kosta*, themselves, frequently have two rooms, the *ondagie* or *kolimba* and the *palat* or *ondar*. The former is used for everyday activities and the latter as a formal room mainly for reception. In most cases these rooms are accessed from a hagiati, as is commonly the case in most areas in Greece. More elaborate structures may have additional rooms, such as a separate kitchen (*votresnitsa*) and a guest room (*mousafir ondas*; Theocharidis 1995). The author does not attempt to draw similarities with the various house types of the wider region, but it is inevitable to find correlations with the village houses of Epeiros, Macedonia and Thrace, which demonstrate clear similarities in design and organisation as will be shown below.

Beyond the ethnographic studies in the region of Northern Greece, the two districts that comprise of Macedonia and Thrace, have been the subject of general socio-economical and historical evaluations. The main aim of the studies is to reconstruct the past of the regions from the prehistoric to the modern periods, often with the underlying hypothesis of a cultural, historical and ethnic continuity. Within the context of these collective studies, vernacular architecture of the districts plays an important role as a manifestation of internal unity. In any case they should be seen as concise summaries of the vernacular traditions of the area. In particular, Moutsopoulos has contributed on the vernacular investigation of Macedonia, concentrating on the form of the *archontika*, already dealt with above (Moutsopoulos 1983). The district of Thrace was investigated architecturally by Aikaterinidis, who mentioned a series of house types that are usually overshadowed by the grandeur of the *archontika* (Aikaterinidis 1994). Thus, beside the *archontika*, which we have already discussed, and the huts that present similarities to the Pomak equivalents recorded by Theocharidis (Theocharidis 1995), one and two storey houses with a broad façade have been described that indicate close relation in form with rural housing elsewhere in Greece. Additional features are the presence of large courtyards and also trellised screens at the windows, which should mainly be associated with the Muslim population of Thrace, screening off the interior and the members of the households from curious passers-by and neighbours. Furthermore, Aikaterinidis suggests that the division of the males and females was as reflected in the organisation of the house, with particular rooms or spaces being reserved solely for the women of the household (Aikaterinidis 1994).

The occupation of the inhabitants seems to have also affected their house plans significantly. Thus, the so-called *koukoulospita* were houses that, beside the family, housed the household production of silkworms in specially constructed rooms, (Aikaterinidis 1994:289) possibly comparable to the houses at Varosi in Edessa, mentioned above (Zarkada-Pistioli 1994). Furthermore, houses, associated by many with the production of tobacco (Moutsopoulos 1993b), were mentioned by Aikaterinidis (1994:289). These are usually two-storey structures with an enclosed roofed veranda, the *hagiati*, which is thought to have been used for drying tobacco leaves. It should be noted though, that they are comparable to houses of other tobacco producing regions, but in some cases the depth of the veranda may be significantly bigger.

A notable distinction is made between low- and semi-upland areas of Thrace. Whereas many of the types seem to be found in both, the materials do vary substantially. Thus, on the lowland areas most structures are built of mud-brick, on low stone foundations. In contrast, in the semi-upland parts of Thrace the houses are built solely of stone. Only in the case of the *archontika* is wood used in abundance. This phenomenon has been noted in the area of Boiotia, Central Greece, and seems to be the norm everywhere. It is striking, though, that the differentiation of building materials did not very much affect the predominant forms, whether on the low-, semi-upland and upland areas. This is significant for the general evaluation of the rural architectural forms of Greece presented in the following chapters.

At a regional level, two architectural studies of the vernacular architecture in Macedonia by Moutsopoulos are initial attempts to look at the subject within a particular geographical district in its totality (Moutsopoulos 1971, Moutsopoulos 1993b). The one comprises evaluations of the architectural traditions of individual towns and areas in Macedonia and Northern Thessaly (Ambelakia, Veroia, Kastoria, Siatista, Chalkidiki, Florina) and was presented as a textbook of historical architecture to the students of the Architecture School in Thessaloniki (Moutsopoulos 1971). The other is an elaboration of all the historical and architectural data presented in the textbook into a lengthy discussion of the wider architectural trends of the Macedonian district (Moutsopoulos 1993b). For this reason both studies are going to be discussed together, despite the fact that each addresses a different public (architecture students and general public respectively).

Moutsopoulos summarises all house according to town and area (Moutsopoulos 1971), or based on a typological or, more accurately, evolutionary system (Moutsopoulos 1993b). He assumes that the most advanced architectural styles originate from the most basic huts of prehistoric times and often still to be seen in use by the semi-nomadic populations in Greece (Vlachs, Sarakatsanoi, Pomaks; Moutsopoulos 1993: 5). The process of development into the most complex forms of domestic architecture, according to this scholar, can be noted in the various structures, whether rural or urban, through time and throughout Greece. Huts are the most primitive form still surviving within the organisation of the square *ondades* of Ottoman and Early Modern times. Furthermore, the linear arrangement of rooms along a *hagiati* is related by Moutsopoulos to the *megaron* of the prehistoric and classical periods in Greece, and the L and U-shaped *archontika* of the high Ottoman times to the Hellenistic courtyard houses of Olynthos (Moutsopoulos 1971:57-58, 60). These distant periods are bridged to the Ottoman and Early Modern eras by the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, which show all the characteristics known in Ottoman architecture. His hypothesis seems to be that it is mistaken to regard the architectural form of the 18th and 19th century in Macedonia as Ottoman, since all the constituents pre-existed and were already brought together before the Ottomans arrived in the Mediterranean region, an opinion that has many followers in the Balkans (cf. Joja 1973: 59). Oriental influences, though, are not rejected by the author, who believes that the builders and inhabitants were open to new ideas, which they managed to adapt to their needs and integrate into the domestic environment. Similar is his approach towards the influence of the West on the architectural forms, especially until the sweeping effects of the introduction of Neoclassicism on vernacular architecture (Sigalos 2001). Interestingly, though, Moutsopoulos does recognise that many characteristics were developed and found in their most elaborate form in Istanbul, whether these were related to oriental or occidental influences (e.g. Turco-Baroque).

In the study of particular characteristics and differences noted between often neighbouring towns and regions of Macedonia, the author emphasises the role of climate and building materials in the construction of the houses as well as the geomorphology of the towns. Still he seems to support the idea that the environment was not as influential in the actual organisation and style of the domestic space, which seems to follow similar trends throughout Macedonia. Moutsopoulos seems to favour the role of the local economy and social organisation as formative factors of domestic architecture and its variability. Thus, occupation and social standing are more readily reflected in the houses (Moutsopoulos 1971), a hypothesis that is more or less followed in all previous studies discussed in this chapter, sometimes more explicitly than others.

These characteristics of Moutsopoulos' studies clearly stress his effort to provide chronological and socio-historical depth into the structures. In this attempt he provides dated examples of houses that, unfortunately, restrict him to the 18th century at the earliest. His evolutionary models and correlations with ancient domestic forms provide a solution to the constraints of the lack of absolute chronological depth. This approach, though, facilitates a further purpose of his studies that is related to establishing a continuity of Greek settlement and Greekness in the region. Aspects of ethnocentricity are detectable in both studies and are selectively associated to historical and economic processes in Macedonia. Unfortunately, this strife to establish continuity prohibits the study of the multicultural (Turkish, Slavic, Vlach and Jewish) aspects of the district that formulated the distinct character of Macedonia up to recent times. Still the study does not lose its value as an important and detailed contribution to Macedonian vernacular architecture and provides a good basis for further analysis of domestic space.

The district of Macedonia and the areas in the vicinity of Thessaloniki, in particular, have been the subject of geographical studies as well. The main aim

has been to examine settlement location and development on the basis of physical, historical and economic characteristics and processes. Common and Prentice in 1956 published a concise article on the characteristics of villages in the plain of Thessaloniki, the Salonika Campagna. The agglomerated settlements, in which the majority of the people lived, despite differences due to topographical and historical factors, seem to have a number of features in common. Thus, proximity to a water source seems to have been an important factor for the establishment of a village, whether in the lowland areas or at higher altitude. The villages themselves were usually hidden behind low hills or high trees, mainly cypresses, obstructing visibility from the main road. The church, the school or the presence of mills in their vicinity may be the only markers betraying their location. The houses within the village are widely spaced, often located in a seemingly random position in rectangular plots of land. No clearly defined roads existed and only in recent years have ditches been dug to channel rainwater and prevent road deterioration. The centre of the village should usually be marked by the church with a large space in front of it. This is the focal point of the village with the communal fountain, the coffeehouses and the small open fronted shops (Common and Prentice 1956).

As far as the houses are concerned, the authors found that the most common type was the one-storey house with two linearly arranged rooms (*Figure 76*). Depending on the location of the villages, the houses may have been built solely in stone, usually at higher altitudes, or of mud-brick on low stone foundations, especially in the plains. Roof tiles seem to have been common in 1956, but thatching was still in practice in poorer settlements of the plain. Internally, furniture was almost absent. Striking was the contrast between the colourful plastered walls, the roof beams blackened by the smoke and the uneven earthen floor. Fireplaces were not common and stoves were used for heating and cooking in one of the rooms. In the other room burning trays provided some heating. Beside the house, a series of outbuildings were to be found on each plot, used for storage and stabling. Among the auxiliary buildings was the oven used for baking, identifiable by its beehive shape. Part of the plot would have been used as a garden for vegetables, for domestic consumption, and flowers to adorn the front yard of these basic structures. Two storey houses also existed, but were built only by wealthier families. Their arrangement did not vary, though, from the one-storey houses since only the top-floor was used as the residence of the family, which had approximately the same dimensions as the simpler structures, the ground floor being solely used for storage or stabling (Common and Prentice 1956).

The geographer Vielweib investigated the development and urbanisation processes of two settlements along the coast of the Thermaïkos Gulf, east of Thessaloniki (Vielweib 1990). Rather than searching for common features among village communities, he sought to examine how different processes dynamically affect the development of two small settlements in the early 1980s. Epanomi was a Byzantine village that during the Ottoman period became a powerful regional settlement (*kefalochori*) with its own local administrators. It was divided into 67 still recognisable *machalades*, or "isolated clan quarters" identified by the family names of the inhabitants (Vielweib 1990:128), indicative of the physical organisation and social structure of the settlement. In contrast, Nea Kallikrateia is a refugee settlement, populated by the displaced inhabitants of Kallikrateia near Istanbul in the course of the 1924 exchange of populations. The village is characterised by its regular layout and uniform parcels guided by a fair distribution of land. Beyond the two dimensions of the settlement plan, Vielweib introduces a third, related not to the topography but the actual height of the buildings, which is regarded as a direct indicator of the urbanisation process. Thus, the changes in height and elevation of the residences, closely linked to the introduction of new building types, is seen as an indicator of urbanisation and change in the functional character of the village. Thus, the recent socio-economic changes caused by the development of Nea Kallikrateia into a holiday resort (mainly for Thessaloniki), on the one hand, turned the formerly rural settlement into a highly urbanised community, where height and elevation of buildings seem to dominate. On the other, the proximity of Epanomi to Thessaloniki meant that the site was not used as a holiday resort and its economy remained agricultural and unchanged. This paves the ground for a further dimension related to qualitative distinctions associated, namely, with the houses themselves. The author distinguishes between two main groups, the "traditional" and the "urbanised" (Vielweib 1990:129). The former group comprises houses with one or two floors with house-types common to the wider region and in many cases the entire Greek Mainland. The urbanised category includes structures with three or more floors and generally larger, modern residential buildings. The intensity of their urbanised character is closely related to the nature of the relationships among their inhabitants. Therefore, family relations suggest a weak urbanisation and residence of unrelated families indicate an intense one. A comparison between these different domestic structures allowed the author to compare the different patterns between Epanomi and Nea Kallikrateia and examine the processes that led to the varying ratios, providing a good background for a functional study of other towns and villages not only in a modern environment, but also in an archaeological context (Vielweib 1990, Aalen and Sigalos 1998).

Only a few of the papers on the vernacular architecture of the region of Northern Greece have been presented here. They have been selected, though, to provide a general impression of the trends that have been dominant up to today in the study of domestic space of the area. Conforming to the main characteristics noted for all other regions in Greece, they have illustrated the potential of this relatively new discipline, but also its shortcomings. Thus, despite the large variety of types and variations within them, it is possible to look at the domestic structures, beyond mere description, integrating historical and economic parameters, as Moutsopoulos and Zarkada-Pistioli have successfully attempted. Geographical approaches also seem valuable in the examination of the houses placed within the context of the settlement, whether at a static regional or a dynamic local development level (Common and Prentice 1956, Vielweib 1990). Unfortunately, the lack of ample chronological data or securely datable typological information presents a considerable burden to the study of the houses in Northern Greece too, but detailed archaeological work on the late Medieval and Ottoman periods should very much assist our understanding. Still there are many domestic structures with dates, surviving from the early 18th century and this could provide a firm basis for the understanding of the house during the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods. It should be noted, though, that all the information presented above, as well as elsewhere, suggests that evolutionary approaches from simple structures to elaborate mansions fail to explain the long-term co-existence of all traditional types at least to the times of our earliest dated examples. It seems that most types pre-existed and were introduced or developed according to local economic and social developments, as well as following concepts concerning residence and habitation, as implied by Vielweib (Vielweib 1990).

General Studies

Beyond the local and regional studies discussed above, some scholars have attempted to summarise the characteristics and major trends of houses throughout Greece. These studies have often been influential in the development of vernacular studies in Greece. Whether based on environmental, climatic, evolutionary or historical aspects, the studies demonstrate a clear effort by the scholars (ethnographers, architects and geographers) to stress, on the one hand, the common features of the domestic structures and the their diversity in detail, on the other.

In particular, the Serbian geographer Cvijic (1918), whose work early this century was a major foundation for in-depth settlement study in the Balkan peninsula, regarded nucleated villages as the dominant settlement form in Greece and described the most widespread type of traditional house (built in stone or mud, with humans above animals) as the Greek-Mediterranean, named after the ethnic group and their particular life style (*Figure 77*). Geographical factors, such as the degree of slope and rainfall, were responsible for local variations in this dominant type. Other types found in Greece were the Turkish-Oriental (with a stone base, overhanging timber superstructure or *sahnisi*), associated with pockets of Turkish population in the North of Greece, and another type found in the villages of Greek labourers on the large Turkish estates, which were especially characteristic of the arable plains of Thessaly and Macedonia. In these estate villages, or *çiftliks*, the simple low houses were arranged in a square and dominated by the tower (*konak*) of the Turkish *bey*, or landlord. Cvijic's classification is clearly based on ethnicity. Only in the case of the *çiftlik* are economic considerations introduced, related to the development of estate farming during the Ottoman period. Cvijic also described the preferred soils on which the people settled, but did not try to extend his analysis to the relationship between site, settlement form and buildings. His work was very influential and widely adopted (Naval Intelligence Division 1945), despite the general uniformity and the ethnic implications that are applied in many regions. In time, Cvijic's work was severely criticised for its methods and typologies (Beuermann 1956, Wagstaff 1969).

In 1965 Wagstaff preferred to follow an approach relating the houses and building material, in particular, with the environment. The "harmonious" relationship of the two (Wagstaff 1965: 58) can be observed in the limestone construction of the vast majority of the houses throughout Greece, reflecting the dominance of rocky terrain that results a structural austerity only relieved by the frequent use of white plaster. In contrast, the houses of the plains are mainly built of mud-brick replacing the limestone of the uplands. The roof type is also used to demonstrate this interrelation. Thus, flat roofs are found in drier areas and mainly in littoral parts of Greece, whereas pitched roofs occur in areas with higher rain and snowfall. Furthermore, the degree of slope assists the vertical development of the houses, and on the Mainland it is regarded as the main cause for the development of the two storey houses. Beside environmental aspects, Wagstaff does consider cultural phenomena as well, though mainly referring to ethnic, national or religious trends. Thus, he adopts the Turco-oriental type, introduced by Cvijic (1918), and accepts that the distinction between male and female quarters was a characteristic of the Muslim houses, contrary to what Chrysopoulos has suggested for Veroia (Chrysopoulos 1960). Similar is his attitude towards the tower-houses in the wider area of Greece. The distinction is once again based on ethnicity with the example of the Albanian *kula* and the Maniot towers, two phenomena that are in other studies based on differences in social behaviour, settlement pattern and economic organisation (Wagstaff 1965).

His 1969 review was concerned mainly with settlement pattern studies (Wagstaff 1969). His standpoint is based especially on the importance of water availability, location in relation to geological formations and road networks, geography, economy

has been to examine settlement location and development on the basis of physical, historical and economic characteristics and processes. Common and Prentice in 1956 published a concise article on the characteristics of villages in the plain of Thessaloniki, the Salonika Campagna. The agglomerated settlements, in which the majority of the people lived, despite differences due to topographical and historical factors, seem to have a number of features in common. Thus, proximity to a water source seems to have been an important factor for the establishment of a village, whether in the lowland areas or at higher altitude. The villages themselves were usually hidden behind low hills or high trees, mainly cypresses, obstructing visibility from the main road. The church, the school or the presence of mills in their vicinity may be the only markers betraying their location. The houses within the village are widely spaced, often located in a seemingly random position in rectangular plots of land. No clearly defined roads existed and only in recent years have ditches been dug to channel rainwater and prevent road deterioration. The centre of the village should usually be marked by the church with a large space in front of it. This is the focal point of the village with the communal fountain, the coffeehouses and the small open fronted shops (Common and Prentice 1956).

As far as the houses are concerned, the authors found that the most common type was the one-storey house with two linearly arranged rooms (*Figure 76*). Depending on the location of the villages, the houses may have been built solely in stone, usually at higher altitudes, or of mud-brick on low stone foundations, especially in the plains. Roof tiles seem to have been common in 1956, but thatching was still in practice in poorer settlements of the plain. Internally, furniture was almost absent. Striking was the contrast between the colourful plastered walls, the roof beams blackened by the smoke and the uneven earthen floor. Fireplaces were not common and stoves were used for heating and cooking in one of the rooms. In the other room burning trays provided some heating. Beside the house, a series of outbuildings were to be found on each plot, used for storage and stabling. Among the auxiliary buildings was the oven used for baking, identifiable by its beehive shape. Part of the plot would have been used as a garden for vegetables, for domestic consumption, and flowers to adorn the front yard of these basic structures. Two storey houses also existed, but were built only by wealthier families. Their arrangement did not vary, though, from the one-storey houses since only the top-floor was used as the residence of the family, which had approximately the same dimensions as the simpler structures, the ground floor being solely used for storage or stabling (Common and Prentice 1956).

The geographer Vielweib investigated the development and urbanisation processes of two settlements along the coast of the Thermaïkos Gulf, east of Thessaloniki (Vielweib 1990). Rather than searching for common features among village communities, he sought to examine how different processes dynamically affect the development of two small settlements in the early 1980s. Epanomi was a Byzantine village that during the Ottoman period became a powerful regional settlement (*kefalochori*) with its own local administrators. It was divided into 67 still recognisable *machalades*, or "isolated clan quarters" identified by the family names of the inhabitants (Vielweib 1990:128), indicative of the physical organisation and social structure of the settlement. In contrast, Nea Kallikrateia is a refugee settlement, populated by the displaced inhabitants of Kallikrateia near Istanbul in the course of the 1924 exchange of populations. The village is characterised by its regular layout and uniform parcels guided by a fair distribution of land. Beyond the two dimensions of the settlement plan, Vielweib introduces a third, related not to the topography but the actual height of the buildings, which is regarded as a direct indicator of the urbanisation process. Thus, the changes in height and elevation of the residences, closely linked to the introduction of new building types, is seen as an indicator of urbanisation and change in the functional character of the village. Thus, the recent socio-economic changes caused by the development of Nea Kallikrateia into a holiday resort (mainly for Thessaloniki), on the one hand, turned the formerly rural settlement into a highly urbanised community, where height and elevation of buildings seem to dominate. On the other, the proximity of Epanomi to Thessaloniki meant that the site was not used as a holiday resort and its economy remained agricultural and unchanged. This paves the ground for a further dimension related to qualitative distinctions associated, namely, with the houses themselves. The author distinguishes between two main groups, the "traditional" and the "urbanised" (Vielweib 1990:129). The former group comprises houses with one or two floors with house-types common to the wider region and in many cases the entire Greek Mainland. The urbanised category includes structures with three or more floors and generally larger, modern residential buildings. The intensity of their urbanised character is closely related to the nature of the relationships among their inhabitants. Therefore, family relations suggest a weak urbanisation and residence of unrelated families indicate an intense one. A comparison between these different domestic structures allowed the author to compare the different patterns between Epanomi and Nea Kallikrateia and examine the processes that led to the varying ratios, providing a good background for a functional study of other towns and villages not only in a modern environment, but also in an archaeological context (Vielweib 1990, Aalen and Sigalos 1998).

Only a few of the papers on the vernacular architecture of the region of Northern Greece have been presented here. They have been selected, though, to provide a general impression of the trends that have been dominant up to today in the study of domestic space of the area. Conforming to the main characteristics noted for all other regions in Greece, they have illustrated the potential of this relatively new discipline, but also its shortcomings. Thus, despite the large variety of types and variations within them, it is possible to look at the domestic structures, beyond mere description, integrating historical and economic parameters, as Moutsopoulos and Zarkada-Pistioli have successfully attempted. Geographical approaches also seem valuable in the examination of the houses placed within the context of the settlement, whether at a static regional or a dynamic local development level (Common and Prentice 1956, Vielweib 1990). Unfortunately, the lack of ample chronological data or securely datable typological information presents a considerable burden to the study of the houses in Northern Greece too, but detailed archaeological work on the late Medieval and Ottoman periods should very much assist our understanding. Still there are many domestic structures with dates, surviving from the early 18th century and this could provide a firm basis for the understanding of the house during the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods. It should be noted, though, that all the information presented above, as well as elsewhere, suggests that evolutionary approaches from simple structures to elaborate mansions fail to explain the long-term co-existence of all traditional types at least to the times of our earliest dated examples. It seems that most types pre-existed and were introduced or developed according to local economic and social developments, as well as following concepts concerning residence and habitation, as implied by Vielweib (Vielweib 1990).

General Studies

Beyond the local and regional studies discussed above, some scholars have attempted to summarise the characteristics and major trends of houses throughout Greece. These studies have often been influential in the development of vernacular studies in Greece. Whether based on environmental, climatic, evolutionary or historical aspects, the studies demonstrate a clear effort by the scholars (ethnographers, architects and geographers) to stress, on the one hand, the common features of the domestic structures and the their diversity in detail, on the other.

In particular, the Serbian geographer Cvijic (1918), whose work early this century was a major foundation for in-depth settlement study in the Balkan peninsula, regarded nucleated villages as the dominant settlement form in Greece and described the most widespread type of traditional house (built in stone or mud, with humans above animals) as the Greek-Mediterranean, named after the ethnic group and their particular life style (*Figure 77*). Geographical factors, such as the degree of slope and rainfall, were responsible for local variations in this dominant type. Other types found in Greece were the Turkish-Oriental (with a stone base, overhanging timber superstructure or *sahnisi*), associated with pockets of Turkish population in the North of Greece, and another type found in the villages of Greek labourers on the large Turkish estates, which were especially characteristic of the arable plains of Thessaly and Macedonia. In these estate villages, or *çiftliks*, the simple low houses were arranged in a square and dominated by the tower (*konak*) of the Turkish *bey*, or landlord. Cvijic's classification is clearly based on ethnicity. Only in the case of the *çiftlik* are economic considerations introduced, related to the development of estate farming during the Ottoman period. Cvijic also described the preferred soils on which the people settled, but did not try to extend his analysis to the relationship between site, settlement form and buildings. His work was very influential and widely adopted (Naval Intelligence Division 1945), despite the general uniformity and the ethnic implications that are applied in many regions. In time, Cvijic's work was severely criticised for its methods and typologies (Beuermann 1956, Wagstaff 1969).

In 1965 Wagstaff preferred to follow an approach relating the houses and building material, in particular, with the environment. The "harmonious" relationship of the two (Wagstaff 1965: 58) can be observed in the limestone construction of the vast majority of the houses throughout Greece, reflecting the dominance of rocky terrain that results a structural austerity only relieved by the frequent use of white plaster. In contrast, the houses of the plains are mainly built of mud-brick replacing the limestone of the uplands. The roof type is also used to demonstrate this interrelation. Thus, flat roofs are found in drier areas and mainly in littoral parts of Greece, whereas pitched roofs occur in areas with higher rain and snowfall. Furthermore, the degree of slope assists the vertical development of the houses, and on the Mainland it is regarded as the main cause for the development of the two storey houses. Beside environmental aspects, Wagstaff does consider cultural phenomena as well, though mainly referring to ethnic, national or religious trends. Thus, he adopts the Turco-oriental type, introduced by Cvijic (1918), and accepts that the distinction between male and female quarters was a characteristic of the Muslim houses, contrary to what Chrysopoulos has suggested for Veroia (Chrysopoulos 1960). Similar is his attitude towards the tower-houses in the wider area of Greece. The distinction is once again based on ethnicity with the example of the Albanian *kula* and the Maniot towers, two phenomena that are in other studies based on differences in social behaviour, settlement pattern and economic organisation (Wagstaff 1965).

His 1969 review was concerned mainly with settlement pattern studies (Wagstaff 1969). His standpoint is based especially on the importance of water availability, location in relation to geological formations and road networks, geography, economy

and consequently society for the development of settlements. The settlements are, therefore, divided into permanent and temporary once again following Cvijic's classifications (Cvijic 1918). These two categories are further subdivided introducing some social and economic aspects based upon the groupings proposed earlier by the German geographer Beuermann (1955; *Figure 78*). Settlement form and domestic architecture are considered a reflection of primarily functional needs, the economy and society playing a secondary role (Wagstaff 1969).

More recently, similar attempts were made by Aalen, a historical geographer working for many years in Greece (Aalen 1987, Aalen 1996). Aalen has summarised many of the characteristics of domestic structures in Greece and reviewed the most important vernacular architecture studies written up to the 1980s. He is mainly interested in the socio-political background that led to the need for the study of traditional architectural forms and examines in detail the rise of tradition (*paradosi*) and folklore (*laografia*), domestic architecture having developed as a sub-discipline within their context (Aalen 1987). In his contribution in the Dictionary of Art (Aalen 1996), he further summarises the major categories of house types as towers and houses, *archontika* and *laïka* (elite and non-elite), *çiftlik* (estate) houses and *konak* (towers), temporary huts (*kalyves*) and sheepfolds (*mandres*), cubic flat-roofed (mainly insular) and long pitched-roofed houses (Aalen 1996). The classification reveals various climatic, social, economic and ethnic parameters that affect the architectural forms that have been discussed in his earlier review study (Aalen 1987).

Perhaps the most important early scholar of Greek vernacular was the folklorist Megas (1951, 1967), who distinguished fundamental house types and pioneered evolutionary models. He believed in a wholly Greek building tradition and proposed that the Greek vernacular had directly descended from the ancient Greeks, in particular the *megaron* form (rectangular house with entrance and porch on one of the lesser sides), which, he argued, "survives to this day in some regions with a surprisingly undiminished energy" (Megas 1951: 46-47). Similar building forms in surrounding countries were attributed to Greek influence. He especially implicates Epirot and Macedonian itinerant builders (*isnafs*) in the process of this spread. The Albanian *kula*, or tower house, for example, was regarded to have developed under Greek influence (Megas 1951, 1967).

A similar approach has been adopted by the architect Moutsopoulos in his general study on the origins of Greek vernacular architecture (Moutsopoulos 1982). The architectural style found widespread until the early 19th century in Greece is regarded as clearly influenced and actually originating from the Byzantine tradition, which provides a bridge to the Classical and Prehistoric times, in his hypothesis. Many generalisations have been made so

as to support this continuity. Despite this ethnocentric approach, the study is an immense source of information, which, if treated with caution, provides an in-depth picture of the variety of vernacular forms in Greece (Moutsopoulos 1982). Based on the same principles, but following a milder and less ethnocentric standpoint, is his most recent study on houses in Greece, published in the wider context of Balkan housing studies (Moutsopoulos 1993a).

At present the most important and complete contribution to vernacular architecture has been published in the voluminous and multi-author work "Greek Traditional Architecture" (edited by Filippidis 1983-1990). It has possibly been based on the original attempt by the architect Michelis to produce an equally complete work in 1960. Studies of houses throughout Greece have been included, covering the major aspects and adopting approaches ranging from description and typology to history, economy and social stratification. Colourful and with many plans, the editor envisaged to provide a collective and complete picture of vernacular architecture in Greece. Theoretically, it covers many standpoints, including evolution and typology, culture, influence and aesthetics, or engineering and material (Filippidis 1983-1990 vol.1: 50-56). Beyond this discussion of the prevailing trends in Greek historical architecture studies, Filippidis introduces the work with a concise history of the development of the sub-discipline and the contemporary wider formative trends in the social, economic, political and ideological scene in Greece (Filippidis 1983-1990 vol.1: 33-49). The work has been invaluable and has often been used as a textbook for the study of Post-Medieval Greek architecture.

Older general studies on vernacular architecture have been reviewed by the authors mentioned above and do not appear here, since the major trends have already been evaluated and examined. Generally, it should be noted that there is a clear development from description to analysis (Filippidis 1983-1990 vol.1: 55-56), even though current trends of architectural evaluation dominant in Western Europe are only recently starting to penetrate Greek studies. Thus, most areas in Greece have been studied and described and we do possess typological and evolutionary tables for most architectural styles and forms. In many cases socio-economic factors have also been evaluated in relation with the development of the house, especially in regional and settlement studies. Wider conclusions, though, have been avoided, beyond descriptive, engineering and material evaluations, despite the increasing number of studies on the history and economy of the Ottoman and Early Modern periods. Nevertheless, most studies seem to conform to the nation-building ideals that prevailed at the turn of the 20th century, demonstrating the need of the scholars and the wider public to trace and firmly establish the roots of the Modern Greek state into the Glorious Classical and Mycenaean Hellenic past (Aalen 1987:43, Filippidis 1983-1990 vol.1: 48-49). At the

same time, many European geographers looking at the Greek houses have followed environmental approaches, such as the climate and the availability of building materials, as determining the form of the domestic structures. Economy in most cases seems to have played a complementary role as far as the organisation of the settlement and the distinction of the different economic classes within it are concerned. The internal use of space, though, has rarely been analysed, whether descriptively, economically, socially or ideologically. Only recently have architects and anthropologists attempted to examine the house as a social construct and the interior as an arena of

functional and social activity, as we have already mentioned in the case of Lesvos, in the Eastern Aegean, and Pelion (Pavlides and Hesser 1986, Kizis 1994). Such exercises, though, are unique and confirm Filippidis' conclusion for a need to move away from exhaustive description and concentrate on evaluations of domestic architecture based on clearly defined theoretical approaches (Filippidis 1983-1990 vol.1: 56). Such an effort will rescue Greek Vernacular Architecture from obtaining the character of a museum object stripped of any possibility of development and adaptation to the contemporary needs of society.

Current discussions concerning architecture and material culture have concluded that apart from the functional side of the buildings and objects, the social and cultural aspects should not be underestimated (*see* Rapoport 1990: 9-20). Studies of Greek vernacular architecture, as discussed above, have mainly put stress on typological and functional matters concerning the buildings, leading to an inevitable inability to deal with the structures collectively. Documentation for a very wide collection of house types throughout Greece has admittedly now been published, especially from areas with significant development during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which are often emphasising a nationalistic perspective, whilst another focus is from the littoral regions, due to the peculiarity of their architectural forms and current developments in tourism. The studies presented in the collection Traditional Greek Architecture edited by Dimitris Filippidis are an initial attempt to overcome the problem by bringing together in eight volumes a representative selection of vernacular types within the boundaries of the Modern Greek State (Filippidis 1983-1990). Despite the intentions of the editor, however, the "puzzling distribution of similarities and differences" (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 4) does not seem to have been tackled.

Based on the example set by the study of Kizis on the house architecture of Mount Pelion (Kizis 1994), I will attempt to provide a more generalised picture of Vernacular Architecture in Greece. Rather than looking at local development of house types and local variations, I will attempt to examine general trends and variables throughout Greece that alone or in combination with each other directed the designs of houses so as to cover the needs of a "simple" lifestyle (Kizis 1994: 60). It is not my intention in each case to reject the role of the local microenvironments and materials, since these are important in the construction of the structures. It seems, however, that they are secondary to general cultural aspects, prestige, religion and symbolism (Rapoport 1969, 1990). In this way the need to make distinction between anonymous architecture and more formal styles, each created by the same travelling groups of builders (i.e. *isnafia*), can be overcome.

Similarly, the generic development from simple to more complex structures as a constant directional procedure to improve living conditions, often assumed

by scholars, is put aside. Simple structures seem to coexist at all times with more elaborate types throughout the countryside as well as in the urban centres. This observation, combined with our inability to precisely date the houses, suggests that it may be fruitful to look at the socio-cultural needs covered by the wide variety of structures, whether as continuation of a local tradition or as a dynamic imitation of a more international style appropriately suited to the local conditions and as familiar resolutions to socio-cultural spatial needs.

General observations (see Appendix A section 1)

Before looking at individual structures and domestic spatial arrangements, however, some general observations should be drawn from the broad collection of studies presented elsewhere. All different domestic types discussed in these architectural surveys were inserted into a large database, aimed not only at the recording of the theoretical and practical methodologies of the abovementioned authors, but also and in particular, the features of the large variety of categories present. Among these categories, the chronology, the general architectural type (referring to external characteristics and organisation), the internal arrangement (the plan and its character) and the style (a broad category including major architectural trends), were crucial aspects of the particular types, allowing to deconstruct their complexity or rather, structure the general framework for the forthcoming analysis. The treatment of this database should not be seen as quantitative. The data presented do not refer to absolute values and numbers of houses, but rather to general types and categories of domestic structures throughout Greece, often reflecting the priorities and ideological biases applied by the researchers, but generally providing sufficient evidence on the regional architectural trends. Thus, I will refrain from referring to specific numerical and statistical information, and will limit my analysis to general observations that can be deduced from the information available. The information has been summarised according to province, so as to minimise the methodological biases of the individual investigations and simultaneously to prevent generalisations that may have obstructed fine

diversities from being presented. Nevertheless, districts such as Samos and Trikala are represented by very limited data, which should not be treated as representing the main architectural types of those regions. Despite the shortcomings of the exercise, a number of general and more specific observations can be drawn by plotting the available data.

Thus, whereas mapping of the distribution of surviving dated types does not demonstrate any clear patterns, the exercise may prove meaningful when considered in relation to the main aims of the individual surveys (*Figure 79*). Despite survival of a number of Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish sites in Northern Greece (*see* Chapter 6), house studies have mainly focussed on the 18th and 19th centuries (LT to Emod). In contrast, in the Peloponnese and the province of Lakonia in particular the majority of studies tend to concentrate on Late Byzantine/Frankish architecture and its relationship to the subsequent forms, mainly of the Early Modern era. On the one hand, the distinct architectural development of the so-called Ottoman International Style in the North during the 18th and 19th centuries, especially in urban centres and towns with rapid economic development, based on proto-industrial manufacture and proximity to major trade routes (*see* Chapters 2 and 4), attracted the attention of architectural scholars, mainly in combination with the contemporary revival of the Greek consciousness. The Peloponnese and the Southern provinces of Central Greece, on the other hand, lack equivalent architectural forms, both due to distance from the main Balkan economic routes and most importantly replacement of such buildings by the more Europeanised Neoclassical types introduced with the establishment of the Greek Kingdom in the 1830s. Additionally, the relatively good survival of medieval houses at Geraki, Mouchli, Longanikos, Karytaina and notably Mistra, urged scholars to search for links between those and the simple later vernacular forms of the wider region.

Notable is the interest in 17th century architecture from Rethymno on Crete (Dimakopoulos 1977), a century that is often called the Cretan Golden Age from a literary and artistic perspective, and forms a parallel with the aims and interpretations adopted by scholar for the development of the Ottoman International style of Northern Greece. In general, however, studies concentrating on Crete seem to focus less on these rather elaborate forms and place more emphasis on the vernacular types from villages and rural areas of the island (Devletoglou 1960, Rackham and Moody 1996, Zagorissiou 1996). Furthermore, the islands of the southern Aegean have houses from a wide distribution of periods. The main reason is that many settlements are known to have been planned and extended at certain periods from the 13th to the 18th centuries, according to surviving historical sources (Sanders 1996). Despite historical evidence and survival of dated houses throughout the period, changes in the architectural forms are rarely examined,

suggesting both the sole concern of scholars in establishing continuity and the lack of interest in investigating the house as a social construct, an aspect widely ignored in most vernacular architecture studies in the whole of Greece.

Beside the distribution of dates, the varieties of roof types have been plotted, the results of which have already been discussed by some scholars (*Figure 80*; *see also* Megas 1967, Wagstaff 1965, 1966, 1969). In short, it seems that the roofs on the mainland are predominantly pitched with tiles or slates, especially in the mountainous areas of Western and Northern Greece. The Aegean islands, however, show a preference for flat roofs made of layers of reeds, seaweed and clayish soil. There are, of course, exceptions to these general observations. It has been noted that the two types have coexisted especially in littoral areas of the Mainland (Megara in Attika and South Euboia) as well as on islands with close commercial relations to the mainland (Lesvos, Thasos and Crete). Whereas the distinction between the two types seems closely related to climatic conditions (pitched roofs - rain and snow, flat roofs - drought) and availability of materials (appropriate wood to support heavy tiled roofs), it seems that in transitional areas the inhabitants made conscious choices between the flat and the tiled pitched type. Moreover, if one accepts the assumption that tiles were more costly than other forms of roofing and not necessarily functional in all cases, it seems that in the transitional areas, tiles would be imported, despite the cost, as display items. This can also be observed with the introduction of tiled roofs as a consequence of Neoclassicism on the Aegean islands (e.g. Syros; Kartas 1982), where until the 19th century the houses were exclusively flat-roofed. It would therefore not be an exaggeration to suggest that at least in transitional areas the use of tiles could be regarded as a symbol of wealth and an attempt at social distinction, in a similar manner to the introduction of Neoclassicism (Sigalos 2001).

The building materials also play an important role in the general construction of the structure but they do not seem to have affected the architectural type, the internal arrangement and general style of the house. The lack of stone in the plains may have imposed the use of mud-brick, and the lack in the Mani region of wood led to the use of marble slabs as roofs, but the main aspects of the houses seem to be rather homogeneous in broader areas throughout the geographical region of Greece. The availability of materials, however, seems to have played a very important role in the construction of the roof, which may have affected the shapes and the plans of the houses. It has been noted that the abundance of forests in the mountainous areas of the mainland, especially Western and Northern Greece, allowed for the use of long beams supporting roofs over wide spaces, in contrast to the islands where only short trunks, mainly of cedar, were available to roof the consequently narrower spaces. Solutions to these problems were

found, such as the use of the arch (*kamara*) or vault bridging broad spaces, suggesting that the limitations of the materials could be overcome if necessary. It has been noted on Crete that the hewn doorways, the imported floor planks, the window bars and the metal fittings not only reflect a high level of specialisation, but also notions of "etiquette, tradition and fashion often in defiance of practicality and economy" (Rackham and Moody 1996: 166).

As for the house types, they seem to suggest a divide between the southern, the northern and the littoral areas of Greece (*Figure 81*). Thus, the Peloponnese and the southern provinces of Central Greece show an almost uniform adoption of the long house entered from one of the long sides, while the provinces further to the north show more variability and the islands of Central Aegean show a preference for long houses entered from a narrow side. This distinction is better demonstrated by the distribution of the different house styles (*Figure 82*). The northern provinces seem to have predominantly adopted the Ottoman International Style, the islands the so-called Aegean style of flat-roofed terraced houses and the southern regions the agricultural mainland form (i.e. simple rectangular house with broad facade with one or two storeys). Consequently, the internal arrangement of the houses conforms to the above-stated division, with the linear arrangements found in agricultural style houses with broad facades in the South, the Aegean houses with narrow facades on the islands and the centralised arrangements in various types of Ottoman houses (*Figure 83*).

The regional differentiations mentioned above are not as absolute as presented in the maps and graphs (latter in Appendix A). In fact, the variation between survival rates of the different forms in the various regions should be taken into consideration. Since the destructive Revolution and the establishment of the Greek Kingdom in the 19th century, comprising the Southern provinces of the Modern Greek state, most provincial towns and historically important villages were replanned and often totally rebuilt, cleansing the new state of the ruins of the war and its Ottoman past. Engravings of towns from 18th and 19th century travellers' books may present us with a pre-revolutionary reality that deviates from the impression we may have been given by architectural studies of the southern provinces. Thus, according to the engravings of Wolfensberger and Lange Nafplion may have looked like any other Ottoman littoral town of the 18th century, but nowadays very little remains unaffected by the introduction of Neoclassicism (compare *Figures 84* and *85*).

The changes launched during this period are clearly reflected in the superimposition of regular planning on the extremely twisted and narrow streets of all towns in southern Greece. Nafplion, Kalamata, Tripoli, Patras and Athens, to mention a few, were either redesigned in their entirety or extended according to the European planning principles of the

Age of Reason. Thus, other than 19th and early 20th century Neoclassical and Eclectic architecture, there is little left of the preceding appearance of the cities "which so explicitly reflected the character of their former rulers" (D. Diamantidis, Greek minister of Transport and Town Planning, addressing the Parliament on September 19, 1914 and referring to the need to replan the newly annexed cities of Northern Greece; Yerolympos 1996: 19). Research therefore had to concentrate on vernacular architecture of the villages and the rural regions dominated by simple broad façade agricultural houses, because Ottoman period architecture has almost totally disappeared from the urban centres (*Figures 82* and *86*). Despite the predominance of these simple structures, some scattered examples of Ottoman period tower houses do survive that should possibly be related to Ottoman period and Early Modern estates and *çiftliks*. The region of the Mani is an exception, since, due to its centuries-long relative isolation, the high number of tower houses seems to have served different purposes. In contrast, northern Greece was less affected by the sweeping effects of Neoclassical architecture and urban planning, with the exception of Thessaloniki, which was already being gradually redesigned under Ottoman rule from the mid 19th century. And this is probably a major factor in the diversity of forms, styles and arrangements demonstrated in the studies. Rural areas throughout the mainland display architectural uniformity and only the urban centres show a clear differentiation. In the southern provinces of Greece Neoclassical Styles replaced the preceding Ottoman, hence the variability demonstrated in the North. On the islands, the picture seems to be different and the traditional Aegean forms persist throughout this period. Only major trading and naval centres adopted Neoclassicism and mainly in the developing outskirts of the settlements that originated in the Medieval period. Thus, it seems that the preference towards the study of particular domestic types varies not only due to ideological factors but also because of the survival ratio of characteristic structures in each wider region.

House and Chronology

The majority of the house types recorded belongs mainly to the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods. These are the main periods to which we can securely date most structures and from which scholars have published precisely dated houses that can be used as dating and typological references. It would not be surprising, however, to find that many of the general trends, if not the houses themselves, could be found to be much earlier than suggested by the surveys. Simple structures and house arrangements are known to have existed from the medieval period and more complex structures can be dated back to at least the Middle Ottoman period (17th to early 18th centuries; *Figure 79*, *see also* Appendix A section 1).

Current studies of taxation registers (cf. Chapter 2), have demonstrated, contrary to previous historical beliefs, that the replacement of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Empire brought an end to the feudal rivalries and warfare of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period, restoring stability in the Balkans. The late 15th and 16th centuries (Early Ottoman period) were marked by demographic expansion and economic growth. Most physical archaeological evidence, including domestic structures, for this period of general prosperity has been lost, with the exception of some monasteries and churches established during this early period. The advent of the ceramic survey during the last few decades, together with the studies of the Ottoman registers, have started to shed some light on the period.

The Cycladic Islands and the Dodekanese were not incorporated in the Ottoman Empire until the mid 16th century, and did not seem to have developed in he same way as the mainland, since they were an isolated part of the Venetian State in the heart of the otherwise Ottoman Aegean. The settlements, however, had already developed from the 13th century onwards and retained most of their characteristics unchanged throughout the Ottoman period. In contrast, Crete remained a Venetian stronghold until the third quarter of the 17th century and followed a different architectural development from the rest of Greece until the 18th century, when it fully adopted the Ottoman architectural styles (*Figure 87*).

The first surviving evidence of architecture dated later than the Medieval period comes from the late 17th century. It concerns mainly tower houses on the mainland that survived until today due to their continuous use and their location in the countryside rather than the urban centres. These tower houses fit very well with the limited information we have from the Middle Ottoman period. The demographic collapse, or at least stagnation, of the late 16th century and the gradual decline of the preceding agricultural system based on the *timar*, led to the rise of large estate farming, the *çiftlik* system. These large farms required the establishment of agricultural labourer settlements near the estates. The owner's tower would overlook both the estate and the settlement, providing security and a clear symbol of authority and control. Most settlements have long been abandoned and have subsequently disappeared. Often only the tower marks their original location.

The incorporation of the islands into the Ottoman economic environment during the 16th century brought a period of prosperity during the 17th century, in contrast to the mainland. Churches and monasteries with dated features, as well as houses, survive from the Middle Ottoman period. In most cases, they were built in a similar fashion to their medieval predecessors, since their location within the nucleated medieval settlements did not provide much opportunity for expansion or elaboration.

Crete too enters a period of prosperity, mainly demonstrable in the urban centres, where the signs of Venetian Renaissance architecture are clearly visible. In the countryside, a large number of villas of the period suggest a high degree of economic and demographic growth, which is also seen in the notable advancement of literature and arts. It is not surprising that the 17th century is regarded as a Golden Age for Crete. The development was abruptly interrupted by the conquest of Crete by the Ottomans in 1669.

Whereas conditions did not change very much for the peasantry, as indicated by the very basic single storey long houses in most villages of the mainland, the 18th century marks the beginning of a new economic and architectural era though for a number of urban and semi-urban centres. It has already been mentioned that the capitulation (i.e. privileged trade arrangements) of the European powers in the Ottoman Empire gradually introduced the latter into the economic system of the West. The Ottoman Empire provided an immense source of cheap raw material at the periphery of Europe and this became the basis of the development of the Balkan urban centres during the 18th and 19th centuries. Local production of wool, cotton and silk was funnelled to these centres, where they were exported either in that form or further processed into coloured textiles, yarn (Ambelakia, Pelion, Siatista) or carpets (Dimitsana). The economic advancement within the urban centres of the 18th and 19th centuries is clearly reflected in the house architecture. Large houses were built conforming to the trends of the Ottoman East, leading to the rise of the so-called International Ottoman Style. By the end of the 18th century, most towns were dominated by large houses, a phenomenon that also indicates a wider distribution of wealth within these centres. The rise of a commercial and manufacturing urban middle class and an embryonic industrial society in the towns can be regarded as the cause for the spread of the particular architectural tradition.

The islands do not seem to adopt the Ottoman International Style as such, despite evidence of a thriving class of ship owners and merchants trading with the West. In contrast, they retained the traditional Aegean styles. Larger houses and mansions introduced a series of European features, but internally the arrangement of space seems to have conformed more to the Ottoman style. Similarly, less elaborate houses adopted stylistic characteristics of the Ottoman stylistic milieu as may be demonstrated on Crete, Rhodes, Kalymnos and Karpathos. On Lesvos and Thasos, however, the inhabitants introduced the Ottoman architectural tradition intact from Turkey and the Greek mainland. On Lesvos, in particular, there is a clear divide between the Aegean-style south (less economically developed) and the Ottomanising north where most of the island's wealth was concentrated (Apostolou 1960, Zagorissiou and Gianoulellis 1995).

The economic advancement was interrupted with the introduction of cheap English industrialised textiles

in the European markets in the 1810s. Simultaneously, a large number of revolutions with a social and nationalistic nature devastated the countryside on the mainland and led to the destruction of many towns of southern Greece. In addition, the establishment of the Greek Kingdom deprived many of these centres of their contacts with the main Balkan trade routes. Many of the manufacturing centres gradually declined and the houses were abandoned or internally divided between members of the family who could not afford to build new ones (*aderfomoiria*). The towns of the southern provinces were incorporated in the original Greek Kingdom were supposed to become the backbone of state administration, and were therefore redesigned and provided with buildings of monumental dimensions in accordance with contemporary developments in Europe. Neoclassicism, initially introduced by the Bavarians in Athens, soon spread to the rest of the Kingdom, especially towards the last quarter of the 19th century and first quarter of the 20th century.

The Cyclades was the only island group that was incorporated in the new Kingdom and followed a similar trend. In fact, the inhabitants very much benefited from their naval contribution to the revolution and soon managed to establish a strong ship owning and merchant class. Syros was the largest harbour during the 19th century and became a large commercial centre, adopting Neoclassicism to represent its prosperity (*Figure 88*). Furthermore, the eradication of piracy in the Aegean allowed the island settlements to develop beyond their fortified nuclei, allowing rapid expansion of the settlements and of the actual domestic space. This is the period when the first farmhouses, or *katoikies*, were built in the countryside and were used for storage and habitation during the agricultural period. The growth was not long-lived, however, since the commercial and ship owning activities were soon to be transferred to Athens and Piraeus, leading to a sharp decline of the islands until the advent of mass tourism in the second half of the 20th century.

The rest of the Northern provinces and islands remaining under Ottoman rule were only temporarily affected by the revolution. It was the development of industrialisation and globalisation of trade that had long-term effects on their economy, which showed clear signs of decline until the last decades of the 19th century after having stabilised in the immediate post-revolution period. The Ottoman International Style dominated the towns and urban centres, and the simple long houses with broad façades were more common in the rural settlements. Thessaloniki, however, underwent a redesign process so as to conform to European standards, discussed in detail by Aleka Yerolympou (Karadimou-Yerolympou 1997, Yerolympos 1996). Here, too, Neoclassicism was to play an important role.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries were marked by the struggle for national reconstitution of

the northern provinces. A series of Balkan Wars resulted in the final incorporation of the provinces in the Greek state. Attempts to redesign most towns and settlements after the annexation were prohibited by a shortage of finance, preserving many of the characteristics of the Ottoman organisation and architecture of these towns.

Thus, despite the abundant survival of architectural examples for most periods on the islands, there seems to be a large hiatus in our knowledge of 16th and 17th century domestic architecture on the mainland. Whereas tax registers suggest a rapid demographic and economic growth in the 16th century, very little remains architecturally to demonstrate these developments or indicate the decline noted in the 17th century. An interesting interpretation that could be related to the scarce survival of pre-18th century domestic structures, especially on the mainland, has been provided by the anthropologists Paul Sant-Cassia and Constantina Bada with reference to the importance attached to the house in late 18th and early 19th century Athens (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992). As suggested by the authors, the house does not appear to have been important. It was not regarded as an important public reference point and more importantly it did not provide a significant economic resource (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992: 34). Thus, demolition and abandonment of houses should not surprise us. Until recently it was a common practice to build a new house and either totally abandon the older structure or convert it into a stable or even a dumping area for the household. Cheap construction, limited facilities and the importance of the nuclear family versus the lineage could be regarded as crucial factors for this phenomenon. Would it, therefore, be possible to bridge the hiatus by establishing links between the preceding Late Byzantine/Frankish periods and the late 17th and 18th centuries? Are the variations in domestic architecture substantial enough to prohibit such an exercise? Archaeological and survey data presented at a later stage will present us with some possible solutions, but current architectural studies do not seem to allow a clear link between the two eras.

House and Settlement

An interesting parameter in the study of the house is the settlement type and its relation with the overall characteristics of the domestic space. In the periods in question, the settlements have been grouped into five broad categories that relate to both function and layout (*Figure 86*). Thus, the nucleated sites are usually of fortified nature. On the islands they seem to have acquired their form during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period and had either a regular plan, as in the cases of the Mastichochoria on Chios, Kimolos and Antiparos, or they developed more naturally following the topography, like in Naousa and Paroikia on Paros, the Chora of Naxos, Ios, Melos,

Andros etc. These settlements were usually organised in rings of terraced houses around a central fortified structure-core, usually a tower that housed the feudal lord of the settlement. The settlement organisation provided security to inhabitants as well as their produce, and additionally allowed the feudal lord to control the locals more effectively.

The compact nature of the settlements on the Cycladic Islands and Chios seems to project onto the actual houses themselves, which, due to the lack of available settlement space, developed vertically as well as horizontally. Thus, on the island of Kimolos, the main settlement comprises apartment-like terraced houses with three floors. In the Dodekanese island complex, however, and, in particular, on Rhodes each house developed individually around a small courtyard surrounded by high walls. Whereas the plots may here too have been more spacious, the settlement gives the impression of a nucleated mega-structure the development of which is based on its basic cells, the courtyard houses (Tyrwhitt 1966).

On the mainland, the nucleated settlements were not planned but developed naturally. Indeed, only the villages of the Mesogaia, Eleusis and Megara plains in the modern province of Attika may be regarded as comparable to the nucleated settlements of the islands. The houses of these settlements with their continuous courtyard walls are part of settlements similar to the Aegean mega-structures. On the rest of the mainland, however, nucleation should be treated as a denser concentration of freestanding domestic structures. The topography of a settlement, as in the case of Dimitsana in the Peloponnese, and clan relations, as in settlements of the Mani Peninsula and elsewhere, resulted in degrees of house nucleation in most cases without consequent changes in the predominant agricultural house types of the mainland.

Loose organisation is predominant on rural sites on the mainland. Here the settlements were rarely fortified and developed naturally according to the space available and the general topography. Usually, the only protection provided was the village location in the landscape so that it was not readily visible from the main approach road. Beside this characteristic, proximity to a water source and arable land seem to have been the main factors that determined the location of the villages and hamlets (Common and Prentice 1956). In most cases, these villages aimed at self-sufficiency rather than commercial agriculture. The houses developed as simple freestanding one-storey units within plots, often used for small-scale garden production for the household. It seems that it was not until the late 19th and early 20th centuries that these one-storey units were gradually replaced by two storey houses belonging to better off farmers engaged in commercial farming.

The establishment of the çiftlik system gave rise to estate settlements that were aimed at commercial agricultural produce. As already mentioned, these sites comprised a series of simple long houses dominated by

a tower belonging to the landowner. The çiftlik was the only settlement type that was actually established during the Middle Ottoman period with a solely economic purpose, the production of cash crops. Many of the towers have survived until today. The settlements surrounding them are less frequently detectable and recorded, and only current archaeological survey has shown increasing interest in these settlement forms, as in the case of Boiotia.

Moreover, small and larger isolated structures were scattered through the countryside, ranging from huts to isolated towers and rural mansions (on the Ionian islands, Lesvos, Chios and Crete). Most structures were related with pastoral activities, especially in the case of the huts, or agricultural practices.

Beyond the rural areas, towns and cities also showed distinct architectural development and styles. They were organised significantly differently, since they were divided into *machalades*, or neighbourhoods, usually with a religious building as their focus (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988). These *machalades* were inward looking separate entities with an almost fortified nature within the urban environment. Furthermore, the urban tissue was divided according to religion and sometimes even ethnicity, organising the different *machalades* into quarters. Thus, in Thessaloniki there was the Turkish quarter in the higher areas towards the North, the Jewish quarter at the sea towards the South and the Christian quarter towards the East (Anastasiadis 1990). The organisation of other Ottoman towns throughout the Ottoman Empire was comparable.

Urban houses usually come from studies of northern Greek towns, since they survived in larger numbers in the northern areas. In most cases they belong to the Ottoman International Style or later to the Neoclassical Style. The size of the houses and their plots within the urban settlements varied according to the wealth and status of the inhabitants. The occupation of the owners was also detectable from the arrangement of the house and its auxiliary rooms. But both wealth and occupation were usually not on public display, at least not until the late 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries and the introduction of Neoclassicism. Furthermore, most urban houses were arranged along or around a *hagiati*, which either faced a walled back yard or was almost totally enclosed between neighbouring structures and acted as an access corridor between the rooms and a transitional space between the house interior and the settlement, as we will discuss below.

Both the city of Kerkyra and Rethymno on Crete should be regarded as exceptional urban sites. The prolonged Venetian occupation of both and the presence of the British on the former since the 19th century had a strong effect on the organisation and the style of the cities. Both exhibit strong renaissance influences originating in Venice. Monumental gateways and symmetrical arrangements of features as

well as rooms flanking backyards are reminiscent of Venetian prototypes, despite their smaller scale and lesser elaboration. The city of Kerkyra with multi-storey apartment blocks has very close parallels to Italian cities, often renovated and elaborated into the Neoclassical Style by the British. These blocks are all facing the street without backyards, in contrast to the Ottoman mainland and the lesser-urbanised Rethymno.

House and Type

When generally comparing the distributions of the various house types, I have already discussed the possible causes of the variability noted (*Figure 80*). Looking at individual house types in relation to other general attributes, however, it seems that the long house type with a broad façade is numerically dominant. In particular, whether single or multi-storey, its simplest arrangement, the single multifunctional room, stretches chronologically back into the middle ages, both in the rural settlements of the Middle Byzantine Mani peninsula and the so-called mega-structures of the Late Byzantine/Frankish Aegean. It provides the largest number of possibilities for planning and internal arrangement, from simple single-room cells to complex multi-storey and multi-room, centralised arrangements.

More specifically, long houses with broad façades are usually freestanding within a plot of land and are therefore more suitable for the mainland settlements with loose arrangements that developed naturally according to topographical characteristics (*see* Appendix A section 2). The oldest examples survive around Late Byzantine/Frankish citadels on the mainland and mainly in the Peloponnese. Single-storey houses of with broad façades mainly comprise one multifunctional room housing both humans and animals under the same roof. The internal divisions of space usually follow the activity arrangements within the multifunctional room. Unfortunately, divisions have proven difficult to detect in the archaeological record, due to their construction out of perishable materials. The relationship between internal division and activity organisation within a single room domestic space has, at least theoretically, prompted many scholars to hypothesise a directional evolutionary development of house forms. It seems, however, that both single and two roomed types coexisted already during the Late Byzantine/Frankish periods and continued in coexistence in the subsequent periods. Similarly, the number of storeys also does not seem to vary chronologically, bearing preservation and survival factors in mind. Thus, long houses with broad façades, whether one, two or three storeys high seem to have existed already from the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish times.

The arranging of rooms along a semi-open roofed space, the *hagiati*, whether at ground or floor level, seems to mark a change during the Middle Ottoman

period. The special feature of its architectural component is not so much related to its position on ground floor or upper storey, nor the idea of a semi-open space, but rather the role of the *hagiati* as a communication space between the interior of the house and the outer world, and especially between the rooms. The rooms are actually accessed only through the *hagiati* and rarely communicate directly with each other, leading to the suggestion that in this type of organisation each room can be used as an autonomous unit of the house, providing all facilities of an individual domestic unit, as we shall see later in this chapter. The types based on the *hagiati* took various forms, eventually enclosing it with rooms within the heart of the structure.

A further change in the organisation of the long house with broad façade can be traced in the 19th and 20th centuries with the introduction of Neoclassicism and the social changes triggered by the increasing industrialisation of Greece. Activity zones were being carefully separated and isolated with an intermediate entrance hall that granted access to various rooms with different functions arranged symmetrically around it, according to needs and social occasions. The sense of symmetry is more pronounced in clearly Neoclassical examples with a large hall flanked by one row of rooms at either side.

Whereas the long houses with broad façades are characteristic of the entire Greek geographical region, narrow façades are more specific to the nucleated settlements of the islands and the densely populated towns of Northern Greece (*see* Appendix A section 3). Competition for access to the road and general lack of space within these settlements have often been regarded as major factors for the development of the type. On the islands, in particular, the houses developed following the activity zones along the length of the structures, which were hierarchically organised according to depth. The houses there usually have one or two rooms, especially during the earlier phases of the settlements (i.e. Late Byzantine/Frankish and Early Ottoman). More complex plans may be found in later periods, however, as well as less nucleated island settlements, always based on the basic principles of organisation according to depth.

In contrast, the urban centres of Northern Greece, being organised according to neighbourhoods, the *machalades*, show clear preference for the organisation of rooms along a *hagiati*, already mentioned in relation to the broad façade types. And it is the strong kin relations developed within those *machalades* that caused the competition for participation in these neighbourhoods and consequently the particular compact terraced house organisation in towns like Edessa and Ioannina. In these cases, however, the *hagiati* is not placed on the façade of the house, but along the depth of the structure concealing it from the road and the neighbours, so as to retain its internal nature and the privacy of the household.

Extensions to the main body of these two types and especially the long house with broad façade type, resulted in L- and U-shaped houses, which in their single-storey form are mainly found on the islands, and when two or more storeys are present, they are more frequent on the mainland (*see* Appendix A section 4). In the latter cases, extensions may be dated to the Late Byzantine/Frankish times, especially in the Peloponnese (Orlandos 1937), where extra wings were added to the main structure most probably to house an extended family. In Ottoman times, in the aforementioned *hagiati* arrangements of rooms in the L- and U-shaped types show a conscious attempt to enclose the *hagiati* within the main body of structure, a trend especially elaborated in the Ottoman architectural style. The *hagiati* has in these types become almost an interior space of the house, although many of its functions and meanings were retained. Similar is the organisation of the less-frequent square type, which demonstrates the enclosure of the *hagiati* in its ultimate degree. Here the *hagiati* is right in the centre of the house and, despite having acquired different regional names, the archetypal uses still persist.

Apart from these more advanced square type architectural arrangements, single-storey and one-room houses existed, especially on the islands (*see* Appendix A section 5). Due to the dimensions of the structure, these houses had internal roof supports in the form of wooden posts, and small supporting walls at opposite ends or a single broad arch. This single room structure differed in its internal organisation from the long house types described above in terms of internal organisation of activities, which were arranged around the walls of the house rather than linearly.

Concluding, it would be an omission not to mention the multi-storey tower structures that may have taken any of the forms described above (square, long, L- and even U-shapes; *Figure 89*). Towers have been mentioned in the literature in many regions of Greece dating from the Late Byzantine/Frankish times, through to the Ottoman and even Early modern eras. It is, however, very difficult to certify whether they were used as temporary or permanent residences for petty feudal lords in the Late Byzantine/Frankish period, and for wealthy landowners in the consequent phases. Regardless of their precise function, they should be treated as major symbols of status and prestige, indicating with their height and fortified nature the superiority and authority of the owner.

House and Arrangement (see also Appendix A section 1)

Moving away from the architectural type and plan of the structures, the general nature of their internal arrangement seems to encompass both those characteristics and pinpoints the particular use of the internal space. I have accordingly further classified the general house types discussed in the studies as *linear, courtyard, vertical, parallel* and *centralised* arrangements. Each category refers either to the particular organisation of activities within each individual space or room, or to the synthesis of individual spaces within a house.

In the case of the linear arrangement we should expect to find activities organised in zones along the domestic space, whether they are separated physically with walls or arranged within a single room. In contrast, centralised house layouts refer mainly to activities organised around a focal point, which is usually the fireplace when we are dealing with a single room, or the *hagiati* in the case of complete houses. Courtyard houses mainly refer to the general arrangement of rooms around an enclosed yard, similar to those already recovered from Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish archaeological contexts. Furthermore, the parallel planning of rooms within a house shows a clear influence of the Western concepts of symmetry in Renaissance and Neoclassical architecture. Finally, the vertical arrangements are mainly multi-storey tower structures with an organisation of single-room spaces on top of each other, as briefly discussed in the previous section.

In particular, there is a clear preference for linear arrangements throughout the periods of interest. The popularity of the particular spatial organisation through time has to be related to both the house type and the plan itself. Starting from the type therefore, it is evident that the majority of the linear spatial arrangements are found in long houses with broad or narrow façades. The shapes of the structures themselves, it seems, permits a linear arrangement of activities along the longer sides of the interior. Further, there is a distinct preference towards one and two-room plans, as well as houses with a narrow hall and one room at either side, the internal divisions actually being physical manifestations of the zonal organisation of activities.

Conversely, centralised activity or house orderings appear gradually in the Early and more dramatically, the Middle Ottoman periods. Although they are less prominent in number and occurrence, they are found in the whole range of house types, possibly indicating an in-depth penetration of a particular arrangement during Ottoman times. Despite the lower frequency of centralised arrangements in long houses with either broad or narrow façades, they are present in a substantial number of cases, especially in Northern Greece. Additionally, if one could refer to the L- and U-shaped house types as more advanced, it is demonstrably the most common spatial arrangement in the more elaborate architectural types. But centrality seems to have been favoured even for the more basic square types, which are often thought of as the basic structural cell of the more complex multi-room houses with centralised arrangement (Kizis 1994). When plotting the different plan types against the different house arrangement categories, the picture is further elucidated. Thus, next to the one and two-room plan, the vast majority of centralised structures are found in more complex plans based on the *hagiati*, both along and surrounding it.

Beside linear and centralised schemes, arrangements around courtyard seem to consist of the long house with broad façade, and the L- and U-shaped houses. In all three cases the domestic structure is placed along one or more sides of the yard, in the case of the second and third types, then further closed by a high yard wall, prohibiting visual and physical access within it. Usually, these domestic spaces comprise more than two rooms that are added to the main core of the structure according to household needs, whether practical or social. They are found mainly in Attika as well as Crete and the island groups of the Cyclades and the Dodecanese. Similar arrangements are also known from the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish archaeological contexts, especially in urban settlements.

Finally, parallel arrangements are a phenomenon that appeared on Crete and the Ionian islands in the 17th century and were introduced into the rest of Greece with the advent of Neoclassicism in the 19th century. The basic characteristic is the symmetry of the plan with rows of rooms arranged as mirror images at the two opposite sides of an entrance or reception hall. Only rarely does this particular arrangement appear in other plan categories and its application seems to have been possibly only in house types such as the long houses with broad façades, and less frequently, L- and U-shaped types.

House and Style

Stylistic variability has played an important role in the processes of distinction and emulation, modernisation and nation building, and, as already mentioned, the choice of architectural types preferred for scholarly investigation. The style categories selected here illustrate some of these processes, revealing not only the social variation, but also the shifts between different sources of beliefs, ideals and the social values of behaviour. Furthermore, scholars have often tried to present and explain these constituent ideals by concentrating on the particular styles that are taken to represent them. Thus, in addition to the two main basic categories of the *agricultural mainland* and the *Aegean* forms, which could be regarded as clearly vernacular, the Ottoman, Venetian, influenced by the Italian Renaissance, and Neoclassical styles have been added to the list. The first two constitute the majority of structures found on the mainland and the Aegean islands, respectively. The last three seem to have been introduced at different times and in different geographical regions, with varying degrees of penetration throughout the area of this study. Often their introduction retained all the original features of the style, but most commonly, individual aspects were incorporated into the local styles, giving rise to regional interpretations (Rural Neoclassical and Ottoman Neoclassical). The three other styles included in the database are the *towers* and the *mansions*, referring to particular structures, and the *medieval*, addressing a particular period rather than a style.

Due to its simplicity in form, the mainland agricultural style may be dated to the Middle Byzantine period (*see* Appendix A section 1). This should not necessarily imply a cultural and stylistic continuity, especially when taking into consideration the movements of populations and the invasions and migrations of groups, whether within the Balkan Peninsula or to and from Asia Minor (modern Turkey), Italy and even Western and Northern Europe throughout the Middle Ages and the entire Ottoman period. In fact, the persistence of the particular style on the mainland should be interpreted as an indicator of limited real change in pre-industrial peasant lifestyle. According to the studies presented, the particular style is found mainly in settlements with a loose pattern of occupation, that is rural settlements, hamlets and villages. To a much lesser extent they are found in nucleated sites, mainly of a fortified nature, on the mainland, as the style is rarely encountered on the islands. Moreover, despite the small number of *çiftliks* studied, a considerable number of structures of the mainland agricultural style seem to have been studied, which regularly form a part of this particular settlement type. Even more characteristic is the vast predominance of the long house with broad façade type, stressing not only the preference of the peasant communities for this particular type, but also the long lasting tradition of the particular lifestyle associated with the type.

Thus, it is not surprising that a large number of houses of the particular type conform to the predominant aforementioned linear arrangement of activities. The distribution of the mainland agricultural style in relation to the different plan possibilities is comparable to those of the linear arrangement. Consequently, the one and two room plans proved to be the most appropriate for the mainland peasant lifestyle, corresponding to their particular functional needs. Further division of the internal linear space of the mainland agricultural house was less popular, especially in villages. The hall with two or three rooms was therefore not very common and seems to be a development of the late 19th and early 20th century. Interestingly, and especially in the area of Chalkidiki (northern Greece) and Thrace, the arrangement of the particular style is mainly centralised with rooms arranged along a *hagiati*, a characteristic that is often related to Ottoman style houses. It has been suggested by scholars that this corresponds to the needs of the production of tobacco that thrived until recently in those areas (Aikaterinidis 1994), but this hypothesis should be ruled out since tobacco cultivation seems to have been only recently introduced into the area

(Moutsopoulos 1993b). It seems therefore that the particular adoption of the centralised arrangement should be found in the cultural influences that the proximity to major centres (Istanbul and Thessaloniki) may have caused and possibly to the lifestyle of the local population itself (smaller numerical differences between Christian and Muslim populations than elsewhere in Greece, at least until the 1920s).

Similar remarks may be made for the Aegean style, whose origins can be firmly dated to the 13th and 14th centuries and which remained virtually unchanged throughout the Late Byzantine/Frankish and Ottoman periods. Although the arrangement was predominantly linear, the house types are almost equally divided between long houses with broad and narrow façades. The difference between the two types should be related mainly to the settlement type. The types with narrow façades are mainly found in nucleated settlements, while the broad façades are found in loose or even dispersed sites (*katoikies*). Since the islands nucleated settlements date from the 13th and 14th centuries, it seems that the narrow façade type should be related to the settlement pattern and the lifestyle of that particular period, remaining virtually unchanged though the Ottoman period as well. In contrast, the loose and dispersed settlements, especially on the Cyclades and the Dodekanese do not appear until the 19th century, when piracy was tackled and the countryside was safe for more permanent settlement and storage of produce. It should be noted that it is also the period when ownership of extensive lands became less prominent, allowing peasants to own and cultivate their own land (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991). In both cases the houses rarely have more than two rooms, in the nucleated settlements this is mainly due to the original design of the settlements, and in the countryside structures it is possibly because of the limited needs and financial possibilities of the peasants. Nevertheless, some did become more complex, as the size of the farm holdings, the technological innovations and the agricultural activities expanded (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991).

An interesting aspect of the Aegean style is the courtyard arrangement that is mainly found on the islands. Usually in nucleated settlements, these arrangements consist of series of rooms around a small walled yard that, as we shall see below, is as much part of the household as any other roofed room. As a stylistic and arrangement combination it is also found in certain coastal areas of the mainland, i.e. Attika, as well as Eastern Crete. These arrangements are in most cases multi-room complexes, whether the rooms are arranged along one, two or more sides around the yard.

In contrast, the so-called Ottoman International Style, nowadays found mainly in towns of Northern Greece, has its earliest examples in the late 17th century, i.e. the Middle Ottoman period. It is a style of urban centres and large prosperous villages that scarcely managed penetration of rural settlements.

However, it was introduced almost indiscriminately to most house types, whether in plan or decoration, but as shown graphically, particular preferences in plan can be noted. Thus, linear and enclosed *hagiati* arrangements predominate, the latter having already been related to a centralised arrangement, clearly contrasting with the linear arrangements of the mainland agricultural and Aegean styles, mentioned above. The apparent later introduction of the Ottoman style seems to justify its name and additionally suggests the influx of an alternative lifestyle. Its limited penetration into the rural settlements and its development into elaborate architectural forms of the administrative, landowning and commercial elite of the urban centres, indicate that it was introduced by the upper layers of the social pyramid into the geographical area of modern Greece. It could be argued therefore that the particular style was originally a symbol of status and power, introducing and emulating elements of a developed architectural form, the origin of which should be sought in 16th and 17th century Istanbul, capital of the Ottoman Empire, as well as provincial urban centres, where Ottoman elite groups were introduced retaining their habits and traditions already from the late 15th century.

Neoclassicism is comparable in its original distribution during the 19th and early 20th centuries and adoption by the administrative and middle strata of the urban centres and larger villages. Significant to its spread in Southern Greece was the conscious introduction of the style by consecutive governments of the newly established Kingdom into all major and minor administrative centres. The nation-building processes put into place, eliminating the Ottoman past and propagandising in favour of the European and Classical Greek ideal, should be taken into account when considering this process (Sigalos 2001). Apart from the classicising decoration of this style, its major characteristic is the symmetry of both form and spatial arrangement. Thus, the houses comprise a central hall, either in the form of a corridor or a large reception area (*sala* or *saloni*), flanked by symmetrically arranged rooms. The symmetry and sober design were to symbolise the new era into which the Modern Greek people had entered, turning their back on the Eastern part of their nature and facing the promising West. Beside the official Neoclassical style, however, local variations were introduced, often in the form of decorative features and increasingly throughout the period, affecting the internal arrangement and planning of the domestic space. These adaptations have here been termed Rural Neoclassical, to differentiate the Neoclassical core from the peripheral interpretations of the style.

Similarly, the Ottoman Neoclassicising style in Northern Greece reflects the modernisation efforts of the Ottoman Empire during the latter part of the 19th century, rather than nation building practices in the bounds of the Ottoman Empire.

The impact of Venetian architecture on areas such as Crete and the Ionian islands should also be mentioned. The style shows many similarities to Neoclassicism, but remains closer to the principles of the Renaissance rather than the more developed Western European styles of the 18th and 19th centuries. As already mentioned, the Venetian style should be dated to the 16th and 17th centuries, marking the Venetian naval state's cultural peak. The style is encountered in urban, nucleated and countryside contexts and typologically demonstrated a wide range of possibilities. Similar to Neoclassicism, the Venetian style is defined by symmetry in organisation and design, based on values set in Renaissance Italy.

The final three styles are mainly related to building types that cannot be categorised in any of the above styles. Thus, the towers, discussed above, are concentrated in the Middle and Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods, usually overlooking a *çiftlik* estate. Since their arrangement was mainly vertical, they comprised a single room per floor and had a distinct fortified nature. This points to their role as refuge structures, which may have also been used in peaceful times for storage and most probably, seasonal accommodation for the landlord. Additionally, they can be regarded as a symbol of status and power over the *re'aya*, the peasant population that worked in the surrounding property. The role of the mansions was similar in that they overlooked the land around them, whether on the Venetian Ionian Islands and Crete, or on Ottoman Chios. Stylistically, these mansions retained the local, in the case of Chios, or more international pretensions of their times. In contrast, the medieval style refers to the peculiarity of the architecture of the Mastichochoria (mastic producing villages) on Chios which were established in the 15th century by the Genoese and which do not seem to have conformed to the general settlement organisation, planning and arrangement of the other Aegean islands.

Particular house examples

Single Space Houses

The single space house, which is a room and a house at the same time, is a simple structure that is present in all cultures and periods. As a structure, it covered the needs of an agriculturally orientated nuclear family society, that not only housed the members of the household but also the domestic animals, whether under the same roof or in a separate stable. The type can be found in a series of variations that are frequently not geographically determined. Variations can be found within one settlement introducing other factors including socio-economic and symbolic factors. In fact, the shape of the structure reflects and moulds the organisation of the internal space and consequently the lifestyle of the inhabitants of the structures.

Long Houses

The most common type of house structure in Greece is the long house. These are a one-storey houses built of roughly cut local stone and, occasionally on the plains, mud-brick. In most cases the stone is mortared with mud. Timber framing is mostly used in mud-brick structures and is occasionally found in stone long houses. In littoral areas they may have a flat roof, whereas tiled roofs are common everywhere else. The hearth could be located in the centre of the room, in a corner or along one of the walls. Chimneys and simple openings in the roof for the smoke to escape were rare on the mainland until rather recently. By way of contrast, the provision of a chimney in a littoral house, especially on the Cyclades, seems to have been the norm.

The long house may seem a very simple and basic construction, representing a "peasant" society. It is evident, however, from house fittings (iron window bars, metal fittings) and the decorations (hewn doorways, windows, quoins, sculpted figures and symbols) that a degree of specialisation was required which implied a set tradition and etiquette to support it (Rackham and Moody 1996) depending on the local economy, the cultural level of the area and the contacts with the outer world. After all, it is well known that groups of builders organised in cooperatives, or *isnafia*, travelled around Greece throughout the summer months to cover the house construction needs of the local populations (*see* Konstantinopoulos 1983).

The idea of a single undivided space should be qualified. Despite the absence of partition walls there seems to have been conceptual boundaries (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 24; Hillier and Hanson 1984: 176-183) that determined the different activity areas. A clear distinction, for instance, is made between the area used for stabling domestic animals and the human living areas when a separate stable was not available. The divisions between the activity areas in the case of the long house are arranged in a linear manner, thus allowing household activities to take place simultaneously (Kizis 1994). Stabling, cooking, eating, sleeping and possibly weaving or other types of household manufacture would be housed within the same space and would be arranged along the full length of the house.

The *auli*, or yard, also seems to have been a very important part of the household. It was the intermediate space between the outer and inner world. Besides, various activities were and are still taking place outdoors, especially the most "messy" ones, introducing the theoretical concept of cleanliness (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 25). Whenever present, the oven, the winepress, the olive-press and the toilet would be located within the yard. During the summer months, a bench along the long side of the house would transfer the household to the yard, where social activities would also take place. The yard is therefore an integral part of the house and stresses the sharing of activities between interior and exterior. In

the littoral nucleated villages, where a house yard is not available due to the lack of space, it is compensated by the use of the streets or roofs.

The linear arrangement of the houses can have two directions that concern different degrees of depth. Thus, depending on whether the long house is entered from the longer or shorter side, different principles, traditions and spatial conceptions may be extracted.

i. Entered from the long façade (see Appendix A section 2)

Houses entered from the long side are predominant in mainland agricultural settlements with more dispersed patterns of built environment (*Figure 90*). On the Aegean islands it becomes a more common type for seasonally-occupied isolated structures, or *katoikies*, especially during the 19th century when the decline of piracy and landed aristocracy permitted peasant families to colonise the landscape beyond the nucleated settlements (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991, Mouzelis 1978: 13-17). Furthermore, they may survive in large agricultural estates, or *çiftliks*, of the Ottoman period, housing the labour force of these early commercial plantations. They are also found in the outskirts of rural towns (e.g. Thebes, Livadeia) that mainly developed during the later decades of the 19th century as part of the urbanisation and industrialisation processes commencing during the Early Modern era in Greece.

They were often internally undivided, providing shelter to both humans and animals, when separate shelters or stables were not available. For this reason doorways were opened in both long sides of the house. One was used by the occupants and the other was for the animals. Anthropologists studying recent agricultural communities in Greece have often stressed the close relationship between the humans and the household livestock (Du Boulay 1974). Further, the division of space into activity areas was conceptual and denoted by the objects present in the particular area. Thus, storage, cooking, washing, eating, sleeping would take place within the single multifunctional room, with the utensils of each activity to indicate its location within the house. The locations of the activity zones do not seem to have been in set positions when comparing different households, especially since most of the activities were transferred to the front yard of the house during the warmer seasons.

An initial demarcation of the space within the single-room long house would come with the construction of a low fence of branches and wood to keep the animals separate or the slight rising of the level of the human's main living area (e.g. 0.30 m height difference in the case of the houses in some villages of Mount Kitheron, Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986; Arkadia, Petronotis 1985; Boiotia, Messenia *see below*). This can be regarded as an important development in the ideas of the agricultural society concerning the need for separation of the humans from

the animals, leading to a higher degree of conscious hierarchy and even cleanliness. This division could take the form of a full size stone wall leading to a clear separation of humans and animals.

In some cases when a new house was constructed for the household, the initial house would even be abandoned and used only for stabling. This would be joined to the original structure at one of the short sides either further up or down the slope, creating a very long structure. It could also be the case that as the family grew and the children married, additional cells were built onto the original structure. Each of these long cells could not house more than one household comprising a nucleated family. The children therefore had to build their own houses, whether along the line of the original *makrynari* (double houses or *dipla*) or elsewhere (Kizis 1994). Often, long lines of houses almost parallel to each other were created as result of this process (e.g. a small deserted village near Amphikleia, Phokida, visited in 1998).

ii. Entered from the short façade (see Appendix A section 3)

Houses entered from the short side were usually built tightly against each other within a walled or very agglomerated settlement (*Figure 91*). Castles and fortified settlements of the Aegean islands are built up with this type of long houses entered from the short side of the structure. This way of construction is indicative of the shortage of space within the settlements, which according to current dating evidence were planned and constructed during the 13th and 14th centuries. Additionally, these structures demonstrate a range of other characteristics of the housing patterns particular to the Aegean region and their original period of construction.

Here too the houses have one undivided multifunctional room pointing to a linear arrangement of the activity areas. However, there is a clear emphasis on depth, contrary to the left-to-right arrangement of the long houses with broad façades. Thus, the degree of privacy increases when moving further into the room, the sleeping area being at the far end of the room with built beds (*krevata*) or often on a raised level (*sofas*). Under those built beds the space created was used for the storage of produce or valuables of the household, such as the dowry. As the back was reserved for sleeping and the intimacy of the family, the rest of the room was the main area for daily activities (*sala*). A bench, often built-in along one or more sides of the room, indicated also the multifunctional nature of the room. Furthermore, the actual decoration of colourful textiles and the exhibition of valuable ceramic possessions of the household, as often survives in some of the houses, could be regarded as pointers to the increasing importance of the interior of the house as one moves towards the *krevata* or the *sofas*. The location of the fireplace in one of the corners against the façade wall also suggests this hierarchical

arrangement of the interior, suggesting that the messiest activities, such as cooking should take place far away from the "sacred" interior.

In parts of the Aegean the house became a status symbol and the interior reached higher levels of differentiation. More space was needed in order to hide or disguise a number of household activities. The floor level of the *sofas* was therefore raised even further and a staircase was added, so as to fit an extra room below it. This area (*apokrevatos*) was divided by means of a *boulme*, or a wooden, often lavishly decorated wall, and was used as a storage area or kitchen (Filippidis 1977, 1984, Vostani-Koumpa 1982). In addition, various valuable household items, such as imported ceramics and embroideries were displayed on wooden shelves and in niches. The house became such a display object and, following the hypothesis of Raglan (Raglan 1964: 42), such a family shrine, so that on the island of Karpathos, the inhabitants used their houses in Elympos only on Sundays or for feasts or receptions, spending the rest of the week in their country houses, *katoikies* (Filippidis 1984).

In this case, the yard is a very important part of the household as well. The inner and outer worlds are bridged through it. At the same time a series of activities take place within its area, ranging from socialising, cooking (attested by the presence of an oven), as well as sleeping. In cases where no yard is present, as in the Aegean nucleated settlements, some activities may take place in the narrow streets (Vionis 2001). This seems to have taken place in settlements like Antiparos and Kimolos, where apartment-like houses with the characteristics of the house type described above are superimposed, the former having up to three apartments built on top of each other (Filippa-Apostolou 1982, Sanders 1996).

Square Houses - the ondas (see Appendix A section 4)

Beyond the axial development of the activities within the long houses, a different kind of arrangement spread throughout the Greek geographical region based on a square single room house construction (*Figure 92*). The square house, which was not found within Greece before the Middle Ottoman period, seems to have introduced a different activity arrangement of the household. Within these structures, the stress, rather than being axial, is on a particular focal point in most cases the fireplace that can be located in the centre of the room or the middle of one of the walls. Low benches would have been arranged around this focal point with reference to it. The size and shape of the room in relation to the particular centralised arrangement prohibited the spatial organisation of the household activities along an axis. Thus, since at least sleeping, resting, cooking and eating had to happen within this space, they had to be arranged temporally according to a particular timetable throughout the day.

Consequently, every activity had to be planned in advance and the required utensils laid out at a particular moment and tidied up after completion so as not to interfere with the other household operations. Thus, in the morning all the bedding that was arranged around the fireplace had to be tidied up and stored to free the space for the daily activities of the household. For this purpose, sufficient storage space was supplied at one side of the room, either in the form of niches and bedding piles (*gioukos*) or as *mousandres*, wooden cupboards at one side of the room.

Thus, it seems that the *ondas* presupposed its sole use by humans, the animals being excluded from this space. The latter were stabled elsewhere in a separate structure. This indicates a different set of values that may show both a conscious distancing of the livestock from the family, contrasting with the coexistence in long houses, or better-off groups of peasants for whom it was possible to keep the animals apart.

Another characteristic of the *ondas* is the position of the entrance. The room has only one door, which is always located at the side of the room, so that the interior is not visible from outside. This attempt to conceal the interior of the house and room is further enhanced by the position of the *mousandra*, the cupboard mentioned above, near the entrance, further limiting the visual field of the person entering the room. In fact, this tiny space between the entrance and the *mousandra* acted as an antechamber to the room. Beside the angled access and visual line and the antechamber, a further rise in the floor level of at least two thirds of the room emphasised the "sacredness" of the interior. The lower third of the room, called the *rouga* or *souda*, was the place where the shoes would be taken off so as not to pollute the interior of the house.

The main space of the *ondas* was symmetrically organised around the focal point, which was in most cases the fireplace. Broad benches, *menderia*, were arranged symmetrically around it for seating and sleeping, as were the carpets and blankets when the benches were absent. In fact, it seems that the benches gradually gained height during the 19th century under the influence of Western sofas.

Finally, as has been noted by a number of architects studying the particular architectural form, the *mousandra* had additional roles, especially in Muslim houses, but also in some Christian houses of Northern Greece. Thus, the *mousandra* would have a small staircase within it leading to a platform between the cupboard and the ceiling, which would be screened off from the main space of the room with elaborate woodcarving. This space, the *dipato* or *gynaikonytis*, would be reserved for the women when male visitors were present. From there they could observe the visits taking place in the room below without themselves being seen. Moreover, a toilet may have been placed within the *mousandra* or even a small escape exit used

in case of attack (Chrysopoulos 1960: 290; Loukakis 1960: 201).

It should be noted that all these features are not necessarily found in most simple square structures in Greece, since they describe the most complete and developed form of the *ondas*. The centralised arrangement, however, and the symmetry around a focal point, as well as the temporal organisation of activities, remain unchanged throughout the social scale, and especially in Northern Greece, irrespective of religious belief.

The centralised nature of the structure and the general trends of hierarchy and seclusion found within the *ondas* have often caused speculation about their origin. Despite many attempts to relate these features to architectural forms of the Byzantine and Frankish eras, no archaeological equivalent has yet been recovered. Even pictorial evidence from religious icons and manuscripts, often used to attempt to bridge the chronological gaps is inconclusive. In fact, it seems more plausible to assume that this form has its origins in the East, demonstrating similarities to tent arrangements of nomadic tribes. It may be possible that the whole organisation has close links to cosmological interpretations of the early Ottoman and Bedouin nomadic tribes, but this requires a special study in itself (Kizis 1994).

Specialisation of space and internal divisions

It has been noted that in Western Europe during the late Medieval and post-Medieval periods, private space expanded at the expense of the Medieval house plan, which was a large semi-public structure, focussed on the central and large hall for receiving visitors, feasting and other commonly-shared activities. This transformation encapsulates the increasing privacy of the domestic house and the erosion of communal and semi-public space, as observed in the West (Dovey 1985: 57), but probably has parallels to changes in the domestic space recorded in some house forms in later times in Greece and the former Byzantine Empire. Thus, the replacement of the open, non-symmetrical house with its large multifunctional spaces where entertainment and cooking happen together, by closed and symmetrical forms that employ access barriers (porch, lobby, vestibule, hall) to restrict access to the centre, while the interior is divided up into small compartments, with separate rooms for cooking, entertainment and sleeping (Glassie 1987, 1990), may be detected in the spatial division of the house in Post Medieval and Early Modern Greece.

The aforementioned house structures seem to combine all activities within the same physically undivided space, a characteristic that has been noted even in the most elaborate surviving Medieval houses of Late Byzantine/Frankish Mistra (also Chapter 6). Indeed, entertainment, reception of guests, cooking, eating and sleeping happened within the same undivided space, which despite strong criticism by the

12th century military text writer Kekaumenos retained a communal and semi-public spirit (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 26, Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1896: 42-43). And even in the centralised square house form with its sound notion of importance of the interior, seclusion and privacy, the sense of community still remains strong.

It is not until the 17th and 18th centuries that this sense of community started to give way to specialisation of space and sub-division of the interior. But still, as we shall see below, the notion of single-activity oriented rooms did not really penetrate the Greek region until the late 19th century. Up to that time, rooms in even the larger and more complex domestic structures, despite their large number, retain their character as fully autonomous entities that could sustain a household even if they were secluded from the rest of the structure. It is actually Neoclassicism and the simultaneous industrialisation and urbanisation of the society of the Greek State that irreversibly introduced the notion of individuality and the specialisation and sub-division of the domestic interior. The replacement of the activity areas by individual rooms, segregating household activities so as to reduce the communal nature of the house, and consequently increase the sense of privacy, could be regarded as the main characteristic of the Neoclassical era. Degrees of privacy and demarcations of status pre-existed within the domain of the house, but clear separation of activities was not initiated until the 19th and 20th centuries.

Extensions of the basic structure

The Kamara

An interesting feature mainly of the littoral areas of Greece is the parallel extension of the long house with broad façade. In fact, it is an addition of an identical structure parallel to the original and linking them together under the same roof. On Crete the process of linking the two spaces together has been studied in detail by Rackham and Moody (Rackham and Moody 1996). The major problem of these constructions is the support of the roof that, whether flat or pitched, cannot be supported by the wooden beams available either on the mainland or the insular parts of Greece. Thus, supporting posts and small walls at either side of the structure have been employed according to the economic possibilities of the households. The most elaborate and valued solution, however, has been the *kamara*, or arch, bridging the width of the structure and, in addition to providing sufficient support for the roof, has the benefit of granting the structure valuable anti-seismic protection (*Figure 93*).

Furthermore, the presence of the arch presents a boundary and marker in the organisation of activities within the domestic space. It divides the house into four large niches and a central space. The niches have been utilised to organise and seclude various activities,

such as cooking (marked by a fireplace), storage (storage pithoi and jars or dug storage cisterns), wine production (wine press or fermentation vats) and sleeping. Often these niches between the arch-supports acquire low lofts that are used for sleeping (the space underneath usually reserved for storage) and are even screened off, resulting in small cubicles. Numerous possibilities and combinations of arrangements may be found within these houses, but it seems a general trend for the sleeping area to have been the furthest from the door and the cooking area closest to the entrance.

In Attika, in particular, a 19th century engraving by Stackelberg has recorded the organisation and use of such a house with a *kamara* (see Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986: 34). In the centre of the engraving a family is seen seated on the floor around a low table eating from a communal plate (*Figure 94*). Beside them and directly below the arch, a large circular tray with coal warms the room. In one of the cubicles, presumably at a lower level, the household livestock is stabled and on a wooden shelf against the wall at the far end, a few dishes and pots are either stored or displayed. Despite not being able to see what activities took place in the other three cubicles, current examples provide us with sufficient information. A similar picture can be obtained from houses with a *kamara* all around the Aegean and even as far as Cyprus, where the *kamara* houses demonstrate identical arrangements (Sinos 1984, 1986).

Exploitation of slope and addition of storeys

A very common way of extending the space of single-spaced and one-storey houses is by adding another floor. This is often regarded to have occurred due to the direction of the house, running across the inclination of the slope. The latter could be levelled either by cutting into the bedrock (e.g. Santorini, Varveris 1960) or by building a substructure, which could be used for storage, stabling or as a cistern (1½ storey house). The transition from a horizontal to a vertical division of activities could be regarded as suggesting a changing hierarchy of household practices, especially when one bears in mind that very often the two storeys were accessed separately and were mutually inaccessible. This trend is observable in all areas of Greece, whether in the Middle Ages at Mistra and Geraki, or during the Ottoman and Early Modern Period (e.g. Messenia, Arkadia, Boiotia etc.). In some cases, like Dimitsana in Arkadia, the steep slopes created the need for multi-storey houses, which in some cases had up to four or five floors (Benechoutsou 1960, Petronotis 1985, Zagorissiou 1997).

Slope difference, however, was not the only reason for the additional storeys. Admittedly, many of the two-storey and multi-storey houses had a rather fortified nature (tower houses). The wall, which in cases may be 1.5 or even 2 metres thick, the few small window and door openings and the abundance of

loopholes at strategic points of the structure suggest a clear need for defence and fortification of the house. Here again the top floor was mainly used as a living, sleeping and reception area, whereas in the case of multi-storey houses, the floor below the top was used for cooking, storage and, during the winter months, even for sleeping, showing a clear classification of activities.

Social etiquette was also important for the addition of a second storey. The second storey provided a better view from the house over the settlement or landscape and the structure itself was more visible and capturing the attention among the lower houses surrounding it. In early modern Greece the possession of a two-storey house suggested superiority, as seems to have been the case in the Byzantine period (addition of an extra floor in the case of Geraki, *see* Chapter 6 and Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989-1990) as well as in the Ottoman period (for instance in *çiftlik* estates). The importance of a good view, however, should also be stressed. During the Byzantine period, in particular, laws were issued concerning new building regulations intended to prevent obstruction of the view of neighbouring houses (Freshfield 1930, 1931, Koukoules 1951). Similar laws were later issued by the Ottoman authorities as well as local communities, especially on the islands (e.g. Santorini, Varveris 1960).

A further issue that should be considered is the approximation to the sky by raising the height of the house. Birkalan suggests that houses in Turkey and even nomadic tents show a clear reference to the sky, making a distinction between earth, considered as "dirt", and "heaven" associated with the sky (1996). Within the tent the soil has to be covered with carpets and the ceilings decorated with intricate star designs (*Figure 95*). This direction towards the sky is clearly evident in the super-position of floor levels in the Ottoman houses, showing a distinct increase in decorative elaboration and cleanliness with respect to the floor levels (Birkalan 1996).

Aderfomoiri or diplo

The *aderfomoiri* or diplo house is a phenomenon indicating the strong family ties and kin relations at least until the early 20th century. The former term literally means the division between brothers and the latter the double. Thus, the *aderfomoiri* suggests a division of the paternal house among two or more brothers, either by physical internal partition or, in the case of multi-storey houses, by ownership of the different floor levels. It has often been regarded as a sign of economic decline of the family and it seems to reflect 19th and early 20th century society faced with a declining local economy and a industrialised globalisation process into which the area of the modern Greek state had entered. The declining local household manufacturing economy was superseded by

the industrialised production in Western Europe, causing the local wealthy manufacturers to decline and their descendants to share the paternal domestic space.

Often the term was extended to cover the case of a duplicate structure built adjacent to the original paternal house, dividing the actual plot between two brothers and stressing the integral role of the yard in the organisation of the household. In this case the complete structure comprising both houses was also called *diplo*, or double. These were usually single room long houses, or basic habitational family cells, arranged along lines and resulting in the long constructions or *makrynaria*, mentioned above. These oblong constructions are to be found in many regions of Greece and often result in peculiar settlement patterns of continuous long parallel lines of houses at regular intervals between them. These intervals seem to have been used either as yards for the individual domestic units or for keeping the livestock controlled between the structures.

The courtyard house

The importance of the yard to the household has already been mentioned. It has often been treated as an extension of the interior of the house, where many household activities were undertaken during the warm months of the year. In particular regions, such as Attika, Crete, Santorini and Rhodes, however, the importance of the yard was crucial enough to lead to its incorporation within the actual house structure (Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986, Devletoglou 1960, Varveris 1960, Hope 1967, Lee-Smith, Rich, and Morgan 1966, respectively). The so-called courtyard house is not only found in Ottoman and Early Modern Greece, but has also been discovered in the Prehistoric, Classical, Roman and Byzantine times, as well as elsewhere around the Mediterranean. The structure itself is evidently orientated towards the courtyard, which seems to be shielded from the rest of the settlement by the arrangement of rooms and high walls around it.

The seclusion of the courtyard from the road and the large almost monumental gate to it, suggesting entrance to the house rather than a yard, were indicators for its importance to the household. On the islands this notion was more advanced and the courtyard was paved and decorated with whitewash or with pebbled floors in elaborate decorative patterns. Flowerbeds and pots often decorated the courtyard and made this exterior space an integral part of the household. Its central role was further emphasised by the bench along the exterior of the walls of the structures, allowing sufficient comfort for activities to be transferred from the interior to the yard. Even reception of visitors often took place within the yard, even though most everyday social encounters took place outside the house and in the street.

Thus, the interior of the house remained virtually unused and was in most cases reserved for formal receptions at name day celebrations, weddings and funerals. The house in the littoral parts of Greece particularly was used mainly as a storeroom, whether of produce or the valuables of the household, or a workshop (Thakurdesai 1972). The main living space was the courtyard. Depending on the availability of space and the needs and financial possibilities of the family, rooms used for storage, stabling of animals, sleeping and possibly cooking during the winter months would be added around the courtyard. The role of the *sala*, the main reception room, was important and after the 17th century in Lindos on the island of Rhodes was doubled in height to show its prominence and emphasise its role (*Figure 96*; Hope 1967). The *sala* was still solely used for exhibition of the valuables of the family during formal receptions, possibly in a fashion similar to the *triklinos* in the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish house (Chapter 6).

The hagiati

One of the most important constituents of houses in Greece is the semi-open roofed terrace or balcony along the façade of the structure, the *hagiati* (a word of Persian origin, *hayat*, possibly introduced into Greek through Turkish; *Figure 97*). It is used as an intermediate space between the interior of the house and the outside world, whether this is the settlement or even the walled yard of the house. It may be regarded as a self-evident solution for protecting the entrance of the house as well as an actual extension of the domestic interior. Thus, it often houses basic functions of the household, such as cooking and sanitation, and at the same time it is an initial preparatory stage accentuating the sanctity of the interior. The architect Kizis, therefore, suggests that its lower frequency in long houses, both with a broad and narrow façade, in comparison to the square *ondas* structures, is explicable when evaluating the nature of activity organisation within the space of each type (Kizis 1994: 69-70). Thus, whereas the long houses permit a static linear arrangement of activities, the temporal organisation within the *ondas* suggests a greater degree of cleanliness and need for an intermediate space reserved for activities less suited to the domestic interior. In fact, the author regards this particular differential aspect of the two types as determinant of the "western" origin of the former and the "eastern" origin for the latter (Kizis 1994: 69-70).

It should be noted, however, that similar constructions of varying sizes and extents to which they cover the façade of the houses, are known to have existed possibly since the Middle Ages and surely by Late Byzantine/Frankish times. These constructions usually named *iliakos* or *exostis* (but also *exostarion, exopetaston, tavloton, tavloma, tavlaton, sanidoton, solarion, kremaston*, Koukoules 1951: 290-293, Charissis 1983: 251) provided access to and protected the entrance of the houses, especially in two-storey houses (see Mistra). Furthermore, many of the names have survived in the domestic terminology of many areas of Greece suggesting not necessarily architectural continuity, but continuous use of the particular architectural feature. As a matter of fact, the developed forms of the *hagiati* constructions got their name from Turkish, suggesting their development as part of the Ottoman architectural tradition (Kizis 1994: 70).

The role of the *hagiati*, beyond its theoretical connotations, however, has been best described by the experience of the local inhabitant and architect, as the intermediary between the self, *ego*, and nature and us, or *fysi* and *emeis*. He regards the domestic interior as isolating, sheltering and almost imprisoning the inhabitant, while the outside world seems naturally and socially threatening (Charissis 1983: 257). Thus, the *hagiati* provides a balance between the two situations of peaceful isolation and active socialisation. Beyond the functional side, therefore, Charissis introduces a sociological and psychological role to the *hagiati*, which is further emphasised by emotional effects on the inhabitants. The particular features of the structure, such as the floor, the roof and the supports, are treated as framing the overwhelming natural surroundings, not just by capturing colours and rays of light but also by structuring and restricting the view within the human visual field. Additional protection is ensured by the solid structure of the house behind the structure that provides an additional sense of security in facing the outside world (Charissis 1983).

It seems that the simplicity of shape of the *hagiati* and its numerous functional possibilities made it a favourable structure for domestic space. Its mediating role enhanced further the sanctity of the interior, especially in the case of the square house with the temporal internal arrangement of activities. Furthermore, the security and human scale of the *hagiati* provided the inhabitants a space for peace and relaxation, combining the shelter of the house and the freedom of the natural environment. It should therefore be seen as a meeting point of the complementary inner and outer world, individual and communal, culture and nature.

The development of international styles

Beyond the local rural arrangement of domestic space, grand architectural traditions have been developing, whether in Greece, as the main region of concern, as well as outside its bounds. These more elaborate traditions superseded national and religious boundaries and penetrated at various degrees into the local architectural forms of both urban and rural settlements. Penetration often varied according to the nature of the contemporary sphere of influence, but predominantly in relation to the social role and aim that the adoption of particular styles was supposed to play. Thus, beside the role of Ottoman and European cultures influencing architectural developments in the region of modern Greece, the purpose of the penetration may often prove to be more valuable to explore than the resulting forms and degrees.

Ottoman style

The basic constituent of the so-called Ottoman International style that is found throughout the Balkans, Asia Minor or Turkey and urban centres of the Mediterranean Middle East was the square centralised room discussed above. As a basic cell, the *ondas*, was multiplied as the household grew, since it was able to sustain only a limited number of people. The *hagiati* as an intermediate space provided the link between the different cells that were either aligned along or enclosed in and incorporated into the structure resulting in L- and U-shaped houses, respectively (*Figure 98*). It was not only the number of household members that affected the plan of the house complex, but further functional and social needs that also had to be satisfied. Whereas in smaller houses one or two *ondades* were sufficient for a peasant family, more complex houses tended to have rooms exclusively used for reception (*kalos ondas, mousafir ondas* etc.), for putting up guests (*bas-ondas*), for drinking coffee (*kafe-ondas*) to name a few (Chrysopoulos 1960, Diamantopoulou 1987, Kizis 1994, Loukakis 1960, Moutsopoulos 1971, 1982, Sideris and Tsironis 1960). Their orientation, location in the plan and view of the rooms often determined their importance and role. Once a particular location was assigned, it would not usually change and often survived as such until the present day.

The *hagiati*, acting as an intermediate accessing space between the autonomous rooms, determined the layout of the rooms, and is therefore used by scholars to detect different typological characteristics (Kizis 1994, Moutsopoulos 1982, Moutsopoulos 1993a, Moutsopoulos 1993b). Thus, moving beyond the simple square room with a centralised arrangement, the *hagiati* allows the arrangement of rooms along its length, it may be enclosed between two parallel rows of rooms or may be placed right in the centre of the house complex (*Figure 98a, b, c* and *d*, respectively). Parts of these communication spaces, or *hagiatia*, were often converted to sitting areas (*krevates*). Other parts of the *hagiati* are raised above the rest of the floor level and separated with elaborately decorated arcades, providing a sense of perforated internal division and variety. These semi-open spaces usually enjoy the best view and could be converted into semi-open kiosks. From a simple functional accessing space the *hagiati* therefore becomes a completely integrated domestic space for ceremonies, receptions, everyday life and household activities, with fittings that may satisfy most needs of the family.

Moreover, the *hagiati* in the more elaborate structures of Ottoman style as the intermediary between the outer and inner world, becomes the

entrance in the "heaven" recreated within the realm of the domestic space (*Figure 99*). As already mentioned, the rise within these structures from the earth, the "dirt", comes in stages through the different floors of the house. The *hagiati* here is the ultimate stage and the threshold into the inner house domain and may be seen as the last stage before entrance into the *ondas*, the space for withdrawing. This highly hierarchical organisation of domestic space may have its origins in the cosmological organisation of the nomadic "*yurt*", or tent, regarded by many as the forerunner of the autonomous centralised square cell of the Ottoman Architectural Style (Birkalan 1996, Hillier and Hanson 1984).

During the late 17th and 18th centuries, the Ottoman International Style seems to have been introduced into the Greek mainland and became established, especially, in the vernacular structures of urban and semi-urban settlements. This phenomenon predominately affected the North of Greece, being closer to the main trade routes of the Balkans and the capital of the Ottoman Empire, where high Ottoman architecture was at its peak. Nevertheless, it has been shown that it filtered down to the western areas of Turkey, Cyprus, the Balkans and the southernmost parts of Greece, reaching even Crete, and possibly presenting a more homogeneous spread than previously thought. In all these areas the type seems to have been homogeneous in its general characteristics. However, initial attempts suggest slight internal and external variations according to religion, for instance, as has been shown in the case of Thessaloniki (Anastasiadis 1990, Moutsopoulos 1976).

The houses of this Ottoman type are usually large, with two or three storeys. The buildings show two distinct types of construction in their façades, indicating not only a stylistic demarcation, but also a functional differentiation. The lower part (ground and, if the house had three storeys, possibly the first floor) is stone built with few and small openings, giving a sense of safety and austerity. The upper floor, in contrast, is of lighter construction, usually a combination of wood and plaster, with large and continuous windows, often protruding from the stone substructure. The top floor was reserved for everyday family life and reception on formal occasions. The ground floor and *mesopatoma*, or the level between the ground and top floors, was used for storage, workshop activities and, during the winter, other everyday activities that were usually housed in the upper floor during the warmer months of the year.

Internally, the rooms, or *ondades*, have a more or less square plan and are arranged either along a corridor or around a large, often semi-open, central room, the *hagiati*. Within the rooms, differences in floor levels give a strong sense of spatial hierarchy that may reflect and consolidate the actual structure of the household and family. Interestingly, there is a lack of mobile furniture. Low-built benches usually surrounding the three sides of the rooms were used as seats for the activities during the day and as beds at night. Closets built within the walls of each room permitted such temporal changes of activities, providing storage for the bedding during daytime and the household utensils at night (Kizis 1994).

This particular house type and household arrangement, reminiscent of the Ottoman ideals of spatial use, seems to have been preferred in regions with commercial activity, such as Veroia, Kastoria, Ioannina (Charissis 1960, Chrysopoulos 1960, Faroqhi 1980, Loukakis 1960, Moutsopoulos 1974, Sideris and Tsironis 1960), and proto-industrial production, like Pelion and Ambelakia (Diamantopoulou 1987, Kizis 1994, Stoianovich 1960). These local groups are not just incorporating architectural forms, but also everyday habits into their lifestyle, to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population. The dress style was possibly used as the most prominent code for differentiation (*Figure 100*).

It is often claimed that these large houses, or *archontika*, are closely related to the advanced Ottoman architectural tradition and, in particular, the fortified tower houses overlooking large estates, or *çiftliks*, of the Ottoman private elite and other officials. If these tower houses were symbols of power of the local Ottoman and Ottomanised elite, overlooking and, literally, controlling estates and their associated settlements, Kizis argues, then the *archontika* were manifestations of the entrepreneurial success of the local population during the late 17th and throughout the 18th centuries (Kizis 1994: 76). What I am arguing, bearing in mind the complexity of the subject, is that when the local inhabitants built houses in the Ottoman International style, they were trying to emulate the higher elite groups of the Ottoman Empire, at least in material terms, by introducing a similar architecture and lifestyle, while boasting of their own success. Despite their possible "Greekness" and Christian religious beliefs, by adopting an Ottoman style they attempted to distinguish themselves from the rest of the population by adopting the symbols of distinction available to them. This was not, however, a mere imitation of the original architectural form. It was a process of creating something new combining a thorough understanding of the principles underlying precedents with their current social and status needs (Lang, Desai and Desai 1997). The houses developed into more complex structures, often incorporating decorative features into their design from Central and Western Europe (Diamantopoulou 1987, Kizis 1994, Leonidopoulou-Stylianou 1987), representative of the proto-industrial and commercial parts of Late Ottoman society. Thus, these *archontika* could be regarded as the active symbols of the process of re-identification of these social groups by means of the distinctiveness and consolidation of their new role (Sigalos 2001).

Neoclassical style

The dawn of the Greek state followed not long after the peak of the Enlightenment. Europe was becoming redirected stylistically towards Classical Antiquity and this time not the Roman, as was the case during the Renaissance, Baroque and Rococo periods, but to the Classical Greek past. Influential scholars like Winckelmann had showed increasing interest in Ancient Greek architecture, praising its simplicity and clarity of form (Petridou 1985). British, French, German, Italian and Dutch explorers of the Antique Past started organising long travels to Greece to rediscover its Glory (*see also* Angelomatis-Tsougarakis 1990).

Thus, when Greece was recognised as an independent state and was given a King, Otto from Bavaria, the aspiration for a "violent" (referring to India, Lang, Desai and Desai 1997) revival of the Classical Ideal could be fulfilled. Having been devastated by the War of Independence, Greece provided ample opportunity for such plans. Despite having declined to an unimportant provincial town during the later Ottoman period in favour of Chalkis (Mackenzie 1992), Athens, in particular, was now to become the capital of the Greek Kingdom and had to be planned and built according to its reputation. Architects from Germany, France and Denmark, as well as Greeks who had studied abroad, took the responsibility of pursuing this ambitious plan, even envisioning the building of a palace on the Acropolis itself (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001). The Academy and the National Library in Athens were built during the first decades of the establishment of the Greek Kingdom the University, to mention a few only examples of the Neoclassical or Neo-Greek architectural style (Oikonomou 1985). Similar projects were in full swing in other towns of the tiny state, from Pylos to Argos and Patras to Livadeia and Thebes. They were, however, mainly limited to town planning, due to poor financial conditions (Kalafati 1985, Tsakopoulos 1985).

The attempt to reunite the Greeks with their Antique past was not limited to architecture. The adoption of the *katharevousa*, an artificial language combining ancient and modern linguistic forms, was another feature that shows the clear intentions of the intellectual elite to revive the past, an attempt very much criticised throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Nation building practices with emphasis on the classical past seem to be relevant to the discussion. Despite the fact that a number of different ethnic groups were scattered throughout the Greek landscape (Bintliff 1995, Bintliff 2000, Charanis 1967, Hasluck 1908-09, Kiel 1988, Stoianovich 1960), a homogeneous nation based on European standards had to be created. On the one hand, the antiquities, in many cases still visible above the ground, of which the Akropolis was the ultimate symbol, provided connection to the past. On the other hand, the imported Neoclassicism in architecture and the selective application of ideals of Enlightened Europe symbolised the re-founding and revival of the Greek glory and *ethnos* on top of its ancient ruins. Soon after Independence, the first leader of the State, Kapodistrias, ordered that all *sahnisia*, or jetties, be demolished as reminiscent of the Turkish past. This commenced the initial transformation of his first official base, Nafplion, and subsequently of all towns from Ottoman to European appearance (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001: 62). Thus, when the Korai (female Archaic and Classical period sculptures) were found on the Acropolis in the late 19th century, the director of the excavations Kavvadias invited King George I to a special ceremony. The King was supposed to excavate the head of a Kore and clean the earth from the faces of other sculptures with a sponge (Kiosse 2001). This symbolic act illustrates the eagerness of the "Greek" citizens to reunite with their distant past, inviting their King, himself not even indigenous, to verify the awakening of the nation.

Neoclassicism spread gradually throughout the Greek Kingdom and filtered down to the middle and lower social groups. By the end of the 19th and during the early 20th centuries all the urban and semi-urban centres had a series of neoclassicising architectural exemplars, either built in their entirety according to this style or externally refurbished to disguise the older interior, placing stress on the link with the past. It could be suggested that the introduction of Neoclassical symmetry in the façade and the interior organisation of even the simple domestic structures seem to have symbolised a maturing of the ideals of the Modern Greek nation (Sigalos 2001).

This architectural transformation should therefore be seen as a crystallisation of a conscious reorientation towards the West, that was regarded as having enlightened and resurrected the Greek nation. This has been demonstrated very clearly in the study of Eleftherios Pavlides and Jana Hesser on the house form and decoration in Eressos on the island of Lesvos. Neoclassical designs were incorporated into the house décor immediately after the island was joined to the Greek state, indicating the inhabitants' needs to be linked with the Greek nation and its glorious ancestral lineage (Pavlides and Hesser 1986).

Instead of a conclusion

Thus, some aspects of vernacular architecture in Greece have been presented and discussed in an attempt to tackle some of the "puzzling distributions of similarities and differences" (Hillier and Hanson 1984: 4). Various groupings of characteristics have been described and compared, on physical, typological, organisational and stylistic grounds, and some generalisations and patterns have been discerned. I have thus tried to pave the way for the analysis of the architectural forms of the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish period; an era seldom studied

archaeologically especially as far as the domestic structures and their broader social context are concerned. Further, I have provided the background for the understanding of the particular architectural developments noted in the architectural survey in the province of Boiotia, both in relation to the results of the archaeological survey of the Boiotia Project and the general economic and socio-political developments

of the broader region of Central Ottoman and Early Modern Greece. Similarly, many of the principle aspects of the discussion of the South Messenian data have been presented, concerning the transformation of the Ottoman town and village house architecture to the Modern Greek "Europeanised" ideals of the 19th and early 20th centuries.

6 EXCAVATED AND SURVEYED HOUSES IN POST-ROMAN GREECE (APPENDIX B[1])

The reconstruction of a three-dimensional house from what is usually a two-dimensional plan of foundations in the archaeological record has always been a challenge, especially when issues such as household organisation and patterns of activity are in question. For this purpose, ethnographic and sociological studies are often employed, together with textual information when available. Specific information concerning the house-plans and the material found in association with them is, however, necessary for the analysis of household trends. In the case of Post-Roman excavated house structures, that is those from the Early Byzantine, Middle Byzantine, Frankish/Late Byzantine and Ottoman periods, the available examples are mainly recovered in excavations aimed at the study of prehistoric and classical remains or rescue excavations. In prehistoric and classical excavations, any finds relating to the later periods are often seen as obscuring the aims of the excavation and are therefore often inadequately recorded and published. Consequently, much relevant information is either lost or presented in a fragmentary form.

In this chapter I will attempt to examine some aspects of excavated and surveyed examples of houses belonging to the Post-Roman period within the geographical area of modern Greece, as identified in a number of publications (*Figure 101*). For this purpose, I compiled a catalogue containing the most complete house plans covering a period from the 8th to the late 19th centuries. My aim is to present and analyse the different house plans according to period and settlement type, and to suggest possible explanations for the variety noted until the late 15th century, based on varying attitudes toward the use of space in relation to socio-economic and political trends when possible.

Before examining the archaeological data, it is crucial to mention that indirect information on housing, especially for the Byzantine and Frankish periods, can be obtained from written sources. These comprise regulations referring to the organisation of settlements and the building of houses (e.g. *Basilika, Hexabiblos* of Harmenopoulos, etc.), wills (Oikonomides 1990) and deeds of sale mainly of highly ranked officials

surviving in monasteries, and indirect references in patristic or hagiological texts. Most have already been mentioned in the work of Koukoules (Koukoules 1951: 249-317), although he neglected chronological sequences and assumed that the Byzantine period was uniform from the establishment of Constantinople until its fall. It should be noted that quite frequently building regulations were copied from pre-existing legal *codici* that were initially issued in the Late Roman period (e.g. parts of the *Hexabiblos* of Harmenopoulos; Freshfield 1930, Karpozilos 1989). Patristic and hagiological texts mostly stress the vanity of the wealthy as reflected in their houses (e.g. Koukoules 1951: 272), thus showing a clear bias towards the elite. In addition, pictorial data with illustrations of buildings appearing in wall paintings, icons and manuscript miniatures have attracted attention (e.g. Beylie 1902, Estopanan 1965, Grabar and Manoussacas 1979; *Figure 102*). Many scholars, however, argue that they are not representations of actual houses, but copies of originals from Late Antiquity, their value lying mainly in their details (Bouras 1982-1983). In fact according to the text that they accompany, they are mainly representations of cities, the imperial palace in Constantinople or grand elite mansions. In all three cases the structures are schematic and abstract, their purpose being the illustration of the text rather than the precise and realistic representation of the architectural characteristics of buildings and cities. At the same time, however, their importance lies in their details such as towers, overhangs, arcades, pilasters etc. that may contribute in the analysis of the Byzantine house (Sigalos 2001 *in press*).

Early Byzantine Period - Dark Ages

The notable social and economic decline of the 7th to 9th centuries in all parts of the Eastern Roman Empire drastically reduced the size of Late Roman cities and, as monumental architecture may suggest, confined them to an area usually defined by their citadel or

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[1] The numbers in parentheses refer to APPENDIX B: *Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Survey* house plans

acropolis (*Anatolia-Turkey*: Ephesos, Foss 1979: 111-115; Sardis, Foss 1976: 53-56; Greenewalt 1985; Pergamon, Radt 1985; Generally, Foss 1977; *Greece*: Athens, Travlos 1960: 149; Corinth, Robinson 1960: 85, Robinson and Weinberg 1960: 228). Some seem to have been totally abandoned or possibly transferred outside the Late Roman fortifications (Thespiae-Erimokastro, where the domestic settlement may have continued into the high middle ages outside the Late Roman citadel; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 1986: 292; Bintliff 2000: 144). The decline of urbanisation during this period also seems to be attested by the lack of excavation evidence. This lack may be due to the nature and aim of the excavations in the Modern Greek and Turkish urban centres, but it is also noticeable elsewhere.

Excavations in Cherchel (Roman Iol Caesarea), modern Algeria, have suggested that the northeast corner of the forum, where a Late Roman church was built, was destroyed by fire in the 6th century and the building material re-used for the building of four structures that have been identified as houses (*Figure 103*). Their plans are very irregular and almost trapezoidal and one (house 2) had at least two rooms. Two buildings (house 3 and 4) were built of wood and had a very clear rectangular plan. The layout of the buildings and their irregular position in the NE corner of the Roman Forum indicate the demise of the city and perhaps the emergence of a village-like community with a very impoverished material culture (Potter 1995: 52-61). This fits well with the picture that Kazhdan and Epstein propose, based on excavations from Cherson, Crimea. Despite the urban decline during the Early Post-Roman period (8th century), it seems that there too, village communities were relatively thriving (Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985: 28, *citing* Jakobson 1970: 146, 185).

According to Guillou, Sicily provides evidence of disintegration of the urban centres from the 6th and 7th centuries (Guillou 1976). Stock raising and wheat production exclusively for export as in Roman times, were abandoned to a large extent and replaced by subsistence cultivation providing self-sufficiency, a trend related by Guillou to the collapse of the urban centralised system and demographic decline. This turn to the countryside would justify the desertion of the cities (e.g. Gela, Akragas, Motsia etc.) in favour of villages and isolated houses near the agricultural lands. The houses of the period are simple, comprising one to three rooms in a linear arrangement, even though the courtyard house of the Antique period is still found in larger estates (Guillou 1976). A similar interpretative line is followed by Tsougarakis to explain the reduced level of human activity throughout the island of Crete. In his opinion the phenomenon was due to a demographic crisis, desertion of towns and "ruralisation" of the economy rather than the Arab raids that are usually thought to have been responsible for the decline of the island (Harvey 1995: 252, Tsougarakis 1988).

In Ephesos, the citadel of Ayasuluk surrounded by a fortification wall and the city by the Harbour that gradually became silted and was finally abandoned were the focus of the Early Byzantine settlement (Foss 1979). Sagalassos in the mid 7th century may have been reduced from a flourishing provincial city to a mere agricultural settlement (Waelkens et al. 2000: 378). Sardis and Pergamon were reduced to their fortified citadels, as suggested by the remains of their monumental architecture (Greenewalt 1985, Radt 1985).

On the Greek mainland, Athens most probably shrunk to within the fortifications of the Acropolis and the Post-Roman walls (Travlos 1960). Corinth too was devastated and no traces of settlement survive from the area of the classical city. The Akrocorinth might have attracted settlement but no archaeological evidence exists to support this transfer to the *acropolis* (Mango 1980, Robinson 1965: 70). Thebes does not provide any, or at least recognisable or published, evidence of occupation during this period. Thessaloniki was not totally abandoned, although its population was reduced to a "semi-rural existence", as suggested by literary sources (Mango 1980: 71). At Filippoi, excavations have revealed some occupation, possibly until the 8th century. The ruins of a Late Roman house were used as foundations for a small house complex in the north-west corner (no.87). It consisted of two rooms used for living space and a courtyard with a rectangular structure used as a kitchen, a toilet and a built storage *pithos*. The construction of houses over Hellenistic and mainly Roman foundations frequently following the pre-existing walls, is a practice that is noted in other urban centres (e.g. Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Thessaloniki) in later periods (*see below*). The plan, however, is not treated as a record of function and, in most examples, only parts of the ruins were reused resulting to different arrangements and consequently differing functions. After this period of occupation during the early 8th century, Filippoi too was deserted (Gounaris and Velenis 1989). During the excavations at Kamari on Thera a complex of rooms of domestic function belonging to the 7th and 8th century, according to the ceramic evidence was discovered (no.104). The rooms are irregular in plan and arrangement. There is evidence for storage facilities, such as storage benches, Late Roman 2 amphorae and a kitchen. The kitchen, as in Filippoi, was not within the actual structure but in the adjacent yard (Bedenmacher-Gerousi 1988).

The archaeological record from an urban context is evidently minimal. The decline of the cities is often seen as result of a long-term depopulation due to the bubonic plague and a series of unidentified diseases that struck the Byzantine Empire after the second half of the 6th century (Mango 1980: 68). The deeper causes, however, should be sought elsewhere. In the beginning of the 6th century the reorganisation of the Eastern Empire had stripped the cities of their autonomy and representatives of the central government in the provinces took over their day-to-day

control. The role of the urban centres as the basic constituents of the Classical Antiquity was lost (Haldon 1990, Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985). In addition, the neglect of industry, trade and exchange, vital operations of the urban centres, directly affected the monetary economy of the Empire and contributed to the general decline. One material manifestation of this was the sharp decline in the bronze coins in circulation between the 7th and the 9th centuries. Trade in urban centres would have been impossible without bronze coins, which were the only form of small change, and whereas minting of gold, silver and bronze coins never stopped in Constantinople, excavations in Athens and Corinth have yielded very few bronze coins, indicating a decline in the monetary economy. The inevitable inference is that transactions were carried out as barter or in some sort of trade in kind, as suggested by both Mango and Haldon (Mango 1980: 72-73, Haldon 1990). This return to more primitive habits is also evident in agriculture as implied by the Agricultural Law that was issued some time in the 7th or 8th century, even though it might be referring to very particular localities (Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985: 29ff.).

The loss of control in the Balkans, which were invaded by the Avars and Slavs deprived Constantinople of its immediate hinterland. In addition, after the Arabs conquered the N. African provinces, Palestine and Syria, in the following century, the Empire lost its source of wheat that fed the urban centres and especially Constantinople. Thus, a movement towards intensified agriculture aiming at self-sufficiency can be seen as an inevitable outcome (Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985). The decline of the urban centres, with a parallel increase on the number of villages and isolated farms is supported by archaeological evidence from Sicily, Crimea and Syria and should not be ruled out for other areas of the Byzantine Empire. It should be noted, however, that the data collected for this period by means of ceramics surveys, such as the Boiotia Project, suggest that the countryside was possibly equally abandoned and that it was not until the 10th century that recovery can be traced (Bintliff 2000b: 43, Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, Bintliff and Snodgrass 1986). The ceramics of this period, however, are scarce, generally very coarse and difficult to distinguish, and therefore tend to prevent identification of Dark Age sites. Still, the flight to the countryside should not be overemphasised, even though a process of "villagisation" of many urban centres seems to be supported by archaeological evidence.

The Middle Byzantine Period

The 9th century seems to mark the beginning of a new era. The monetary economy begins to recover during the 10th century, especially in Constantinople and the littoral settlements in the Aegean. A distinct rise in

scholarly production is also noted. This recovery seems to have been the result of the reforms of the organisation and government of the provinces. Provincial governments were replaced by military *themata*. The governors of these units were directly responsible to the Emperor. A very centralised system of government was employed, with special emphasis on the Emperor (Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985).

Survey data (Argolid, Jameson, Runnels, and Andel 1994; Boiotia, Bintliff 2000b; Kea, Cherry, Lewis, and Mantzourani 1991; Methana, Mee and Forbes 1997) also indicate a period of recovery. The increase of identified sites in the landscape coincides with the increasing archaeological finds within long-deserted or semi-deserted Late Roman cities. Workshops, commercial buildings and houses have been identified, recorded and studied in the process of reaching the Classical levels in the excavations of the Agora in Corinth. Similar developments are noted in Athens, which seems to have expanded beyond the so-called Risokastro fortification walls. Sparta, Thebes, Megara, Chalkis, Palaiochora near Maroneia, and Veria show signs of re-birth of urban life. Most, if not all, structures were built using the remains of the Late Roman buildings as foundations. It seems that the general settlement pattern was retained, although, this was probably only because of the re-use of the ruins. The streets become very narrow and open public spaces were built over.

Interestingly, there were attempts to group activities in different quarters of the town. In the area around the forum of Corinth, for instance, it was discovered that bronze smiths were gathered in small two-roomed workshops around a courtyard in the area SE of Temple E (Robinson 1962a). Similarly, pottery kilns and a glass making installation were recovered from the SW side of the Roman Forum (Scranton 1957). The sources also refer to silk production and Robinson has made an attempt to identify one excavated structure with a domestic silk industry (1962). Shops surrounded the remaining open area (initially suggested to be a *plateia*, or square, but later concluded to be a wide street, Williams II et al. 1998) in the SW corner of the forum. Post-holes for temporary shop stalls were recovered between the columns of the sheltered facade of the structure overlying the South Stoa (Williams II et al. 1998), suggesting a lively market economy in the forum area.

Concerning the houses, two types can be distinguished, even though the distinction is somewhat arbitrary: those with rooms arranged around a courtyard and those with a linear arrangement of two or more rooms flanking a road or a courtyard (*auli, mesauleion* or *mesaulon*; Koukoules 1951: 313-314, Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-a: 297; Orlandos 1937: 55). The courtyard houses are founded on Classical, Roman and Late Roman walls. In many cases, they follow the pre-existing walls very precisely (no. 1, 66) often leading scholars to conclude continuity of settlement throughout the Early Byzantine

period (*Figure 104*). Second storeys are very difficult to identify. As in cases of superstructures, these would have been used as living or sleeping areas that did not produce sufficient deposits to identify them after destruction. In any case, architectural shells that were not repaired were used as stables and dumping areas after abandonment and destruction, a phenomenon well documented in ethno-archaeological contexts (*c.f.* van Gijn 1986). This obscures the picture of the urban houses even further. Wall thickness, too, is often regarded as indicative of a second storey, but since re-use of ruins often took place its is very difficult to determine the height of the buildings. Moreover, in relation to early modern Cyprus Jameson (1990) mentions two-storey houses with walls 0.3 m thick, whereas in Greece the average wall thickness for both one and two-storey houses is approximately 0.6 m. This implies that wall thickness is not necessarily an indicator of the presence of an upper floor, especially when walls of preceding periods were re-used. It is only in cases where clear evidence of staircases survives that one may assume that there may have been an upper storey, although it may also have been used to provide access to the occasional flat roofs, the so-called *doma* in the littoral areas of Greece. Furthermore and for similar reasons, the function of particular rooms is also difficult to assign. The material excavated from each house is usually not published or has been studied out of context (no. 1, 5, 8, 66, 72, 79), a fact that complicates the analysis even further.

In particular, the rooms around the courtyard are in general rather small, ranging from 4 m² to 20 m². In the few cases where more detailed information is provided about the structures, it is interesting to note that no uniform arrangement of rooms is followed. Specifically, storerooms seem to be abundant, as the large number of storage *pithoi* and pits may suggest. These *pithoi* are either made of clay or built of tile, brick or stone and lined with plaster (*Figure 105*). In either case they may be resting on the floor level or dug into it and covered with stone slabs. In the latter case the room itself would be available for other use, an important detail not often assessed in publications (Frantz 1961: fig. 35, Scranton 1957, Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1982). Thus, if the *pithoi* were resting on the floor level, it would be unlikely that the room was used for activities other than storage. The *pithoi* are usually built against the walls or when ceramic, aligned along them occupying large parts of the rooms (e.g. no. 6). In contrast, sunken *pithoi* may imply the incorporation of storage facilities in the actual living areas, a feature that is also noted in many cases within island households up to the early modern period (e.g. storage *pithoi* dug into the bedrock on the island of Lemnos; Megas 1967). It should be noted, however, that the ethnographer Megas observed throughout Greece that other perishable materials such as wood, reeds, mud brick and even straw, have been used for the construction of storage containers (Megas 1967: 14-

23). Such materials are rarely discovered in the archaeological record.

Furthermore, cooking installations are also very little known and difficult to distinguish in courtyard houses. Only when ovens survive (no. 10) or there is clear evidence of burning in particular areas (no. 13) have such activities been identified. House 10, however, is thought to have been a bakery, due to the possible fuel storage that was identified within the courtyard. Moreover, cooking pots do not appear in context within the excavation reports, even though they are often mentioned in studies of ceramics, minimising our ability to locate the kitchen and cooking facilities around the courtyard. It seems that cooking possibly took place on mobile ceramic braziers (*Figure 106*; Frantz 1961: fig. 36, 37, Scranton 1957) within the courtyard or in other rooms, which has parallels in Classical houses (Jameson 1990). Only with a careful study of the distribution of various types of ceramics would functions as such become more recognisable.

Sanitary facilities have not been identified in these houses. Information for this period comes mainly from the sources summarised by Koukoules (1951) and Karpozilos (1989). Two types are mentioned: built facilities (*oikodomitoi*) and dug pits (*oruktoi* or *limnes*). Strict laws concerning proximity of sanitary facilities to neighbouring houses and sealing of sewage (*bothros, koprodocheio, limni*) were issued when they were built (Karpozilos 1989, Koukoules 1951), possibly reflecting Late Roman regulations rather than the realities of Middle Byzantine times. According to Scranton, many *bothroi* were excavated in Corinth, especially in yards (Scranton 1957). A similar picture is presented by finds in Thebes, where the ceramics of some of the excavated pits were studied in detail (Vroom *in press*). These were used for rubbish and waste deposition, even though sanitary use should not be dismissed. There has not been any detailed analysis of finds or chemical examination of pits, preventing us from reaching concrete conclusions (Sanders 2001 *pers. comm.*), but the assumption that the pits were used for sanitary facilities seems very likely.

The main living space in courtyard houses seems to have been a large rectangular room often divided by arches supported by columns (no. 1) or walls with broad doorways (no. 11, 66). It may bear some comparison with the *Triklinon* of Syria or the Greco-Roman *triklinion/triclinium* that was reserved for dining (Bouras 1982-1983), but the relation should not be overemphasised. House 1, for instance, retained this arrangement, possibly because the "*triklinon*" structure belonged in its entirety to the Late Roman period (Scranton 1957). *Triklina* are also mentioned elsewhere in the Mediterranean. During the same period in Italy and Sicily, they are usually on the first floor of the house and are used as reception areas with series of rooms, or *cubicula*, flanking them (Guillou 1976). There are references to them also in 11th and 12th century wills and deeds of sale and seem to refer to main living spaces, but particular functions cannot be

attributed to these spaces based upon textual evidence (e.g. Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-a: 297). It is noteworthy that at least one long room can be identified around each excavated courtyard, often being the largest in size in comparison with the other rooms. This room could have been used as a main living space of the family. It should possibly be related to references to *triklina*, as above, mentioned in textual sources (Magdalino 1984: 95, Karpozilos 1989, Koukoules 1951: 294-296, Triantaphyllidi 1982, Orlandos 1937: 79-80), but one should be cautious with such assumptions since no particular function can be assigned to these rooms based on the material culture.

The courtyard itself should be seen as the focal point for the everyday life of the household. It was usually pebbled or cobbled. Depending on the weather conditions, most of the activities would have taken place within the courtyard. Most of the rooms opened onto it, suggesting its central position. Not unlike the classical house, most of the cooking and domestic production, and even small-scale industry, would have taken place within it.

The central role of the courtyard can also be demonstrated by the accessibility of the rooms surrounding it. These rooms usually seem to have been accessed only from the courtyard and only occasionally provided direct access to each other. Doorways are scarcely recovered in the archaeological record and their position is in many cases assumed according to the presence or absence of concrete evidence of walls between rooms. However, the inward nature of the courtyard and its centrality in the communication system of the domestic structures seems to be quite certain, suggesting an integral role in the life and organisation of the household (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

In general, archaeological evidence and analysis of courtyard houses from other periods and regions seem to support an arrangement of activities according to degrees of importance and privacy and probably also in relation to the distance from the entrance of the house (Ellis 2000: 168, Hillier and Hanson 1984). Unfortunately, the aforementioned scarcity of recovered doorways makes it difficult to conduct depth analysis. It seems quite clear, however, that the courtyard acted as the intermediate space between the outer and inner world, while at the same time providing the necessary privacy and security required by the household (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

A further feature of the courtyard was its distance from the outside world. Since it was surrounded by rooms and in some cases an extra entrance room, the distance seems to indicate a high level of privacy for the family and household. This should not come as a surprise for the period in question. Textual evidence suggests that the house was expected to provide sufficient privacy. Kekaumenos, an 11th century military text writer, stresses the common fear of authority and friendship, particularly that of acquaintances entering the household, and praises the role of the nuclear family (Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt

1896: 42-43, Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 28, Magdalino 1984: 92), that had replaced the ancient Greco-Roman social order, with the collaborative support of Christianity and seems to have dominated not only social life, but also political organisation during the Middle Byzantine period (Kazhdan and Constable 1982: 32, 33; Laiou-Thomadakis 1977: 80).

Similarly, the individual rooms themselves often seem to conform to this general notion of privacy. Introducing the element of visual fields within the house structure, as implemented by Hanson to examine "the strategic value in accessing or concealing the remainder of the building" (Hanson 1998: 43), it seems that a high degree of privacy was achieved within the domestic space (*Figure 107*). The doorways of individual rooms were built in relation to the adjacent spaces and the courtyard so as to limit visibility within them. Even when standing at the door a large part of the interior of the room would be concealed. If widows existed, their location may have contributed to the level of privacy achieved as well as to the atmosphere created within these rooms (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

As implied by the textual sources, the seclusion of women is relevant to the discussion of privacy. The organisation of the household and the depth of the physical domestic structure provide sufficient evidence to hypothesise a high degree of seclusion. Detailed excavation and recording would possibly indicate the relationship between the domestic spaces and the activities that are usually attributed to women. It is observed, for instance, that in recent times the yard in front of the house is used for daily household activities, such as baking, washing, wood chopping, animal tethering, dish washing, weaving and cooking; activities that are usually associated with women (Du Boulay 1974). It would not be very surprising if evidence for equivalent household activities was retrieved from the context of Middle Byzantine houses, confirming written sources that imply that the house was mainly a female domain (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

The excavations in Pergamon, along the Aegean coast of Turkey, may provide us with additional information. It seems that, according to Greek anthropological research where the kitchen is often regarded as the ultimate female domain (Dubisch 1986, Friedl 1962), it was located either in a small room around the courtyard or secluded at the far end of a larger room, often physically separated by a wall (*Figure 108*; *see also* Komplex 4, 9, 16; Rheidt 1990). This hierarchy of spaces may suggest a further seclusion of the woman within the household, very much in accordance with the evidence from texts. Even within the domestic territory, Byzantine women were not allowed to remain in a room in the presence of other men (Koukoules 1948: 168-170). Furthermore, Kekaumenos in the 11th century recommends that parents keep their daughters locked up inside the house like "prisoners" (Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt 1896: 42, paragraph ρα, lines 30-32; see also

Koukoules 1948: 166-167). This may have applied mainly to upper class families, since it is most probable that in peasant communities the women were needed to help with the agricultural labour in the fields. It is, however, a clear indication of the position of women in society and within the household (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

These courtyard houses, however, do not seem to have housed the majority of the population. They are usually located near the centres of the cities, which have been excavated in search of the centres of public activity of preceding periods. The available storage space (ceramic merchant's house in Corinth, no. 11), the centrality of their location, the industrial activity concentrated around them and a comparison with a large number of much more basic structures that have been excavated mainly in areas close to the fortification walls of the urban centres (*c.f.* Georgopoulou-Meladini 1973-1974) and other minor sites, may suggest that they belonged to particular groups of the society that acquired some wealth through their involvement with commercial and manufacturing activities (Guillou 1976). This is a period when urban centres such as Athens, Corinth, Thebes and Sparta show clear signs of economic development, concentrating the agricultural produce of their hinterland and consuming it, transforming it or exporting it (Harvey 1995). Concentration of land ownership by a local aristocracy had already started from the late 10th century and exploitation of the countryside seems to have developed dramatically, especially around urban centres (Harvey 1989). These land-owning groups would export their products directly to Constantinople or other large centres, or store them for personal consumption in their urban houses where they seem to have resided most of the time (Inoue 1989). Industrial activity to satisfy the needs of such a local aristocracy and the thriving community of the urban centres also developed. Corinth and Thebes were known to have been centres of glass manufacture and silk production and Athens had soap and purple dye industries (Angold 1997 (1985), Jacoby 1991-1992, Kazhdan and Wharton-Epstein 1985).

The probability that courtyard plans represent more than one household should not, however, be ruled out. It is not possible with the existing archaeological data to prove such a hypothesis, but a will of 1077 referring to the property of Michael Attaleiatis in Constantinople is suggestive of such cases. It refers to a house located on the one side of a courtyard (*auli*) that he bought from his aunt. Around this courtyard, structures and houses belonging to others were also located. Attaleiatis had bought some of these structures and joined them together to create a single house. According to his will, however, he donated parts of it to the *hospitium* he had established, dividing the house once again (Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-a: 297-298). Similar examples are bound to have been frequent in other large urban centres. Only detailed excavations will enable us to retrieve data to allow evaluation for equivalent phenomena.

But how is the rest of the society represented in the archaeological record? Ordinary houses seem to have been "...small and unarticulated...in which entrance and chamber are intermingled, and which are neither thrown open by outer gates nor heralded by decorative outbuildings and circuits", according to the description of Nicephoros Chrysovergis in 1202 (Browning 1978: 49). In most sites where post-Roman houses have been excavated, such domestic structures have been found. In urban centres, in particular, they are usually found near the fortification walls (Chalkis) or near the centre in close proximity to small-scale industrial activities (Corinth). They are either single-roomed or have more rooms arranged linearly (*dromika*, a term that may also apply to two and three-storey rectangular houses; Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-b: 38) and in two wings (L-shaped). Second storeys have not been recognised for the reasons stated above. They are usually built close to each other in irregular blocks divided by very narrow roads (e.g. Corinth, Chalkis, Maroneia, Veria) and they are usually aligned on an East-West axis, with entrances either on the North or South side of the rooms.

The single-room houses (Sparta, Athens, Veria), seem to have concentrated all the activities of the household within this room. The examples available seem to cluster either below 20 sq. m (no. 14, 67, 91, 92) or around 40 sq. m internally (no. 68a, 69), probably suggesting different uses or occupational variations of the owners. It is very difficult to distinguish between activity areas within these rooms. They should have been used for storage, cooking and sleeping at the same time. Only in the case of Veria was it possible to identify a circular hearth/kiln with four stone supports for a grid on the South part of the East wall. At the same time no yards seem to have existed that would have allowed some activities to take place outside. It is possible that some facilities, like ovens, would have been shared within neighbourhoods, as was the case in Mani until very recently (Saitas 1990). The alleys may also have been used for some everyday activities, a practice still very common on the Aegean islands (Vionis 2001).

Some of the single-room houses were, in the course of time, extended with additional rooms along the axis of the initial structure (no. 67, 83?) or at right angles, resulting in an L-shape (no. 69). In some cases rooms were also subdivided to create separate activity areas, possibly as a crystallisation of different activity zones and increasing need for privacy and possibly seclusion (no. 67, 68a). Storage *pithoi* are found related to the extensions and subdivisions (no. 67, 68a). The resulting structures are comparable to the multi-room houses initially built in a linear (no. 68b, 72, 81, 84, 85, 86, 93) or L-shaped fashion (no. 2, 5?, 82, 88, 89). Interestingly, in one case (no. 68b) the excavators identified a possible covered *iliakos/hagiati*, or roofed semi-open construction along the wall in which the entrance was constructed, that later was converted into an additional room.

The L-shaped houses seem to have been rather more complicated structures than the linear houses. They provide evidence that the rooms were more differentiated as far as activities are concerned. A living room or reception hall was recovered in Corinth (no. 2) that was divided into two spaces by means of an arch supported on two columns against the long walls of the room. It is, of course, a re-used structure of the Late Roman period, but it still suggests differential use of the rooms. Similarly, in Veria an oven was discovered in a partly excavated house that was added as the house was extended and converted from a "linear" structure to a possible L-shaped arrangement. The two houses excavated in Palaiochora near Maroneia provide information on hearth and storage areas (no. 88, 89). At this stage, however, the data is too slim to allow us to make any generalisations concerning particular preferences for activity locations within these houses. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusions on the hierarchy and degree of seclusion of the various activities, but we seem to have some indication to suggest that such phenomena existed.

The absence of a private exterior household area within a very densely populated area of the settlement, as seems to have been the case in Chalkis, may have reduced privacy to the minimum. The reduction of the private space to one or two rooms may have affected the interpretation of privacy and seclusion. In her anthropological study of the Boiotian village of Vasilika, Friedl notes that when villagers had to leave the village for private family affairs they would make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch the bus. Similarly, they would not conform to a set daily pattern of movement and actions, thus preventing neighbours from exploring their whereabouts and habits (Friedl 1962: 14). Despite the absence of buses in the Middle Byzantine period, it seems that similar habits may have been adopted by the inhabitants of these densely populated areas. Whereas the houses were seemingly less protected, their role as boundary may have been implemented by behavioural characteristics that have been totally lost in the archaeological record.

Apart from recording perceptions as well as a description of the simple households of the Middle Byzantine era, the quote of Nicephoros Chrysovergis, mentioned above offers an insight into the social conditions that may be represented by the two house-types, i.e. the courtyard and the linear arrangements. The preceding discussion provides us with at least four considerations that should be borne in mind. Does there seem to be a differentiation in locational preferences for the two types of houses within the context of the urban settlements? Does the size indicate variation? Could the degree of spatial division suggest socio-economic diversity? How does the role of particular features such as the courtyard and storage capacity influence the discussion?

The two house types discussed above have been unearthed either by excavations targeted at the recovery of Classical and Roman physical remains or by rescue excavations. The targeted excavations are mainly concentrated in the centres of the ancient urban centres, as their primary aim was to discover the location of public buildings and areas as described by ancient authors. Thus, the Middle Byzantine and later structures are located near, if not in, the centre of these settlements. In Corinth, for instance, the excavations were focused on uncovering the Roman Forum and the houses recovered were therefore found in and around it. The case of Athens is similar. Rescue excavations, however, aim to record and study archaeological data from any location within the urban settings according to development pressure from the local population and authority. The different aims of these strategies seem to have drastically influenced the data on domestic architecture, as well as the variety of evidence currently available and our views on the Middle Byzantine settlements. Whereas the targeted excavations are focused on the centres, the rescue excavations provide information about the wider context of the settlements (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)). A comparison of the two datasets according to the distance of a house from the centre may provide significant data for this study of medieval domestic architecture.

It seems that most courtyard houses have been recovered in the centres of the medieval towns and were thus targeted excavations. They are found either overlying ancient domestic areas near the centre or in open public spaces of the Classical and Roman cities. The ruins in those areas would have provided sufficient building material to enable these houses to be constructed and this is actually the picture that the excavators have recorded. This seems to be the main argument for the claim that if there was any continuity of the ancient urban centres into the Middle Ages it would have concentrated in the vicinity of the centre. Rescue excavations, however, have mainly uncovered small single or two-roomed domestic structures with a linear activity arrangement within them. They are frequently found at a distance from the centre of the settlement, if not right at the edges and near the fortification walls. It should be noted, however, that in the case of Corinth, some small domestic structures of the linear type have been discovered in the centre surrounding a large courtyard (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)). They have been associated by the excavators with manufacture, of mainly bronze and iron and possibly glass objects (Robinson 1965, Robinson and Weinberg 1960).

As far as the size of the two types is concerned, it is obvious that the courtyard houses occupied a much larger area than the linear arrangement. The linear arrangements, ranging from one to four rooms with sizes between 24 m[2] and 82 m[2], provide an average size of approximately 60 m[2]. In contrast, the courtyard houses range from 136 m[2] to 348 m[2] with an average

of 248 m^2. In all cases the walls are also included, reducing the actual functional areas even further. This large difference in size may be indicative of the function and social role of these houses (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

A further consideration is the division of internal space. Whereas the linear arrangements may therefore range from one to four rooms, the courtyard houses mostly have at least six or seven arranged around the yard, presenting both a greater need of space and a higher degree of spatial specialisation. The additional rooms in the courtyard houses seem to have been filled with storage vessels, either sunk into the floor or positioned within the rooms. The simpler linearly arranged houses do not have such extensive storage facilities due to the lack of space, but also possibly because of their different function (Sigalos 2001 (*in press*)).

Thus, despite adopting reasonable caution towards such generalisations, it seems that the two different house types represented two different functions, if not social groups. In Kantas' discussion of Prehistoric mansions and 'palaces' on Crete, she mentions that archaeologists often overestimate the domestic structures discovered without looking at parallels from other periods or even the vicinity of the excavated area to test hypotheses (Kanta 1983). Her comparison between a so-called 'palace' at Monastiraki, Crete, and the house of the 'president', a title that only represents a prestige office rather than a wealth specification, of the neighbouring village community, suggests that the houses are comparable in size, spatial differentiation and storage facilities (Kanta 1983). In our case, however, the comparison is made between two contemporary types that vary significantly both in size and storage availability. As mentioned above, there is also substantial difference in the spatial variability of the courtyard house and the linear structures. Furthermore, most sites referred to were found in urban settings rather than village and rural communities, and are located in different areas of the urban centres, suggesting some kind of spatial hierarchy within the urban milieu. It seems, therefore, that the classification made above may not be very far from the Middle Byzantine reality.

Before concluding, I should mention an isolated structure from Elean Pylos (no. 16). This seems to have been an isolated farm, probably dating from the 12th century. Its plan was almost square and it seems to have had two storeys. It comprised a long room along the facade with a packed earth floor, stone slabs for posts supporting the ceiling, a stone platform of uncertain function and a stone support for a staircase leading to a first floor. Behind this room there were two smaller ones. One was almost square and surrounded by benches. There were signs of elaborate plastering suggesting that it was probably a main living space of the house. The other room was very disturbed due to a later Byzantine burial. The kitchen seems to have been outdoors in a sheltered corner created by an extension

of the S walls towards the W and the facade wall. In this corner, fragmentary cooking pots were discovered, as well as a peculiar spouted vessel. The structure is reminiscent of isolated tower houses that were spread throughout the Greek landscape during the Ottoman period (*Figure 109*; Kizis 1994). In the Ottoman examples, the ground floor was used for storage and in some cases it served as the winter residence of the household. The rectangular room with the main entrance acted as an internal yard, as we will see below, providing access both to the rooms arranged around it and the upper floor, in a similar fashion to the isolated structure in Elean Pylos. This relation should not be over-stressed since there is no evidence of continuity. However, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that this farmhouse was of a fortified form as implied by its location (on top of a low hill) and the fact that the staircase was internal. A similar but later example with a slightly different plan but based on the same principle may have been discovered in Nichoria (McDonald 1972, 1975, McDonald and Howell 1973-1974).

From the discussion above, there seems to be a clear contrast in concepts of housing between Classical Antiquity and the Byzantine reality. That means that the rigid organisation of the household known in Classical and Roman times seems to vanish. The rooms do not seem to develop around the courtyard or along the linear structures with reference to a particular set of values, which seems to have been the case in preceding periods. Archaeological publications force us to conclude that the specialisation of space was less prominent than in the Classical and Roman periods. In the case of the courtyard house we have even noted the possibility of multiple ownership around a court, despite the re-use of Classical, Roman and Early Christian foundations. A tangible possibility is that the houses were extended according to needs, as suggested by the development of single room and L-shaped houses mentioned above, as well as ethnographic data (e.g. Attika, Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1987). Even so, and in spite of the lack of detailed archaeological data, the degree of differentiation of activity areas should not be underestimated. The multi-roomed courtyard or L-shaped house suggests different and possibly more advanced conceptions of spatial use and activities than a simple linear or single room house. The differences may suggest social as well as occupational differentiation, which is difficult to detect archaeologically. Conceptual differentiation of activity areas within the house, despite their size and arrangement, should not be ruled out (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994). Anthropological research in Modern Greek households in the Yerania area near Piraeus suggests that in the single-roomed houses of the Asia Minor refugees, differentiation in activity areas is very strong with special stress on the nuclear family organisation and symbolic conceptions relating to the household (Hirschon 1993). The emphasis on the nuclear family organisation of Byzantine society has been summarised by Kazhdan and Epstein and is

regarded as having replaced the clan organisation of the preceding Late Roman Period (1985: 160-166, Inoue 1989, Laiou-Thomadakis 1977). This Middle Byzantine phenomenon extended further and encompassed a relatively high degree of seclusion of women within the household. The family was an autonomous entity divided from the outer world by a conceptual frontier that crystallised in the boundaries posed by the house as an actual architectural and social structure.

The Late Byzantine and Frankish Period

During the late 12th century the flourishing of the urban centres of the Balkans and the increasing accumulation of land in the hands of provincial aristocracy, the so-called *archontes*, gave rise to centrifugal tendencies. The cities had been established as centres for the re-conquest of the Greek lands during the 9th century and developed in association with the expansion of manufacturing. The *kastra*, a term used indiscriminately for walled settlements (Gregory 1992), became the centres of provincial growth during this period. The prosperity of the cities was very much related to the interests of the *archontes*, whether military or landed. The increase of their power led to a challenge to the centralising character of imperial rule in the late 12th century. By that time, most cities were ruled by *dynasts*, drawn from the body of *archontes*, and councils of *archontes*. They acted as protectors of the interests of the cities against outsiders, whether competitors or representatives of centralised imperial rule. Their rights, however, were not recognised until the period of Frankish and Venetian rule began after the capture of Constantinople in 1204. The recognition of the city as a legal personage during this period resulted in a further prosperity, limited mainly to some influential families. It was a period of crystallisation of processes that had taken place during the previous centuries. From the 13th century onwards, cities were granted *pronoiai*, or privileges, in the form of *chrysobuls*, exempting inhabitants from taxation and various duties towards the central government (Angold 1984).

Thus, the sack of Constantinople by the Franks in 1204, despite its immense impact on the organisation of the Empire and the medium term historical consequences, did not disrupt developments within the Middle Byzantine urban centres. In contrast, the fragmentation of the state into smaller feudal units, in accordance with Western principles, strengthened the local centres with a range of privileges granted to them. The urban centres, being the focal points of the small feudal states, provided outlets of produce to the West. Consequently, the first century of the re-organisation of the Byzantine Empire was an economically flourishing period for the Greek provincial towns, as a result of the decentralising effects of the imposed feudal system.

It also seems to have been a period of demographic and economic growth within the cities, lasting until the mid-14th century. Beside the pre-existing urban centres, settlements with an aristocratic refuge nature, developed usually at pre-existing Middle Byzantine fortified citadels, the best examples surviving in the Arcadia, Peloponnese. The relative security provided by the *kastra* allowed local rulers to survey the surrounding areas under their jurisdiction. Mistra was the ultimate example (Angold 1984). *Kastra* often attracted settlements around them, as in the case of Mistra, Monemvasia, Geraki, Longanikos, Mouchli, Karytaina, Palaiochora-Kythera, Panakton (Boiotia) and Palaiochora-Kalymnos whose ruins have survived until our days. The houses concentrated around these *kastra* were in most cases freestanding with a prominent fortified nature. Based on the available archaeological evidence, the sites themselves seem to have been mainly agricultural centres with limited or no manufacturing activities.

In contrast, the settlements on the islands were extremely nucleated. Whether concentrated around a citadel or a tower, the houses are built in rows, their back walls simultaneously being the fortification wall of the settlement. The resulting pattern is often a series of concentric circles with very few breaks in the rows of houses acting as consecutive gateways into the settlement. On the island of Rhodes and the town of Lindos in particular, the settlement is built around a circulation system of T-junctions inhibiting rapid movement through the community. These plans clearly indicate a conscious attempt to fortify and secure the settlements and inhabitants from invasions and raids by pirates, which were very common during the Late Byzantine/Frankish period. Beside these settlements that had developed naturally, more formalised layouts can be found on the islands. Thus, on Antiparos and Kimolos in the Cyclades, the settlement acquired a square shape, lined with a single row of houses with a large central court dominated by a tower (Sanders 1996: 155-156). On the island of Chios in the 14th century, the Genoese feudal lords forced the inhabitants to concentrate into five villages, the so-called Mastichochoria, which were also given a fixed square outline (Eden 1950). The case of the town of Naxos, the seat of the Duke of the Duchy of Naxos seems to have been similar (Vionis 2001). The planned settlements seem to have close parallels with Crusader settlements in the Levant (Boas 1999, Ellenblum 1998). These colonial settlements were imposed so as to allow close control over both the local and colonial non-elite population and the land allotted to the overlord, residing in the central tower of the village. Since most of them are still inhabited today, it is often difficult to distinguish between planned and naturally developed settlements, preventing detailed archaeological and architectural study.

In the pre-existing settlements, i.e. Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Thebes and Thessaloniki, domestic industry as well as localised commerce continued. The

nature of the settlements did not change very much and house types remained the same, as far as the archaeological evidence is concerned. It seems, however, that the pre-existing urban plan was not followed precisely, as is evident from the excavations in Corinth (Williams II et al. 1998), Sparta (Bakourou 1980) and Veria (Pazaras and Tsanana 1990). Courtyard houses in Corinth retained their previous characteristics (no. 6, 7?). In Athens (no. 70, 71), additional rooms seem to have been added within the courtyards further increasing the roofed space of the households. It seems that the changes in the status of the cities contributed to the expansion of commerce and manufacture at least for another century (Angold 1984).

Similarly, rectangular, single-roomed and linearly arranged houses have been excavated in pre-existing *kastra* (no. 9, 15, 75, 76, 94 and 73, 74, 77, 78, 90, 95, 96 respectively). They seem to have the same characteristics as those of the Middle Byzantine period. The existence of a second storey cannot be detected and it is therefore assumed that they concentrated most household activities within the one or two rooms that have been recovered (*chamogea*; Koukoules 1951: 261-265). In the case of Frankish Panakton the excavation of two such houses (no. 73, 74) suggested that when there was more than one room, one of them was usually used for storage and cooking. A special "shelf" was carved in the bedrock (no. 74) and used as a pantry, as ceramic finds seem to suggest. In one case (no. 73) part of a chimney decorated with incised pine trees in the plaster was discovered (Gerstel 1995). Elsewhere, differentiation in activity areas is not discussed in the publications, often due to the complexity of the stratigraphic record. It may be possible that some activities took place in public areas such as the narrow streets, as before.

The most interesting domestic structures of this period, however, are found in the newly founded *kastra*. On the mainland, their ruined condition has allowed mainly architects to record and study them by means of architectural and topographical surveys. The settlements are mainly built on steep hills surrounding the fortified citadel. The houses were rectangular (*dromika*; Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-b: 38) and often had two storeys with one or two rooms. They were self-standing with an open yard flanking or surrounding them (*proaulon, periaulon* or *periaulion*; Orlandos 1937: 55) and many were fortified. There are examples, however, of houses with only one storey, whether they survive as such (no. 17a, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 29, 31, 39, 41, 45, 46, 58) or were extended in later phases (no. 32, 36, 38). Especially at Geraki, the houses have been built along the contour lines, exposing their broad facade to the view over the large plain (*Figure 110*).

A number of niches (*armaria* or *toicharmaria*) discovered in the structures may have been used for cupboards, wardrobes, basins, hearths or, according to textual evidence, even as household shrines (Koukoules

1951: 294-296). Koukoules mentions that most of them were provided with curtains to hide and protect belongings as well as to change the nature and use of the multifunctional single space (Koukoules 1951: 294-296). Unfortunately, fireplaces and hearths have not been identified and it is possible that braziers may have been in use, as mentioned in the discussion of the Middle Byzantine period. Sanitary facilities related to these structures have not yet been discovered, but the lack of excavations at Frankish period sites seem to be responsible. On the contrary, cisterns were often associated with domestic structures, especially in Geraki, where they were built outside the house (no. 29, 45). The water was channelled to them through clay pipes that were built into the walls of the house. The roofs were usually pitched or double-pitched and covered with laconian-type tiles. These houses could be regarded as comparable with the one-storey houses of pre-existing urban centres because their plans seems to coincide, but their free-standing and fortified nature suggests at least different needs and processes of development.

The two storey houses (*dipata, anogeokatoga, anogokatoga* or *anogea katoge*; (Koukoules 1951: 261-265, Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-b: 38) developed so as to exploit the slope difference, as in most cases they are built vertically to the contours of the hill. Only in the case of Geraki is this not always the case because many of the two-storey houses are developments of single-storey structures. The thickness of the walls of these houses ranges between 0.7 and 1 metre, and they are built of roughly cut fieldstones joined either with mud or lime mortar. The ground floor often had a barrel vault providing structural stability against earthquakes and security against attacks and fire. The ground floor was either smaller in size than the first floor or cutting into the bedrock (*Figure 111*; Anon 1988, Bakirtzis 1978, Bakirtzis 1994). Part of it was often used for storage, stabling and possibly for some everyday activities (e.g. kitchen no. 32, 38). Cisterns that gathered water from the roof of the house were often constructed on the ground floor (*Figure 112*; no. 37, 40, 44, 65, 102). The ground floor was usually accessed separately from the upper storey, through a low doorway on the façade. In one case, the ground floor could have only been accessed through an opening in the floor of the first storey (trap door; no. 65), totally secluding it from the outside world. Beside the doorways, other openings were rare. Only loopholes at strategic points of the ground floor, often next to the doorways, stress the fortified character of the structures (comparable to the vernacular structures of Ottoman and Early Modern Mani, Saitas 1990). Niches were identified here too, used mainly for storage, fodder for the animals, and possibly as kitchens.

The first floor was a reflection of the ground floor, being either single-spaced or having two rooms. It was used as the main living area of the house. Access to it was usually separate from the ground floor and the two

levels were rarely directly connected. The entrance to the elevated door was enabled either from the open yard due to the difference in slope or via a simple stone and wooden construction with a staircase leading to a small balcony, the *iliakos* (also *hagiati* in subsequent eras). Like the ground floor, it had a number of niches used for storing household belongings and other functions, as mentioned above. Fireplaces have not been located but it is possible that some of the niches were used for this purpose. Often the rooms were internally plastered in a "*sardeloto*" (scraped) pattern, featuring colours such as ochre (*Figure 113*; no. 33, 35). Plastering should be regarded as a practice demonstrating a strong sense of cleanliness. On the islands as well as the mainland, houses and yards are plastered every year to clean and purify the household. Usually the houses are plastered before a major local religious event during the spring or early summer, a tradition that may have originated in the Middle Ages.

Often these houses were further extended with the addition of rooms at right angles to the corpus of the main structure. These L-shaped structures would flank an open yard. It is not certain what these extra rooms were used for, but it seems that they became common during the Frankish period (no. 32, 36, 37, 43, 44, 64, 103). The extension was sometimes accessed separately and was not accessed directly from the original structure. The construction was similar to the core of the house.

Another development was the addition of towers either within the core house or extending it (*Figure 114*). These towers often had two or three storeys. Their purpose can be related to general security fear during the mid and late Frankish period. Towers associated with houses have been found, besides Mistra (Orlandos 1937), in Geraki (Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989-1990), Mouchli (Moutsopoulos 1985), Longanikos and Karytaina (Bouras 1982-1983). They were accessed internally from the house itself and the floors were reached through internal staircases, either stone or wooden.

The structures described above have a clear fortified nature when compared to the houses found within ancient urban centres during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. The lack of openings other than the doorways and the loopholes stresses this even more. Despite the lack of an enclosed courtyard and the fact that most houses are freestanding, it seems that they were more inward looking, placing further stress on the boundary role of architecture in increasing privacy and security. Once again all the activities would have to be arranged within this structure. Due to the shape of the structures it could be assumed that the spatial distribution of the activities was linear, as in the smaller houses of the urban centres. The spatial hierarchy within the houses is not known, since we are dealing with merely surveyed rather than excavated settlements.

In the case of the two-storey houses, however, it may be possible to draw some more concrete general

conclusions on the use of space. The hierarchy that dominated the spatial organisation of these structures is not only linear on a horizontal but also on a vertical level. Thus, the superimposition of levels of activity crystallises in the form of floors. Being confined at ground floor level, animals are hierarchically separated from the humans. Similarly, the produce may have been stored at the lowest floor, either in large *pithoi* or storage cisterns. The division of human and animals may also be explained as a functional overlying of two activity areas found in single-storey houses, due to steepness of slope or lack of space within a settlement (*pers. comm.* J.L. Bintliff). Notably, the separation is not total. Both animals and humans are still housed underneath the same roof. It seems therefore that the link between the two is still strong enough to conclude that animals and humans belonged to the same household, in Du Boulay's sense (Du Boulay 1974).

Similarly, the notion of a family stronghold is enhanced by the fortified nature of the domestic structures. The lack of windows and openings other than the doorways enhances the inward-looking nature of the household and consequently, the family. The "social upheavals, civil wars and insurrections" (Bouras 1982-1983: 25) of the 14th and 15th centuries seem to have contributed to this architectural development. In addition, influence from western architectural trends should not be ruled out, especially when dealing with extensions such as towers. Similar developments in domestic architecture have been noted in Italy and France, pointing towards parallel development and indicating close contact with the West.

As for the interior of the living spaces of these houses it has proved very difficult to analyse activity arrangements. Based on observations of more recent examples, one may conclude that the elongated area must have been divided into a reception area (*sala*) and a main living space of the family (*cheimoniatiko, gonia* or *paragoni* Benechoutsou 1960). Whether this division was physically or conceptually achieved is not known, but both possibilities are still found in the Peloponnese and other areas of Greece. Doorways that were on one of the long sides of the house and closer to the *cheimoniatiko* may indicate a further characteristic of the houses. It may be suggested that the activities are arranged in zones and hierarchically according to depth within the single or two-roomed upper structure. Cycladic houses from the Late Byzantine/Frankish period that are still inhabited today suggest an arrangement from public to private and dirty to clean in relation to the doorway, despite the limited and unified space. It may be that the arrangement within the mainland Late Byzantine self-standing two-storey house was similar.

In the North, towers developed individually as independent structures during the 14th and 15th centuries (no. 97). They were of larger dimensions and often had three or four storeys. They should not be related to the tower-houses of the Peloponnese or the

early Frankish feudal towers scattered throughout the Greek mainland, since they seem to have had a different purpose and development history. They are supposed to have been built for members of the aristocracy from Constantinople when they retreated from active public life (Tsigaridas 1976). They could be compared with the Venetian and Ottoman period towers on the island of Andros and Naxos (possibly under Italian influence; Charitonidou 1982).

Special attention should be paid to the domestic architecture of Mistra that gradually gained importance as it replaced the Middle Byzantine urban centre of Sparta, after the renovation of its citadel by the Crusaders and its re-conquest by the Byzantines (*Figure 115*). From the mid 14th century onwards Mistra could be regarded as the second capital of the Byzantine State after Constantinople, concentrating crucial administrative, economic and political functions as well as cultural activity, acting as a melting pot of local tradition and western and eastern influences. The extraordinary grandeur of the palace and house structures when compared to the houses described above, reflects the importance of this *kastro*. Orlandos, an architect with a strong interest in historical architecture, has compiled the most complete study of the palaces and houses of the site (Orlandos 1937). More recent studies often correct and criticise Orlandos' survey but, nevertheless, recognise its pioneering value (Bouras 1974a, Etzeoglou 1973-1974, Kalligas and Kalligas 1985-1986).

The houses of Mistra are rectangular (*dromika*; Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-b: 38) and usually built parallel to the contours of the slope. Due to the steep ground the houses have two or even three storeys, avoiding the humidity of the ground floor and enjoying the view of the surrounding plain. The height of the construction seems to have become a symbol of status and these elite houses conform to this hypothesis. It should be noted, however, that security must have played an important role in the vertical development of these houses, as social upheaval and wars between the feudal states of the mainland were quite common throughout the later 14th and 15th centuries. The constructions are frequently freestanding but there are houses that are semi-detached or *sygkolla* (Orlandos 1937: 55). In the former case, they are usually built within a small yard, a *periaulon* or *periaulion*. When semi-detached, they have a small yard in front of the entrance (*proaulon*; Orlandos 1937: 55). In both cases, the yard does not seem to have been walled, thus ensuring a clear view over as many possible sides of the houses, generally for leisure purposes but also for security, as the large number of loopholes may suggest.

All the household activities, therefore, were to be housed within this two or three-storey rectangular structure, since there was no enclosed yard or space for auxiliary outbuildings. The ground floor, in particular, could either be used as a stable or a storeroom for olive oil and cereals. In larger houses it could have acted as a kitchen or to house the servants. An underground

cistern (*kisterna, omvrodektis*; Orlandos 1937: 57) was often constructed to collect water from the roof (e.g. House of Fragkopoulos). The cistern, however, may also have occupied part or the whole of the ground floor, or if may have been situated adjacent to the main structure within the yard. The ground floor was usually undivided and was covered with barrel (house P and Z) or cross vaults (house Θ and Λ). In some houses the ground floor had a wooden ceiling (house A and E). Quite frequently, when the upper floors were extending over the public alleys, a vault (*diabatikon, parodos, dimosia kamara*; Orlandos 1937: 60) was constructed at ground floor level and over the street to support the superstructure (e.g. house E).

Staircases leading to the upper floors could have been internal or external and made of wood or stone. They could vary in shape and construction depending on the inclination of the ground and the available space. As already mentioned the houses had mainly two storeys and only a few had a third floor. Of the houses with three storeys the first floor would have had auxiliary functions such as storage and also often served defensive purposes, as the loopholes suggest. The upper floor in both two and three-storey houses comprised a single, rectangular long hall that could reach up to 18 metres in length (house Λ). The room was called *triklinos* or *triklinarin* (Orlandos 1937: 62-63). It was reserved for the everyday activities of the family. It was the space where they worked, ate, slept and received visitors. As the ground floor, the *triklinos* was undivided and only in house A do we find a subdivision by means of wooden or reed walls that separated the *kouvoklion*, or room, from the *triklinos*. The hall's roof was pitched and supported by wooden beams rather than vaults, as was mentioned for the ground floor. The sustaining walls were built of continuous stone arches filled in with mortared stone rubble. These blind arches were obvious either on the outside or the inside of the houses and became decorative features. The floor was either of mortar with ceramic or stone inclusions (*domatiron*), when laid over the ground floor vault, or of wooden planks (*paton*; Orlandos 1937: 67). The windows of the houses were usually narrow and high ending into an arch. Depending on the period and the external influences, the arches could be of Gothic style (13th and 14th centuries), mixed (14th century) or semicircular (15th century). They were closed by wooden shutters and rarely had glass windows. The doorways had similar shapes.

Common features within the rooms are niches intended for storage of foodstuffs and household utensils. Some niches were used as icon-stands, *proskynitarion* (*Figure 116*). These were more elaborately decorated with small pilasters and decorated arches. They are usually found in the eastern wall or the easternmost side of the north wall of the *triklinos*. Furthermore, fireplaces have often been discovered in the houses. If they were not located in one of the corners of the *triklinos*, they would be built

in the centre of the western or northern short sides. The fireplaces were on the same level as the floor and could be quite substantial, since they were used both for heating and cooking. Their chimney was always hidden within the wall or protruding outside the structure, unlike the later Ottoman period chimneys that are built onto the inner side of the wall and present decorative features of the rooms. When evidence for fireplaces is missing, Orlandos assumes the use of mobile braziers both for cooking and heating (Orlandos 1937: 77-78).

As for sanitary facilities, many houses were equipped with special small cubicles (*oikiskos* or *exedra*) directly accessed from the *triklinos* (*Figure 117*). The cubicle was roofed with a semi-dome and had a small window. A small hole in the floor was used as the toilet around which a raised semicircular seat was built (Orlandos 1937: 79-80). Other auxiliary rooms have rarely been found, suggesting that even in these elaborate houses all activities took place within the one and only hall, the *triklinos*.

Externally, one may notice various interesting features. Narrow stone balconies on small decorative arches, or *iliakoi*, small overhangs supported on stone slabs (house Δ), decorative design with alterations of brick and stones, complex arch designs and semi-

columns, all indicate a high level of artistic design. Many of the features noted in Mistra have been found scattered throughout Greece and are often regarded as remnants of this unique Late Byzantine architecture. Thus, the uniqueness of Mistra is not only restricted to the large size of the houses, but also to the special internal and external characteristics that have not yet been retrieved in any other Medieval site in Greece. Whereas the basic use of the house is here too based on the single long hall, the *triklinos*, the structures evidently represent a higher degree of sophistication and most likely a different social rank of the Byzantine world.

Whereas Greece went through troubled times throughout the mid-14th and 15th centuries due to increasing warfare between the feudal states, fierce competition for trading privileges between various western states such as Venice and Genoa in the Aegean, the continuous intrusions of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkan Peninsula and the consequent weakening of the Byzantine state and devastation of the mainland countryside, it is notable that Mistra was one of the least affected *kastra* on the mainland, continuing to thrive long after its capture by the Ottomans in 1460.

7   THE CASE OF BOIOTIA

Having outlined the general socio-economic trends and the architectural developments in the wider region of Greece from the Middle Byzantine through the Frankish and Ottoman to the Early Modern periods, the background has been laid for the presentation and analysis of the architectural evidence gathered in Boiotia (*Figure 118*). This province in the modern region of Central Greece has attracted many travellers and scholars already from the 17th century, intrigued by its importance in prehistory, as recorded in the Homeric Epics, Classical and Roman times, according to the literary and historical sources, as well as reconstructing its central role in the socio-political developments of the consecutive periods. More recently archaeologists started revealing much more of the hidden evidence confirming the significance of Boiotia. During these investigations, though, archaeologists constantly stumbled over dense layers of Byzantine and Ottoman activity that have only recently started to receive some of the attention they deserve.

The Boiotia Project of Cambridge and Durham Universities, being one of the pioneering intensive surface surveys of the region and wider Greece, extended early on its interest from the Antique periods into the Medieval, Ottoman and Early Modern eras (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 1986, 1988), initially concentrating on the collection and study of the ceramics and historical evidence (Dunn 1992, Kiel 1988, 1990, 1997, Vroom 1996a, 1996b, 1998). The Boiotian landscape was scattered with ruined Late Byzantine/Frankish towers controlling small agricultural pockets and often concentrating smaller or larger settlements in their vicinity. These towers were studied in detail by the historian Peter Lock, providing the historical context in which these sites flourished (Lock 1986, 1989). Besides the towers, already in 1982 to 1984 an initial attempt was made to record and analyse land use and settlement changes from the medieval period up to the 20th century. Nancy Stedman selected six municipalities, or *koinotites*, comprising different geological formations and settlement types in the province, so as to understand the relationship between the two. For this purpose she also employed the invaluable sources of information provided by the so-called travellers, who in their Grand Tour of the ancient world often visited Boiotia (Stedman 1996). Furthermore, Peter Lock spent two weeks in the summer of 1990 recording the most diagnostic examples of rural domestic architecture within the area of interest of the Boiotia project, producing an interesting set of 25 houses. In 1993 John Bintliff and Paul Spoerry made an initial attempt to study the building forms of the Boiotian town of Livadeia. They recorded 72 houses, a number of which have since been demolished (Aalen et al. 1997).

In a number of archaeological sites there was need to record the remaining structures, possibly houses. These deserted settlements could potentially offer more information than the mere chronology and a further node in the settlement organisation of the area. The assumption was that the structures observed on the surface should date at least to the final period of occupation of each site, and therefore provide a window of information into the intra-settlement organisation and domestic lifestyle of the site and period. For this exercise, the description and understanding of Early Modern rural domestic architecture would prove very valuable, providing a living record of pre-industrial household organisation. Moreover, since domestic architecture has been seen to closely follow and reflect changes in the socio-economic life of each period, alongside the remains of deserted settlements, surveyed in the context of the Boiotia Project, I recorded the architectural domestic forms in a number of villages and the town of Livadeia[2].

A short historical background to Boiotia

Before presenting and examining in detail the results of the architectural survey, the historical setting in which the settlements and consequently the domestic forms developed should be portrayed. Thus, Boiotia, following the trends of the wider Greek region, after the demographic and economic boom of the Late Roman period declined rapidly during the 7th and 8th centuries. Despite the already mentioned difficulty of identifying the ceramic types characteristic of the 7th to the 9th centuries, the decay of urban life has been stressed already in the preliminary reports and

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[2] The assistance of Athanasios Vionis was invaluable, without whom much of the survey presented here would have been impossible.

discussions of the Boiotia survey material. For instance the thriving classical city of Thespiae was reduced to a large village in Late Roman times at the northeast side of a Late Roman enceinte wall made of Classical *spolia* and possibly destined to house a local garrison (Bintliff 2000a, 2000b, Bintliff and Snodgrass 1985, 1986). Whereas continuity of occupation is still considered for this site, which becomes a Byzantine and Frankish village (cf. Erimokastro), and at other settlements such as Askra and Haliartos, archival data from the Byzantine and Ottoman eras suggest abandonment and partial or total replacement of the local Greek population by Slavic incomers (Bintliff 2000a).

During the Middle Byzantine period Boiotia shows clear signs of recovery too, following the general trend. During this era the suffragan bishopric of Zaratova at the site of ancient Askra is established, among four others in Boiotia, marking socio-economic and demographic development in the rural regions of Boiotia (Lock 1995: 293). In the meanwhile, a series of churches and monasteries was built as part of a wider imperial building programme aiming at the revitalisation of the countryside and the confirmation of central control over the provinces (e.g. construction of Skripou/Orchomenos Church in 873 and Osios Loukas monastery in 1011). The reestablishment of control over the provinces and their reorganisation under the system of the *themata* had a positive impact on the growth of both urban and rural settlement and population. The town of Thebes, being the capital of the large *thema* of Hellas, is already in the 11th century famous for its silk production and purple dye (Jacoby 1991-1992). Its importance as a local manufacturing, commercial and redistribution centre allowed the city to flourish and extend beyond its fortification walls by the 12th century (Dunn 1992: 769).

In the Late Byzantine period, marked by the arrival of the Franks in 1204, Boiotia shows even clearer signs of recovery. The Franks invaded a land that was amidst a process of relative demographic and economic growth. Despite the temporary upheaval caused by the 1204 fall of Constantinople, the imposition of a feudal system and the fragmentation of the empire into feudal states, urban and rural development in the provinces advanced further. Preliminary results of the Boiotia Project clearly suggest an infill of the rural areas in Late Byzantine/Frankish times (Bintliff 1995). Livadeia gradually took over in importance from Thebes during the 14th century and became an important centre of the region. Its well-defended castle became the stronghold of the Catalan mercenaries of the Grand Company that took over Central Greece in 1311. The downturn, though, comes by the mid 14th century with the attack of the Black Death in 1348 and onwards, the warfare between the Frankish feudal states and the Byzantines, and the political and military intrusions of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkan Peninsula in general. The disadvantages of the depopulated countryside soon

stimulated the policy of Albanian repopulation adopted in the 15th century (Lock 1995). The demographic decline, though, had been so dramatic and the feudal disputes so strong that the Ottoman advance was a matter of time.

The repopulation of the countryside by Albanian semi-nomadic clans was further encouraged by the Ottomans straight after their conquest of the region in 1460. The tax register of 1466 for Boiotia clearly records the influx of these Albanian clans into the Boiotian countryside. In the century to come Boiotia in accordance with the rest of the Ottoman Empire goes through a period of rapid economic growth that is matched by a demographic boom of both rural and urban settlements (Kiel 1988, Kiel 1990, Kiel 1997). Livadeia more than tripled in population between1466 and 1570 (from 215 households to 752, Kiel 1997: 340), a similar trend noted in the larger town of Thebes (Kiel 1990: 406). The former had during the century five mosques, two schools of the Koran, a Dervish convent, a bathhouse and at least four churches. The economic growth in the province, though, came gradually to a standstill from the 1540 onwards, leading to a stagnation of the demographic increase by the 1570s. The Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire had come to an end for a series of reasons mentioned previously (Chapter 2).

The demographic, economic, military and political developments in the late 16th and early 17th century led to failure of the so-called *timar* system (a tax area supporting a cavalryman rigidly controlled by the state) and the rise of tax-farming (*çiftlik* system). This shift in relation to localised upheavals, poisoning the local economies, triggered the rise of increasing larger landownership in the provinces, which gradually throughout the 17th century incorporated the lands of the *timar* holders into large private estates. Simultaneously, the continuous warfare, mainly with the European states at the northern Balkan borders, required increasingly higher revenues to be retrieved mainly through taxation. By the end of the century the military failures in Central Europe and the consequent economic penetration of the European powers in the Ottoman Empire were gradually felt in the provinces.

Livadeia already from the late 17th century was trading locally produced wool, wheat and rice, according to the travellers Spon and Wheler (Spon and Wheler 1679: 49), and even tobacco, as the Italian Cornelio Magno notes (Magno 1688 (1674): 85). The English traveller Thomson records that in 1730 the Boiotian plains were full of villages and herds, while Livadeia prospered due to the production of wool and rice (*see* Melios 1997: 11). By the end of the century and the beginning of the 19th the region was exporting wool, cotton, wheat and wine. Tax farming had already from the mid 18th century introduced the production of maize into the region (see further: Harmena). Most importantly, though, the export of dyes for cloth produced around Kopais Lake reached Italian and French textile manufacturers due to their low costs

(*see travellers Felix Beaujour, Edward Dodwell and Colonel Leake in* Melios 1997: 11-14). The economic advances may be further demonstrated by the comments of the travellers on the towns of Thebes and Livadeia and their architecture, Leake noting the larger houses of the latter as "having spacious chambers and galleries in the Turkish manner" (Leake 1835: 120).

The Industrial Revolution in Britain and the introduction of steam engines in the production of textiles in the 1810s triggered an economic upheaval not only in the textile manufactures of Europe, but also in the household-based cloth manufactures in various regions of the Ottoman Empire. These developments in relation with the heavy taxation, the increasing exploitation of the peasants by the local *çiftlik* holders and a series of natural disasters at the turn of the 19th century, prepared the ground for social revolutions with strong nationalistic parameters in the Balkans. The results of the Greek war of Independence may have resulted in the creation in the 1830s of the Kingdom of Greece incorporating Boiotia, but had devastating effects on the local economy. The original promises for redistribution of the previously Turkish owned lands to the soldiers and the widows of the war failed to be fulfilled, because these so-called public lands (*Dimosia Ktimata*) were mortgaged for loans from Great Britain, France and Russia, the peasants coming out of a 10 year long devastating war proved to be unable to buy the land, and the private disputes and competitions of the preceding local elite groups dominated the political scene of the newly founded state (Slaughter and Kasimis 1986). Furthermore, Boiotia, being cut off from the main northern trading routes of the Balkans had to deal with an initial commercial isolation in the first decades after Independence. Most early attempts to revitalise the local manufacture in Boiotia and elsewhere had failed (plans for the establishment of a cotton ginning factory in Livadeia by K. Soutsos in 1836 and by Zentner and Mansola in 1837, cf. Melios 1997). The deteriorated road system, the lack of financial support and the delays in the drainage of the Kopais Lake, regarded as a major factor for boosting local agricultural economy, prohibited the province from developing both economically and demographically until the 1870s (Bintliff 2000b, Meijs 1993).

It is only in 1862 that the first cotton factory is set up on Livadeia producing 92% of the cotton production of the whole Kingdom. By 1874, though, four cotton factories were in operation in Livadeia, making it the capital of cotton production in Greece (Melios 1997: 8). This industrialisation and commercialisation has been related to the percentage of literacy by Meijs, which is notably higher in the wider district of Livadeia when compared to Thebes (in 1879 73% males and 84% females were illiterate in the Livadeia district, compared to the 83% and 90% respectively in the Theban district). The improvement of communications in the last decades of the 19th century with the construction of the railway between

Thebes and Athens and the partial drainage of the Kopais, that initially favoured the Theban villages, increased the urbanisation processes in Thebes leading to higher literacy rates as recorded in the census of 1907 (Meijs 1993). As for the agricultural reforms, it will not be until the 1930 that Lake Kopais will be successfully drained and, after a series of disputes between the English Company controlling it, the government and the farmers, that the land is distributed to the inhabitants, temporarily boosting the local agricultural economy in the 1950s (Slaughter and Kasimis 1986).

The settlements

During the Medieval, Ottoman and early modern eras two major towns dominated the Boiotian countryside, Thebes and Livadeia. The former located on the Kadmeia Hill had a long and intensive habitation history from prehistoric times. During the early stages of recovery from the so-called Dark Ages (7th -9th centuries AD) it rose from obscurity to become a thriving manufacturing and commercial centre in the 12th century and the capital of the Hellas *thema*. Livadeia, almost half the size of Thebes during the Middle Ages, became more important from the 14th century onwards when the French dynasty was succeeded by the Catalan Grand Company, which developed Livadeia as a parallel focus. Ever since and mainly during the Ottoman and Early Modern periods the two cities competed in importance and control over the province. Whereas Thebes is situated within the limits of the occupation of a Classical city, Livadeia is unwalled located below a medieval castle, separated in two by the small river Erkyna, but overlying in part a minor Classical town. Both cities from Byzantine times seem to have had narrow winding streets following the topography of their location rather than a set urban plan. In fact, it was only in the 19th century and after Independence that Thebes was fully rebuilt with a rectilinear street plan and Livadeia extended towards the North following the principles of regular building blocks and broad streets. In both towns the central roads were reserved for commercial purposes, flanked with houses with shop-windows and small stalls. From Byzantine times the churches and fountains were the main focal points of the towns, supplemented by mosques, bathhouses and Islamic schools, which were added in the Ottoman period. Squares were only introduced as such at crossroads and openings in the urban tissue during the replanning processes of the mid and later 19th century.

In the countryside the rural settlements, for which we have tangible architectural information, date only from the 13th century onwards. Thus, from the villages, which have been located solely on the basis of their ceramic culture or reference in Ottoman archives (Bintliff and Snodgrass 1986, Bintliff 1995, Bintliff 2000a, Bintliff 2000b), only tower sites have provided

us physical architectural makers of their possible organisation, before the arrival of the Ottomans. Petty feudal lords, who were allotted particular regions in Boiotia after the 1204 invasion of the Franks, built these towers within an already existing village community or in association with it (Lock 1986). The towers do not seem to have had a particular role in the defence of the feudal state. They are rather located so as to firmly control and exploit the allotted land around them, providing storage for feudal dues, and as markers and symbols of the feudal status of their proprietors. The tower site of Klimataria is a very good example located adjacent to several villages near the Boiotian Yliki Lake (Bintliff 1995: 114, 1996: 6). Furthermore, as in the case of VM4/Palaio-Panagia, they often acted as attractors of settlement around them, contributing to the mobility of the rural settlements during the Frankish period (Bintliff 1995: 112). Both Klimataria and VM4/Palaio-Panagia will be subject of more detailed discussion further in this chapter.

From the Middle Ottoman period onwards the concept of the *çiftlik* estate seems to appear, as already mentioned. These could be compared to the tower sites of the Frankish period in their general organisation. Rather than the Frankish tower, an Ottoman style tower house, located either centrally within a village or above the settlement, controlled both workers and land of the estate. The difference lies mainly in the role of the peasants as dependent serfs to the Ottoman *çiftlik* owner, the estate being used mainly for production of cash crops in a globalised economic environment. On the ground, the site of Harmena has been discovered revealing not only the organisation of the peasant houses within the estate village, but also the house of the overlord higher up on the hillside overlooking the settlement. The discovery of Ottoman tax registers by the Ottomanist Kiel for the particular site, known by the time as *Çiftlik-i Kebir*, further enhances its importance (Kiel 1997: 337-339).

Comparable to the role of the *çiftliks* is the notion of the *metochi* sites. These were settlements that existed already from the Middle Byzantine period. The *metochia* were estates with associated settlements that belonged to and were exploited by churches and monasteries, supplementing their income. Both *çiftlik* and *metochi* institutions survived well into the 19th century, as the *metochi* CN4/Sta Dendra of the Boiotia project may suggest (Bintliff 2000a: 146).

The actual villages in Boiotia conformed to the general principles of rural settlements elsewhere in Greece. Thus, following the main characteristics set out by Common and Prentice for the 20th century Thessaloniki region in Northern Greece, the Boiotian villages were rarely fortified and developed according to the topographical features of the site location. A general precondition was proximity to a water source sufficient for the village needs. Furthermore, the village would not be readily visible from the main approach routes, providing minimal protection from

bandit groups (Common and Prentice 1956). Whereas a central square marked by the village church and surrounded by small shops is one of the main characteristics of Early Modern villages, this does not seem to be the case at least in Ottoman times. The notion of a central public area must have been a 19th century introduction based on habits probably unknown in the preceding rural communities.

Following the classification of the rural settlements in Boiotia introduced by Nancy Stedman, I will make distinction between the villages around the Kopais Lake or the so-called marsh villages, the mountain villages and the intervening villages at higher altitudes on the foothills around Kopais. The basis of this distinction is mainly founded on the topography and the available resources for land use. Thus, in mountain villages like Elikonas and Evangelistria the inhabitants were mainly involved in stockbreeding with some limited crop cultivation on the small adjacent plateau to permit self-sufficiency. In contrast, the marsh villages around Lake Kopais exploited the opportunities provided by the lake, such as fishing, cotton and rice production (Agios Demetrios, Agios Athanasios, Alalkomenes). The settlements in the foothills (Mazi, Ypsilandi, Chaironeia) had a mixed economy, a combination of stockbreeding and cultivation, being set back from the main Boiotian communication routes in search for protection from bandits and evasion from corrupt officialdom (Stedman 1996).

The Boiotian Houses

General characteristics and observations

The province of Boiotia does not present large variations in housing between the mountain and plain settlements. Nonetheless, variability in the interpretation and use of the main domestic forms can be noted even within settlements, suggesting identification of the house with its inhabitant and expression of the personal ideas and status of the owner. Thus, despite the apparent homogeneity in form within the villages, careful observation does bring the individual to the foreground. In the database built for the study of the Boiotian houses, I have attempted to include as many individual characteristics not to undermine the nature of the general observations on the houses, but to indicate the possibilities that may arise beyond the grand hypotheses developed below for the understanding of the Boiotian house.

In general, the contrast between the ground floor rural house with the broad façade and the two-storey house, noted in most regions of Greece and neighbouring Aitolia and Attika in particular (Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986, Loukopoulos 1984 (1925)), has been discerned in Boiotia as well. The former is usually referred to as *monospito* indicating

both its sole floor and the undivided single room that it originally comprised. Within this single room both humans and animals would have been housed indiscriminately and, as noted by Du Boulay in the case of Ambeli in Euboia, up to the 1970s. This single undivided space would have been used for most of the household activities, at least during the winter months. The household activities did not follow a particular arrangement within the house. Only the location of the fireplace seems to have been placed in fixed locations, depending on the general orientation of the houses and the direction of the strongest winter winds. Furthermore, whenever access to the interior of the still inhabited houses was permitted, I have observed that the location of the niches for the icons, for instance, may have varied, and whereas in most houses it was placed in a prominent place in the wall, in wine producing Thespies it was found in association with the wine-press (*patitiri*), safekeeping and blessing the crop and production.

The two-storey, or *anogokatogo* (Loukopoulos 1984 (1925)), has often been regarded as a vertical multiplication of the *monospito* with the addition of the upper floor. The fact that the upper floor is only used for living, whereas the ground floor is reserved for storage or stabling, seems to have permitted this hypothesis. The parallel existence in rural settings of both types at least since the mid 19th century, though, may suggest processes other than convenience may have resulted in the addition of an upper storey. Already from Medieval times, as we have already seen, the importance of view was granted legally. Furthermore, the height of domestic structures was until recently perceived as a symbol of social status and control, not only as a marker within the village and cityscape, but also as a feature permitting observation over the entire settlement. In Ottoman times it has been suggested that the upper floor granted more proximity to the sky, the latter often being associated with heaven (Birkalan 1996).

The 1½ storey house introduced in the database may be regarded as an intermediate type between the *monospito* and the *anogokatogo*. It is mainly found in villages with inclining ground that require or allow the addition of a substructure of smaller dimensions underneath the main domestic building, simultaneously levelling the ground surface and providing an additional ground floor space. Its internal organisation did not differ from the general characteristics of the *anogokatogo*. Thus the main living space on the upper floor possibly remained undivided permitting arrangement of the activities along the long axis of the house.

It is impossible to suggest from the existing evidence when internal divisions commenced. In most cases they were constructed of perishable materials, usually comprising a woven reed framework covered with a mixture of mud, dung and straw, and plastered over (*kalamoti*). It should be noted, though, that an initial division of the interior always existed, at least

conceptually, separating the animal from the human members of the household in the case of the *monospito*. On the basis of this separation, the *monospito* could be divided into two rooms communicating either directly or via a *"through-passage"* (Peter Lock *pers. comm.*), that is an entrance hall almost like a corridor between the two rooms.

In the case of the 1½ and two-storey houses in the villages, internal division takes usually the form of two rooms. One of the two is usually reserved for the living and working space of the household, whereas the other, the *sala*, is kept immaculately clean and tidy and used only for formal occasions and reception of visitors. Despite the limited space available in the sole living and sleeping room, the *sala* is never used apart from these special occasions (Friedl 1962). The *sala* is a room for exhibition of the belongings and qualities and communication of the otherwise introverted household with the rest of the community.

Within the urban tissue of the towns of Thebes and Livadeia, differentiation and individuality are more pronounced in the architectural forms. Beside the house types mentioned above, that rather than being freestanding with open yards as in the villages, are now enclosed within high yard walls internalising the yard and increasing the inward nature of the house, other forms have been identified often conforming to particular architectural styles. Thus, houses with a third storey and much larger proportions have been recorded, reminiscent of preceding eras of thriving urban development. Furthermore, typical narrow fronted terraced houses complying with trends of other urban settlements, and characteristic Ottoman and Neoclassical examples, indicate parallel developments to those observed elsewhere in Greece. The variability in plans and arrangements may be regarded as an indicator of both changing mentalities and fashions in both towns, while simultaneously identifying and formulating the ideas and attitudes of their inhabitants.

Rural Settlements (Appendix C)

From the total number of Boiotian villages I concentrated my research on a selection within the survey area of the Boiotia Project. The preliminary surveys conducted by Nancy Stedman in 1982-1984 and Peter Lock in 1991 have been partly incorporated in this analysis, assisting in the provision of different insights into the house architecture of the settlements. Thus, for convenience of the discussion the villages have been organised into groups according to the their special nature, settlement history and common characteristics.

Klimataria

Klimataria is an impressive deserted tower site at the western shore of the homonymous northern peninsula at the shores of Yliki Lake (*Figure 119*; Lock 1986:

117). The severe droughts of the late 1980s caused its reappearance above the surface of the water reservoir after almost a century and provided to the 1989 and 1990 survey teams of the Boiotia Project the unique opportunity to survey this feudal estate. The retreating waters of the lake had cleared the site, exposing the precise plan of the estate, littered with a high number of Frankish ceramics collected in association with rooms and open spaces of the complex (Bintliff 1995: 114, 1996: 6). Beside the Frankish building activity and material culture the site was used in the prehistoric, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman, as well as Post-Medieval periods complicating the identification and dating of the structures.

According to the rough characterisation of the wall constructions, often in relation to the associated ceramics (Bintliff, Sigalos, and Spoerry (*In preparation*)), the general plan of the site suggests an arrangement of spaces around a sizeable rectangular courtyard. The focus of the complex is on the multi-storey tower in the middle of the west branch of rooms. The tower with dimensions 5.23 by 6.92 and wall thickness 1.10 metres (*Figure 120*), does not seem to the belong to the larger towers, according to Lock's inventories for Euboia and Central Greece and Langdon's list of Attic towers (Langdon 1995, Lock 1986, 1996). In 1990 only the ground floor survived with an entrance at the west long wall. Whether this was the original entrance to the tower cannot be determined from the evidence available, but it seems unlikely, since all well-preserved towers were entered from the first floor. Like elsewhere the tower was built of reused masonry of the preceding Classical and Hellenistic site, conforming to Lock's observations on the choice of settlement and stressing the importance of the particular location through time.

The structures flanking the central courtyard too were possibly founded on classical wall remains or at least reused much of the scattered classical construction material. They seem not to have been built in one phase. In fact, there may be evidence of a continuous process of building and rebuilding throughout the occupation of the estate. Thus, the south and western wings of the courtyard may have predated the north and eastern branches demonstrating clearly differing wall constructions, identified as *Frankish normal* (i.e. rubble construction) and *Frankish Monumental* respectively on the site map. The rooms around the courtyard are rectangular or square and of varying sizes. They are mostly entered from the courtyard, apart from the room in the southwest corner that was accessed from the outside. Furthermore, the rooms do not seem to communicate with each other internally, suggesting distinct functions within each space. The site seems to have been extended further with the addition of the 47.8 metre long four-room wing stretching towards the north. The three large rectilinear rooms do not present evidence of internal communication and were accessed independently from their western façade, possibly

adding an additional open yard towards the north of the original complex. Towards the west of the main courtyard complex the remains of classical structures may have been reused, but specific room organisation could not be discerned.

Unfortunately, beside the tower itself and a cistern in the centre of the eastern part of the courtyard, not very much can be said about the function of the individual rooms solely from their construction. Parallels, though, can be drawn to other tower sites of the wider region of Central Greece or equivalent Crusader sites in the Levant. Whereas a relatively high number of towers has been studied and catalogued in Boiotia itself, associated structures have been mentioned in only one case. The tower of Ypsilandi/Rastamites in the foothills of Mount Elikon demonstrates evidence of auxiliary buildings surrounding it possibly in the same courtyard arrangement as the tower site of Klimataria (*Figure 121*). Lock suggests that there was an associated chapel towards the north of the tower, remains of which are still visible (Lock 1986: 115-116). In the so-called Koula tower below the Asteri monastery on mount Ymittos in neighbouring Attika, similar oblong outbuildings demarcating a yard have been mentioned (*Figure 122*), and possibly in the case of the tower of the Kaisariani monastery nearby (Langdon 1995: 487-488, 493, *pers. comm.* Jolanda Lee). Apart from the tower of Kaisariani, though, where the adjacent structures are part of the monastic cells, no information is provided on the function of the other auxiliary structures.

Current research on equivalent tower sites from the Levant, though, presents more evidence on the functional possibilities around the courtyard. Pringle mentions that in the case of al-Bira and ar-Ram a courthouse and a series of vaulted ranges were built flanking the towers, resulting in a courtyard arrangement of rooms. The outer wall of these rooms provided increased security to the internal courtyard and the rooms around it. In the Levantine cases, the tower was used as the main residence for the overlord and the auxiliary structures were used for the storage of the produce collected as tax from the subject population (Pringle 1989, Ellenblum 1998).

Similarly, in Greece the towers seem to have functioned as storage centres of the local produce. Most of the revenues of the overlord in agricultural products seem to have been stored within these tower sites for local consumption, with the exception of certain products, the surplus of which may have been exported. Moreover, the tower should not be seen as a station within the chain of a larger commercial or mobility system, but as an institution ensuring self-sufficiency and security to both overlord and associated village population, while maintaining the structures of the estate and institutions of the feudal system (Lock 1995: 247, 251).

Klimataria should therefore be seen as a similar storage facility. This may be demonstrated by its

strategic location near village communities that may have belonged to its fief. The large number of rooms may have acted as storage spaces for the revenue and surplus collected from the surrounding communities. In addition, the proximity of the tower complex to a bridge over the lake, which provided direct access to the Theban plain and the city itself and may only be viewed in periods of severe draught, further enhances its role as a regional redistribution centre. The location of the tower's doorways towards the courtyard suggests that the complex had some sort of fortified nature enclosing all its facilities within the court. The extension wing towards the north may have provided an additional open court that in relation to the lakeshore was partially secured. The proportions of the individual rooms and their poor construction may suggest the latter to have been a residence of estate labourers, in accordance with similar domestic construction related to estates of the Ottoman and Early Modern periods, or even for stabling animals (i.e. *çiftliks* and *metochia, see below*).

Furthermore, the ceramic evidence may provide an additional set of information on the site organisation. Whereas the functional analysis of the ceramics has not yet been concluded (Vroom 2003), some preliminary patterns may be discerned from the pottery distributions. This exercise is permitted, since the site was washed clean by the lake and all ceramics were collected in relation to particular rooms or site areas. Notably, there is a concentration of ceramics beyond the courtyard, the latter being kept clean, in comparison, demonstrating the inward nature of the complex. Moreover, whereas a similar distinction can be made between the interior of the rooms and the courtyard itself, certain rooms and areas of the courtyard have not provided any material culture. This may have to do with the nature of the collapse of the room walls, but it seems that the proximity of the rooms to the tower and their "monumental" wall construction, as recorded by the surveyors, suggest a different function altogether. Thus, the southeast corner of the tower complex seems to have been kept immaculately clean, both as far as the rooms and the section of the courtyard are concerned. It is therefore possible that this part of the complex was used for residence of the overlord or his vassals. Similar seems to have been the case at the northwest corner, where a long structure of "*monumental*" construction presents the same characteristics of cleanliness. In fact, adjacent to this latter structure a small room is located, which, according to some initial functional characterisation provided by John Hayes, seems to have solely contained amphoras. The northern wing of rooms shows similar distribution patterns, with rooms being considerably cleaner than the yard towards the east, which in turn has lower concentrations of ceramic debris than its surrounding collection units.

Askra - VM4 - Panagia

As the title suggests, in this part I am going to present three different sites that have proved according to archaeological, textual and taxation evidence to be closely related to each other. The ancient site of Askra, the birthplace of the epic writer Hesiod, after a period of decline in the Early Roman period, expanded rapidly almost to its Classical extent in Late Roman times. After a two-century long obscurity, a medieval village flourished at the heart of the preceding Late Roman settlement (Bintliff 1995, 1996). A large ruined church associated with the toponym *Episkopi* was identified by the historian Lock with the Frankish period bishopric of Zaratova (Lock 1995: 208, mainly 293), manifesting its local importance and comparatively large size. During this era, though, the site has become the fief of a Frankish lord, who like in the case of Klimataria built his tower some distance from the village on the precipitous slope of mount Fylachtro (*Figure 123*). From this point the tower overlooked and controlled the entire so-called Valley of the Muses below it, as well as the settlement of Zaratova with the Episcopal Church. The security provided by the tower, as discussed above, was possibly a crucial reason for the gradual attraction of the inhabitants of low-lying Zaratova to the southern slope below the tower and, whereas the transition seems not to have been always untroubled (*pers. comm.* John Bintliff), by the 14th and 15th centuries VM4, following the project's coding system, had become a sizeable community, as the ceramic evidence analysed by John Hayes and Joanita Vroom clearly suggests (Vroom 1998). Despite the effects of the Black Death and the 15th century intrigues and warfare among the feudal states in Greece, exacerbated by the raids of the Ottomans after the conquest of the region by the latter, the site had not disappeared. Indeed, VM4, locally known as Palaio-Panagia, appears in the first surviving Ottoman tax registers as a "Greek" village with 79 households, being one of the very few large Greek 'refuge villages' in Boiotia. During the first century of Ottoman rule VM4/Palaio-Panagia follows the demographic and economic trends of the wider Ottoman and European region reaching its peak of 220 households in 1570 (Kiel 1997). The ceramics also manifest this flourishing period with imports from Italy and Asia Minor enriched by local imitations (Vroom 1998). This period of growth culminated in the late 16th century, followed by a rapid decline to 50 or 65 households in the tax register of 1642 (Kiel 1997: 328). During a visit to the areas by Wheler in the 1670s VM4 was already in ruins with a derelict tower and a number of churches dominating the site (Wheler 1689: 476). A neighbouring settlement, though, further towards the east was recorded retaining the name Panagia, suggesting a further transfer of the village. The shift may have occurred in relation with the 17th century change in land use from the *timar* to the *çiftlik* system, breaking up the village communities into groups of labourers for large estates of cash crops (12

to 13 are the known *çiftliks* in 17th century Boiotia). This village survives up to now renamed Askri, closing the circle of names, and provides interesting domestic architectural forms, which in relation with remains in its preceding location at VM4 may provide some insight in rural house architecture of Boiotia.

Architecturally, very little remains on the ancient site of Askra dating from the Middle or Late Byzantine/Frankish period beside the ruins of the Episcopal Church. Most of the architecture seems to have been cleared from the fields that are now cultivated and built into the field walls of properties. In contrast, at VM4 along the ridge towards the east of the tower large pens and sheepfolds have been discovered and recorded on the upper tower plateau, with walls often reaching up to two metres high. These features seem to antedate the abandonment and the shift of the site to its current location showing clear signs of reuse of the available building material from the ruined houses in their construction. Further down and along the southern slope below the tower various features survive mainly in the form of broad terraces supporting the soil and levelling the ground for the domestic structures and activities. Various anomalies in the topography on these terraces and possible walls may be related with particular structures. One of these was a relatively large church with an apse at the eastern part of the settlement marked by a modern *iconostasi*, or icon stand, marking its location.

As for particular domestic structures it is very difficult to identify exact plans. From the seven or eight possible structures only two exhibit some evidence of their possible outlines. House 6 with approximate dimensions 12.75 by 6.85 metres has its long axis at right angles to the slope direction (*Figure 124*). In fact, its back wall seems to be inclining against a terrace or possibly being part of the terrace wall itself. The house must have been entered from the southwest long side, facing a small yard and overlooking the valley below. House 3 is slightly larger measuring approximately 14.15 by 8m with a wall thickness of 0.9 metres (*Figure 125*). Some evidence was recorded of a threshold at the short south side of the structure as well as a stone feature at the west side that could also be interpreted as a doorway. Its long axis, contrary to house 6, was parallel to the direction of the slope, which in relation to the location of the yard at the east side suggests that the main entrance of the house was located along the eastern long façade. Notably, the northern third of the structure seems to lie at a higher level than the rest of the house. This elevation difference may be due to the infill from the collapsed back wall of the house, but the location of the possible doorway at this part of the structure may suggest that the original building had two internal levels. This would not come as a surprise, since a number of houses elsewhere in Greece as well as in Boiotia seem to have exploited the slope difference so as to add a second floor above a smaller basement, the latter acting as a levelling foundation for

the upper structure and used either for storage or animal stabling. If this were the case, the threshold at the southern narrow side of the structure could be explained as allowing access to the basement of the house, which would otherwise be isolated from the upper storey. A further concentration of remains, house complex 2, suggests a similar picture solely from topographical anomalies (*Figure 126*). The structures seem to have been arranged along the sides of a large terrace bounded towards the north and south by steep terracing. It is the depressions towards the southwest corner that have been interpreted as a house, but no actual plan could be extrapolated. Furthermore, at the west part of the terrace a narrow roughly built rectangular structure has been recorded. This is an early modern shepherd's hut built of the surrounding rubble, indicating the reuse of the site for stockbreeding. Thus, the combination of topographical data and the seemingly *in situ* wall remains may allow the identification of two structures at the west and east side of the terrace, running across the contours, their approximate dimensions being 13.5 by 5.9m and 13.25 by 5.75, respectively. Both structures seem to have been entered from the east, fully complying with the observations made for house 3.

These four structures demonstrate many similarities in dimension, orientation and planning to the oldest houses in the neighbouring village Panagia/Askri (*Figure 127*). This is not very surprising, since the latter seems to have succeeded VM4 after its abandonment. It should therefore be expected that the houses, especially the older ones, in Panagia/Askri are comparable to the structures discovered at VM4. Nancy Stedman, having visited the contemporary village in the early 1980s, had already noted that the original core of the village lay on the low hill towards the south of the modern main square. In the survey of the surviving domestic structures in 1999, this position was confirmed and the main characteristics of the houses were recorded. Thus, the majority of the houses in the southern extremity of the settlement dated to at least the earlier 19th century according to the local inhabitants and our own observations. In this part all the houses, except for the modern cement structures, belonged to the longhouse type, consisting of a long one-storey building with a double-pitched roof. Internally, the houses were divided into two rooms (*Figure 128*). One of these was used as the main living space and the other for storage and stabling of the household animals. The storage area, often converted into a bedroom in recent times, was in most cases much larger than the living space. This may be explained in relation to some evidence of household silk production, as confirmed by the inhabitants and the presence of mulberry trees at the far end of some yards (Stedman 1996: 185). The sizeable spaces required for the manufacture of silk are also noted in the domestic architecture of Edessa in Northern Greece, where the houses comprised large long rooms, often bigger than the living spaces for the

inhabitants, reserved for sericulture (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988).

The majority of the longhouses surveyed in 1999 had dimensions ranging from 13.5 to 18.1 metres in length and 7 to 7.8 metres in width, although many were partially demolished or extended along the long axis (*Figure 129*). These dimensions match closely those of the ruined houses from VM4. Furthermore, the houses are facing towards the east in accordance to house 3 and the structures of house complex 2 on VM4. In Panagia/Askri the houses have sizeable yards that in contrast to the deserted VM4 examples are not demarcated. This does not seem to be necessary in the modern village since the relatively flat terrain does not require the construction of terraces supporting the houses. Additionally, the arrangement of the houses along approximately parallel lines, at least at the southern and northern parts of the settlement, and the eastward orientation of the houses provided sufficient markers of both property and yard extent. Despite the possible differences in settlement arrangement, though, the structures in modern Panagia/Askri village are still comparable to those of VM4/Palaio-Panagia, and do provide an insight to at least the late 16th and early 17th century domestic architectural types of rural Boiotia.

Beyond the oldest settlement core of the modern Panagia/Askri, the village presents us with further architectural developments during the later decades of the 19th and the early 20th centuries. The agricultural reforms, the better communications, the stability and security from bandit groups at the turn of the century led to a flourishing of the local economy. The dynamism of the rural population and the positive developments were clearly reflected in the newly built houses of the early 20th century. The large finely chiselled quoins, doorjambs and lintels in houses of the 1920s show a distinct tendency towards monumentality (*Figure 130*). Furthermore, symmetry in the decorative features and most importantly of the internal arrangement of rooms, point clearly towards the influences from urban neoclassicism and eclecticism, which were at their peak in Athens and neighbouring Thebes and Livadeia. Whether one or two storey these houses are very distinct from the older longhouses presented above and demonstrate a clear discontinuity from the preceding types.

Chaironeia

The village of modern Chaironeia is located within the bounds of its Classical and Hellenistic predecessor, crowned by a well-fortified acropolis on the top of the neighbouring steep hill of Petrachou. During the Byzantine times the site seems to have survived as Kaprena, a corrupted version of the original name, and focussed within the now deserted acropolis. In Frankish times the castle was reconstructed providing shelter to the inhabitants during the fierce warfare from the late 14th century onwards. One of the towers of the Classical fortification wall was restored and

converted into a Frankish tower dominating the settlement. The Ottoman archives suggest that it was the second largest village in the region of Livadeia with 119 households in 1466 and rising to 289 by 1570. Beside the production of wheat and barley, which was marginally ensuring self-sufficiency, the village was specialising in cotton production that played an important role in the local economy. The collapse of the 17th century left Chaironeia with 110 households in 1642 and a mere 40 in 1800 (Kiel 1997: 326-327, 341, 349). After the War of Independence the village steadily rose to 765 inhabitants in 1971, but still below the apex of 1570.

Despite the abundance of Late Byzantine/Frankish and Ottoman era ceramics scattered on the steep eastern slope of the acropolis, very few remains of houses have survived. In fact due to the high degree of slope it seems that the medieval houses were partly cut into the solid bedrock. Even the slots for the wooden roof beams were cut into the bedrock at the appropriate height to confirm the presence of the houses (*Figure 131*). Similar rock-cut structures have been excavated at the site of Didymoteicho in Thrace, which were actually used as storage spaces for the houses above them (Bakirtzis 1978b, Bakirtzis 1994). Within the modern village, though, no medieval structures seem to survive. Most of the houses could be dated to the early 20th century and Post World War I era (*Figure 132*). Only three houses date to the mid or even earlier 19th century. One is a conspicuous three-storey tower close to the eastern approach to the village. It was built by a family called Raggavi, who belonged to the administrative elite of the Northern Ottoman province of Wallachia and were provided with shelter and agricultural land in the newly found Greek State (*Figure 133*). Unfortunately, the occupants prevented us from examining it. Its location, though, and predominance in the landscape clearly demonstrated the status and power of the Raggavi family.

The other two structures are two longhouses with dimensions of 14 by 6.5 metres. They are both entered from the south long façade through a small originally undefined yard (*Figure 134*). Internally the houses were divided into two rooms, one for the humans and one for the animals or the storage of the agricultural produce, which according to the locals was mainly cotton. Auxiliary buildings were added long after the construction of the original structure and comprised a shed parallel to the house, a kitchen vertically added to the long axis and a small cubicle for a toilet. The rest of the yard was partly paved, originally with cobbles and white washed to stress the cleanliness of the household. From these two structures it is obvious that the open yard, which was clearly demarcated with the advent of asphalt roads, acted as an extension of the house interior, often being looked after, cleaned and decorated much more than the living space within the house. Similar structures possibly dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries

were scattered throughout the village not actually showing any particular pattern or concentration within the settlement tissue. If their long axis follows an E-W direction, the houses are entered from the south. When the house alignment is N-S, the houses usually face the east. In this way the entrance and openings as well as the yard were sheltered from the northern winter winds and avoid the high heat of the sun during the summer.

Besides the longhouses a number of the two-storey and the intermediate 1½-storey houses were surveyed. The latter are more numerous than the two-storey houses and are found on sloping ground, whether along the western hill below the acropolis or in the vicinity of the stream running through the village (*Figure 135*). In all cases they follow the direction of the slope, exploiting the height difference for the addition of a small basement underneath the main living space. Whereas it may seem as a natural development of the longhouse, it seems to have been a conscious act adding height to the structure and allowing a hierarchical separation of the human spaces from the animal stables. According to our dating they antedate the longhouses and the surviving ones should have been built at the turn of the 20th century and later. This is also supported by their internal organisation. Thus, the doorway on the upper floor, being situated in the middle of the long side of the structure and between two symmetrically built windows, led to a small square entry hall. This room surrounded by doors provided access to the everyday living space towards the back of the house, the reception room or *sala* at the front and a small multi-purpose room at its continuation. The plan was symmetrically arranged and allowed isolation of each space according to the occasion. Furthermore, the ground floor reserved for storage and stabling is totally isolated from the upper living spaces and is entered separately from a lower level. The two storey houses followed the same principles both in plan and arrangement. They are, though, located on more flat terrain within the village. The lack of slope difference caused the addition at the side of the entrance of a small wooden or metal balcony with a steep external staircase leading to the upper floor entrance. The persistent isolation of the upper floor from the auxiliary space beneath is clearly demonstrated by this construction, which in recent years has been replaced by much larger roofed verandas, retaining the older name *hagiati*. Both types follow the orientation of the long houses facing mainly towards the south and east.

Apart from the tower house mentioned above there is only one more structure with more than two storeys. It is a large house towards the West side of the village near the church of Agios Spyridonas. The house presents all the characteristics of a rural Neoclassical structure, combining the austerity of rural architecture with the symmetry and decorative patterns of urban Neoclassicism. The basement was directly entered from the road at the long west façade via a low doorway. The main entrance of the house though was located centrally in the same façade at a slightly higher level leading through an internal staircase to the upper floor. On the same floor were the storerooms and a large kitchen that was used as the main living space of the house. Upstairs the spaces were arranged symmetrically at the two sides of a large *sala*, reserved for formal reception. The rooms flanking the *sala* were solely used for sleeping by the members of the household and on rare occasions by visitors. Similar examples have rarely been found in villages in Boiotia and are mainly a feature of large and more urbanised settlements, like Livadeia and Thebes.

Haliartos - Harmena - Mavromati

One other ancient city site with an active settlement history during medieval and post-medieval times is Haliartos along the shore of the currently drained Lake Kopais. The Classical site lies at the southern gentle slope of a low hill crowned by the acropolis overlooking the city towards the south and the lake towards the north. The city was sacked by the Romans in 171 BC and deserted until the Middle Byzantine period. It should be noted, though, that a possibly Late Roman fort seems to have been constructed on the top of the classical acropolis suggesting the importance of the location. Recent building trenches within and surface survey between the houses of the modern village, lying directly adjacent to the eastern walls of the classical town, have revealed Middle, Late Byzantine/Frankish and Early Ottoman settlement activity, indicating the existence of a thriving village community. During the Frankish period a tower was built on a bluff towards the East of the modern settlement and in association to the medieval settlement (the excavations and Boiotian urban survey had not yet taken place when Lock published his survey of the towers and thus the medieval site was not yet discovered; Lock 1986: 113). Owing to the study of the Byzantine and Ottoman archives and toponymic research in the region the site has been identified as Harmena in the 1466 and later tax registers. The distinct 16th century growth is also attested in the case of Harmena, even though in 1521 the village seems to have been reduced to less than half its size compared to the 1506 survey. The population for some reason seems to have moved to neighbouring Mavromati that quadrupled in size during the same 15-year period. The village returned to its preceding demographic levels soon after (Kiel 1988: 338). During the Middle Ottoman period the site seems to have been abandoned with only the ruins of its houses, churches and possibly a mosque visible during the early 19th century when the traveller Leake visited the site (Leake 1835). The abandonment of the site seems to have taken place some time in the 17th century, probably towards the later part, since the population of Harmena was moved to a location named in the taxation registers during the 18th century Harmena "Çiftlik-i Kebir" or Great Çiftlik. As its new name suggests the village, now located a kilometre to the south, was transformed into a large estate belonging to a wealthy landowner. According to the tax registers, kindly translated by Machiel Kiel, the inhabitants seem to have concentrated on agricultural products, such as wheat, corn and cotton, cultivated on the old lands in the plain below and destined for the world market (Kiel 1988: 339). The village, though, does not seem to grow demographically and at some point late in the 18th or early 19th century it is abandoned for good.

Whereas the Medieval and Turkish site of Harmena, adjacent to the walls of Classical Haliartos, is concealed by the modern village, the 18th century *çiftlik* site lies far beyond the settled area on a saddle, hidden from the pre 20th century main route along the Kopais Lake. Here six definite longhouses and a number of less identifiable domestic structures have been surveyed, reminiscent of the longhouses of modern Panagia/Askri and possibly the northern extension at the Frankish site of Klimataria (*Figure 136*). In all but one case, their long axis follows the N-S direction of the slope and judging from the associated walled yards and other structures they were entered from the western long façade. At first sight they seem to have been much larger than the average long houses of the region, measuring in two cases 25.6 and 28.7 metres in length (house complexes 4 and 5, respectively). Careful examination, though, suggests that the original houses were extended along their long axis, with the addition of often identical constructions further down the slope or smaller square buildings towards the southern part of the house. House complex 4 clearly demonstrates both types of extensions. Thus, units a and b measure 9.5 and 11.2 metres in length. Both domestic units have a tiny back room towards the north side presumably entered from the main room. The square structure c at the south end of the house has approximate dimensions 5.3 by 5.4 metres and was clearly built against unit a. Similar is the case in house complex 5, where units a and b are of approximately the same dimensions and c is much smaller, even though not square as in the case of complex 4. Evidence from the sole surviving long wall of structure 1 seem to indicate a similar arrangement, whereas complex 3 comprises one long structure (11.58 by 5.67 metres) and a square extension towards its north side (5.20 by 6.29 metres). In addition, the wall-thickness of this square structure is 1.11 metres, which is considerably wider than the 0.85 metres of the long unit next to it, possibly suggesting that the former had two storeys. Similar unit arrangements, or *makrynaria*, were inhabited until recently in SE Boiotia at the village Skourta, where as the family extended either identical long, smaller rectangular or square units were added to the original structure, the latter often being abandoned or converted into a storage room or stable (Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1986).

Within the long units of the complexes mentioned above we have been able to identify a series of division walls made of the same rough stones as the structures. I have already mentioned the tiny rooms at the north end of units 4a and 4b. The divisions within the longhouses 3 and 6, though, are much more revealing. The houses seem to have been internally divided into three distinct spaces along the length of the structure, the narrow room between being the entrance "hall" and intermediate space between the rooms at either side ("through-passage" arrangements as characterised by Peter Lock).

Furthermore, at one of the sides of these houses, usually towards the west, enclosures were identified, which could be interpreted as walled yards. Contrary to Chaironeia and modern Panagia/Askri mentioned above, the enclosed yards are more reminiscent of those at VM4, bounded by the terrace walls. Within these walls the yards may have housed various household activities away from the eyes of curious neighbours and the exploitative owner of the *çiftlik*. At the west side against unit 4b a circular structure has been identified as a possible oven and is unfortunately the only recognisable auxiliary domestic feature on the site. In addition, a stone-lined feature was also found on the southwest side of the site, that may be identified with a water channel.

A very interesting discovery was made on the gentle slope one hundred metres towards the south of the main concentration of longhouses. A well-built complex of large structures was discovered focusing on a sizeable square building (10.11 by 11.02 with an average wall thickness of 1.05 metres). It was this square structure that gave away the function of the complex. These were actually the foundations of the multi-storey tower house of the *çiftlik* owner with the auxiliary storage structures, for collection and distribution of the produce from the estate into the 18th century world market. The tower house must have been comparable to the late 17th and early 18th century towers of Thessaly with a robust two-storey stone substructure supporting the lighter wood and plaster construction of the living spaces at the top level, that almost certainly extended over the main stone trunk of the tower, in the form of *sahnisi*. The tower house beside its dominant nature, due to its height, should be seen as a marker and reference point in the landscape and the settlement itself, boosting the power of the owner and his control over the estate and labourers' village. At the same time, though, it provided sufficient security to landlord and produce, as well as the villagers in cases of bandit assaults that seem to have been rather common during this period. Thus, Harmena "Çiftlik-i Kebir" fully fits with the general picture of an Ottoman estate settlement as described by travellers and depicted on contemporary art (*Figure 137*).

After the abandonment of the site the population allegedly fled to neighbouring Mavromati (Bintliff 2000a: 145-146), as seems to have happened in the Early Ottoman site of its predecessor Haliartos-Harmena after 1506. Increased bandit raids and the 1788-1789 plague must have been the final blow to the

apparently stagnant population of the *çiftlik*. Within the village of Mavromati domestic architecture presents many similarities to the long houses of Harmena, but the particular forms seem to have been widespread throughout at least Ottoman and Early Modern Boiotia. The resemblance of the houses between the two settlements may allow us to make some further interpretations concerning the organisation of the Harmena houses and the Middle and Later Ottoman rural houses in general.

Despite having an equally long history like Harmena, I am going to restrict the discussion to the examination of some Early Modern longhouses from Mavromati. The three longhouses, visited by Peter Lock in 1990, are most probably 150 years later than those of Harmena, but their plan is very similar to the latter. The house with the village number 341 measures 12 by 6.5 metres and could be regarded as a typical so-called "through-passage" long house with a narrow room between the two main spaces of the house, the living room and the animal stable (*Figure 138*). Both stable and living space are accessed through this intermediate space. The house faces the east, but the "through-passage" has a second door at the west long wall of the house too. A narrow cobbled strip along its façade was possibly demarcating the extension of the house interior into the open yard. The house has no window apart from a single one at the north side of the eastern façade. Internally, the southern room seems to have been reserved for stabling of animals and storage and was possibly split into two levels doubling the functional space. The main living space of the household was at the north side as indicated by the sole window and the fireplace. When considering the direction of the slope it seems that the main living space was at the northern higher level, a hierarchical division that is found elsewhere as well and on flat terrain marked by a deliberate rise of floor level at the human side of the house. House 126 dating to the Post World War I period has a similar arrangement. The living room and the stable, though, are accessed separately, unlike most houses and house 341 described above, the "through-passage" being accessed only though the main living space and isolated from the yard. Interestingly, the partially collapsed roof revealed that below the roof tiles a layer of straw and daub was used to increase insulation of the interior laid over a construction of wooden planks. House number 143 is at least 28 metres long and 6.5 metres wide and should be without doubt be treated as a *makrynari* (*Figure 139*). From its construction, three different phases can be identified suggesting two subsequent extensions to the original structure. The original house must have consisted of the central part with a "through-passage" arrangement similar to house 341. It was originally extended towards the south with the addition of smaller structure used for as a stable. Consequently, the house seems to have been further extended towards the north with an identical unit to the original domestic structure. The narrow paved area in

front of the house is present in this example too. The extent of the yard, though, is demarcated by the mulberry ten to fifteen metres away from the house. The oven at some distance seems to have been used by the entire *geitonia*, or neighbourhood, that was in fact closely related. The house of the Kollias family, in which the team of the Boiotia Project was housed during the 1980s and early 1990s, allegedly dated to the 17th century and followed the principles of the longhouse structures described above.

Thus, despite the later date of construction, the longhouses and the *makrynari* of Mavromati present many similarities to the ruined houses of late 17th and 18th century Harmena. In particular, the "through-passage" arrangement seems to have been common in both settlements. As we have seen there is a clear preference towards the higher side of the house, in reference to the slope, for the location of the room used by the human occupants of the house, the lower part being reserved for storage and stabling. Thus, it could be claimed that the houses at the deserted *çiftlik* had their living space at the south side of the structure, uphill in relation to the stable and storage area. Evidence for built fireplaces within these upper living rooms was not found at Harmena. It may, therefore, be possible that large metal trays were used, placed in the centre of the room, as depicted in an engraving of a house in Attika by Stackelberg and recorded in the 1950s in villages on the plain around Thessaloniki in Northern Greece (Common and Prentice 1956).

CN4-Radhon-Pavlos

From the central regions of Boiotia at the southern shore of lake Kopais, we are going to move temporarily to the northernmost area of the province around the antique city of Hyettos. After the abandonment of the site possibly in the 7th century, it does not seem to have been reoccupied in Medieval and post-Medieval times. Four Byzantine and Frankish hamlets, though, develop further north marked by dense ceramic distributions and two tiny chapels (Bintliff 2000a: 146). The sites were abandoned by Ottoman times and the area was colonised by Albanian settlers, as mentioned in the 1466 Ottoman taxation registers. Three tiny Albanian villages were established in the vicinity of the city named after their chiefs (Andrea *Loutsi*, *Pavlo* Muzak and *Gjin Vendre*) and a fourth one further to the south (*Radhon* Golemi, the names of the villages are shown in *italics*). Both Loutsi and Pavlos survive today, whereas the Gjin Vedre, or Sta Dendra was a Hellenised version recorded by Wheler in the 17th century (Stedman 1996, Wheler 1689), and Radhon were eventually abandoned in the late 19th century during the process of economic reform of the countryside leading to the abandonment of the smaller hamlets and villages and concentration in larger neighbouring settlements (the transfer of settlement is locally believed to have been caused by insecurity and bandit raids; *see further* Meijs 1993).

Gjin Vendre or Sta Dendra was identified with site CN4 on the hilltop one kilometre towards the north of the Hyettos acropolis. Whereas the settlement seems to have been established at the same time as the other three neighbouring Albanian villages with a low population of less than 30 households, it never seems to have exceeded that number throughout its history. Furthermore, by the 19th century it was incorporated in the holdings of a large monastery of the region as a *metochi*, or church estate (*Figure 140*; Bintliff 2000a: 146). By the end of the century the site was abandoned and its population allegedly joined neighbouring Pavlos, establishing themselves at the northern side of the village. The existence of a chapel, possibly of late Ottoman date (*Figure 141*), and a number of structures had already been noted during the ceramic collection seasons, but the architecture was finally recorded in spring 1999. Beside the chapel, internally painted possibly by a local artist in the late 18th or early 19th century, four longhouses, one rectangular structure (no. 2) and a stable (no. 6) were identified. Due to the abandonment of the site in the late 19th century the structure cannot antedate that period and their construction should be placed around the late 18th century or before, possibly contemporary to the interior painting of the chapel.

All structures follow an approximate N-S alignment, with the only exception of building number 3, which is aligned NW-SE. All buildings, though, are strictly arranged according to the direction of the slope. House 3 being 14.50 long and 5.69 metres wide seems closely related to the majority of the simple longhouses recorded in the village of Panagia/Askri, Chaironeia and Mavromati. It is divided into two equal size rooms possibly functionally divided, as elsewhere, between the humans and the animals. Houses 1, 4 and 5, though, seem to have been more elaborate constructions, comparable both in size and arrangement with the houses of the deserted *çiftlik* at Harmena. With dimensions of 17.94 by 6 and 18.59 by 6.2, respectively, houses 1 and 4 are divided into one longhouse structure with possibly two compartments and an almost square extension at the south end. In the case of house 4 the square extension has clearly two storeys with a window at the north side of the house overlooking the one-storey long section (*Figure 142*). The large amount of rubble stone within and around the southern part of house 1 also points to the possibility of two-storey extension. The evidence for house 5 is more ambiguous, but the alignment and the dimensions (17.3 by 5.6 metres) should be convincing enough to suggest a similar arrangement.

Structure 2 is much larger and with dimensions 9.18 by 6.07 metres does not fit into the general picture of the site. Despite the lack of further information on its function there is no reason to assume it was not domestic, especially since at the east side of the site there is a sizeable structure possibly used as a stable. This latter structure (18.17 by 11.57 metres) comprises two rows of four approximately

square compartments, facing east and west respectively. These compartments were open at one side or probably closed by wooden fences. It could have been a stable for horses, but no written records or folk memory provides a confirmation of the hypothesis.

All structures were well built with stone, tile fragments and in places lime mortar, suggesting no differentiation in the building techniques according to the function and nature of the structure. After abandonment the buildings were left to deteriorate and the construction material was not removed for reuse elsewhere, allowing us understand the structures better.

The village of Radhon to the south of the concentration of settlements around Hyettos, lies at the foot of a low hill controlling a fertile plain running from east to west. A combination of ceramic and archival evidence suggest that the site was a Albanian refoundation in Late Frankish or Early Ottoman period of an earlier Middle Byzantine settlement (also recorded in the tax register of 1466). Rather than remaining almost stagnant throughout the Early and Late Ottoman era, it grows to more than 30 households by 1570 and unlike most settlements retains its population size above this number until the late 17th century. Deserted in approximately the same period with CN4/Sta Dendra (late 19th century), its population fled to Pavlos. Descendents of the last inhabitants of Radhon claim that the village was continuously raided by bandit groups, due to its proximity to the main East-West route around the Lake Kopais running along the Radhon valley.

The settled area is defined by two churches, the one lying on sloping ground south of the domestic area and the other (possibly with an associated cemetery) at the edge of the plain north of the main concentration of houses (*Figures 143* and *144*). Within this area, nine complete house plans were retrieved and three more possible structures, identified either by a few wall remains, rubble concentrations or topographical anomalies (1, 2, 11). All domestic remains are in line with the direction of the slope and have a SE-NW alignment. In particular, structures 4, 5, 7 and 10 were rather small, ranging from 10.50 to 12 metres in length and 5.50 to 6 metres in width. They do not seem to have been internally divided, indicating a multifunctional use of the single-room interior. In contrast, the complexes 3, 6, 9, 11 and 12 have two rooms. In fact, only houses 3 and 12 are actually divided into two, as the walls separating the rooms are structurally not interwoven with the external shell of the building. The other three complexes are most probably extended towards the northwest, with the addition of an almost identical structure against the original house. With lengths between 21.1 and 23.6 metres they are approximately twice the size of the single-room undivided longhouses described above. It is possible, therefore, to regard these structures as having housed two closely related families, possibly of

two brothers, resulting in these twin structures or *dipla*, discussed in a previous chapter. House 8 does not comply with the other house complexes of the village. With a length of approximately 30 metres, after reconstruction of the estimated location of its southwest back-wall, it is equivalent to the *makrynari* complexes of Harmena and CN4/Sta Dendra. Indeed, its internal organisation with the two long compartments and the two storey square extension at the northeast end clearly point to the *makrynaria* of contemporary Skourta, which have been used to reconstruct the Harmena house complexes.

In most houses no doorway survives, apart from house 12 with two doors in the southeast wall. The survival of a number of terrace walls retaining and levelling the naturally sloping terrain and the relatively flat areas, in most cases towards the southeast side of the houses, may be suggestive of house yards and permit the assumption that the main doorways of the houses were located in this façade. This would further allow some additional privacy with the otherwise open yards, in accordance with anthropological observations from another Boiotian village, Vasilika. Here the houses are built so as to provide minimum visual access to the yard from the road or the neighbouring houses (Friedl 1962).

The populations of both CN4/Sta Dendra and Radhon in the late 19th century left for the neighbouring village Pavlos, which was established around the time of the first surviving Ottoman tax register of 1466, at the same time as the other two now deserted settlements. Unlike Radhon, after a period of growth during the 16th century it had declined to below 30 households by 1687/8. Ironically, though, it is the one that has managed to survive until today with a population of 1400 people in the 1991 census. It was, therefore, required to visit the village and record some of its oldest domestic structures, in hope to provide a link between the houses of the deserted settlements in its vicinity and those of the contemporary village itself.

Most of the houses of the village date at least to the turn of the 20th century, with a number of structures, especially with two-storeys, that were built after World War I (*Figure 145*). The settlement organisation in long rows of houses and the concentration of almost solely late 19th century examples at the south part of the village, suggest that like modern Panagia/Askri, the original core of Pavlos was located here, on the top of a low hill overlooking the surrounding lower terrain. Not surprisingly, most of the houses in this southern quarter are simple longhouses arranged in more than five long domestic chains, or *makrynaria*, with N-S alignment and in accordance to the direction of the long axis of the houses. The majority of the longhouses seem to have had either two or three linearly arranged rooms, in the latter case belonging to the "through-passage" type (*Figure 146*). The inhabitants informed us that the houses were used both for stabling and living, justifying the division of the houses in two distinct

spaces. The intervening corridor, or "through-passage", was conceived as an intermediate space within the house between the stable or storage room and the living space. Furthermore, with one external door at either side, it provided draught during the hot summer days and shade, housing many household activities that would otherwise be moved outside in the yard (e.g. weaving). Depending on the micro-topography of each house plot, the living room was either at the northern or the southern side of the long house, identified by a small window along the main façade of the house and a built fireplace with a chimney, made of moulded ceramic pieces into lime mortar, jutting out of the roof. The stable or storage room did not appear to have any fittings. Only at a later stage a door and possibly a window may have been opened in the main façade, providing some additional independence to the room from the rest of the structure. This probably occurred after the transfer of the animals to a separate structure near the house or even in the fields outside the village. The room would, therefore, be free for other uses, providing a separate bedroom, or even a separate living unit for part of an extended family. Externally part of the undefined yard was used as an extension of the house interior and a bench along part of the main façade manifests this. Besides providing a working bench for the household activities, such as processing of food and household manufacture of goods, it was also a stage of social activity, gathering neighbours for the afternoon coffee, converted into an arena of socialisation and active village gossiping (Thakurdesai 1972).

In addition to the longhouses and often as a later extension to them, a number of two-storey structures have been surveyed, dating to the early 20th century and the interlude between the two World Wars, as the inhabitants or the carved dating stones informed us (*Figure 147*). With approximately the same dimension as the longhouses (around 11 by 6.50 metres) they have very similar household arrangements with the predating structures. Thus, the ground floor is rarely used as a living space and was usually reserved partly for storage and partly for stabling, therefore, divided into two separate spaces. In one case towards the centre of the village the ground floor was used as an old café for the villagers, but was long abandoned for the more modern cafés in the newly developed village square. The ground floor in very few cases communicated directly with the upper living spaces and in those cases access was arranged through a trapdoor with a steep ladder that was rarely used.

The upper floor was reserved for the humans and in all cases comprised an everyday and a reception room, or *saloni*, separated by a small square entrance hall with a tiny room at the back. It was entered separately from a large cement roofed veranda, replacing an old and less pretentious wooden *hagiati*. The everyday room was equipped with a built fireplace in the middle of the back wall used for both heating and cooking. A niche or two, built into the wall, were

used as cupboards for the household utensils. A small table and a few chairs may have been the only furniture within the room. The *saloni* was used solely for reception of guests and was kept closed from the rest of the house for most of the year. Beside a large dining table a number of chairs were arranged around the walls, focussing on an open cupboard exhibiting the valuables of the household. The small room in front of the entrance hall may have had many uses, either as a storeroom for the dowry of the wife and daughter, a bedroom for the parents or in some cases converted into a kitchen especially after the 1970s.

The two-storey houses are often built as extensions to long houses as may be inferred from the alternating long and two-storey houses in the southwest and northern side of the settlement. This development is also characteristic of other Boiotian villages, as we shall see below, and may be regarded as comparable to the addition of the square two-storey structures identified in the deserted villages of Harmena, CN4/Sta Dendra and Radhon.

Thespies - Leondari - Neochori

The classical city of Thespiae is the focus of the three villages to be discussed briefly in this section. The classical city, previously thought to have been more or less abandoned in the Late Roman period, despite the existence of a Late Roman garrison fort, was discovered to have been a thriving village community through the ceramic survey of the Boiotia Project. This village rather than being located within the almost circular fortification wall was discovered northeast of the structure. In Middle Byzantine times, after an apparent break of at least two centuries in both archaeological and textual evidence, the community reappears in the archaeological records and according to written sources is renamed Erimokastro, meaning deserted castle. During the Frankish period, the site is converted into a fief of a monastic order. Erimokastro, though, seems to have disappeared in Early Ottoman times, since no reference to it survived in the tax registers until the 17th century. By the time of the arrival of the first travellers in the late 17th century, the site seems to have gradually moved from the vicinity of the ancient city to the brow of a hill towards the north adjacent to an Albanian settlement, Zogra Kobili or Kovella (nowadays renamed Leondari), known already since 1466. Neochori towards the west of the classical city is already mentioned in the 1570 taxation records and has been regarded as one of the possible destinations of population of Erimokastro, as it seems to disappear when the latter is mentioned in the 17th century, only to be re-established in the 18th century (some early 19th century travellers noticed it on the hillside of mount Elikon; Bintliff 1995, Stedman 1996).

All three villages survive in the final locations mentioned above. Whereas they are regarded to have been in close relation with each other, Neochori is

notably different in its domestic architecture from Erimokastro, recently renamed Thespies, and Leondari/Kovella. Whilst the oldest village core of the latter two is arranged in almost parallel lines of *makrynaria*, in Neochori the houses are more randomly scattered and have 1½ or two storeys. This should probably be related to the location and topography of the villages. Erimokastro/Thespies and Leondari are built on a relatively flat plateau on the low hill overlooking the ancient site of Thespiae. Their location is comparable to that of modern Panagia/Askri, Mavromati and Pavlos. The proximity to the plain suggests that the inhabitants were agriculturalists, possibly with a few household animals, stabled within their longhouses, to supplement their diet. In contrast, Neochori is located higher up on the hillside of mount Elikon and on sloping ground, encouraging the construction of 1½ and two storey houses. The village economy must have been based on animal husbandry supplemented by small-scale agriculture to ensure self-sufficiency. Thus, the scattered nature of the settlement and the comparatively larger plots around them could be indicative of grocery gardens for household consumption. The houses of Neochori are comparable to the houses of the mountain village Elikonas discussed in a later section. Noteworthy is the existence of a number of longhouses at the eastern fringes of the village that are according to the villagers later than the majority of the buildings. These longhouses were built by small group of people coming from neighbouring Mavromati village, explicitly called *Arvanites*, or ancient Albanians, by the inhabitants of Neochori.

As already mentioned, the oldest houses at Erimokastro/Thespies and Leondari belong to the longhouse type with few two-storey houses amidst them, which not unlike Pavlos were extensions to the longhouses during the early 20th century. Nevertheless and despite the structural similarities with Pavlos, Panagia/Askri and Mavromati, the longhouses of Erimokastro/Thespies, especially, indicate some internal variations to the norm. Whereas the houses have a "through-passage" arrangement, within the stable/store-room a loft was inserted almost doubling the available space. At the village of Vasilika in NW Boiotia inhabitants still using equivalent houses explained to us that the loft was used for storage of produce and straw, as well as sleeping, the area beneath being reserved for the household animals (*Figure 148*). Similar may have been the case in Erimokastro/Thespies, where rather than stabling, the area beneath the loft was used for a household winepress and storage of the fermentation and wine storage barrels, the village being known for its wine production. As already mentioned at an early stage, the houses had a special icon niche, or *iconostasi*, in association with the winepress, suggesting the importance of the produce for the household (Stedman 1996). Similar houses were found in Leondari as well,

many of which are unfortunately being replaced by modern structures disrupting the rural nature of the village.

The two groups of villages to be discussed next do not present any historical relation with each other, as was the case with the clusters presented above. Instead the settlements are more related architecturally to each other, due to their location in the Boiotian landscape and their association with particular features that distinguish them from the rest of the Boiotian settlements. Whether geographical conditions actually affected their plan or the conscious choice of their location and particular subsistence economy influenced the decision for settlement in the particular conditions, or a combination of both, is not of importance for the forthcoming evaluation of the architecture and settlements. The fact is that both groups seem to have filled niches with prevailing extreme conditions in comparison to those characterising the previous groups.

Agios Demetrios - Alalkomenes

Both settlements are so-called marsh villages that developed along the shores of the shallow lake Kopais. Whereas Agios Demetrios is known from the Ottoman archives already by 1466 as a village with at least 50 families, Alalkomenes seems to have been a relatively recent establishment possibly contemporary to the redistribution of the land of Lake Kopais drained by the 1930s. Agios Demetrios located on low ground just above the surface of Lake Kopais, seems to have concentrated on the cultivation of rice and corn at least from the 18th century, according to the descriptions of the plain around Livadeia by the travellers, with seasonal cultivation of the stretches of land exposed by the contraction of the lake water during the summer.

From the mid 20th century onwards both villages, though, having benefited from the drainage of the lake, developed economically and in the last few decades agricultural expansion caused a rapid destruction of many original rural domestic structures. The few surviving vernacular examples belong to the longhouse type and, if not totally abandoned and ruined, are at present used as storerooms or stables. Some seem to have been internally undivided, sheltering both humans and household animals within the same room. Others, though, followed the common two-room or "through-passage" arrangement. Contrary to the other villages discussed above, the houses founded on a low stonewall were constructed of mud-brick, produced in abundance at the lakeshores. For structural reasons and provisionally against earthquakes, the mud-brick construction was framed with wooden beams at regular intervals. Furthermore, since the houses were larger than in other Boiotian villages, the wooden framework provided additional support for the equally larger and consequently heavier

tiled roofs. The lintels and doorjambs were also wooden, in contrast to hillside and mountain villages, where stone was preferred. Externally, the houses are frequently plastered to protect the mud-brick from weathering, often in varying colours giving some variety to the village. Moreover, the features are shown to be very symmetrically arranged, demonstrating the effects of modern development. Due to the construction materials, though, the houses seem to have had a limited time-span of 50 to 70 years, prohibiting us from direct investigation of earlier forms. Fortunately, local informants mentioned that until recently some houses were not tiled, but had thatched roofs made of the reeds growing in the lake.

Besides the longhouses, Nancy Stedman mentions the existence of a mud-brick two-storey house in Agios Demetrios, similarly founded on a low wall of stone (0.5 metres high) and framed with wooden beams (*Figure 149*). Stone quoins at the corners of the structure and the window and doorway jambs with an alternating pattern of finely cut stones provided additional stability to the structure as well as a decorative motif, characteristic for the early 20th century. The house being built in the 1910s was symmetrically arranged both externally (with a focus on the centrally located main doorway and balcony door) and spatially, in accordance to the principles of rural Neoclassicism. The ground floor was partly used for storage and partly as a kitchen and main living space. The upper floor was accessed solely from the sole ground floor entrance leading to the kitchen towards the right and the internal staircase. There the four rooms were arranged symmetrically at either side of the *saloni*. Similar houses will be discussed below in the case of neighbouring Livadeia, from where rural Neoclassicism spread to the wider region of Western Boiotia.

Elikonas - Evangelistria

In contrast, Elikonas and Evangelistria are mountain villages on mount Elikon, built against the slope adjacent to upland plains. According to Ottoman registers both villages were Albanian colonisations of the upland niches at least by 1506, mentioned with the pre-modern names Zeriki and Zagara. Both communities specialised in animal husbandry supplemented by limited agriculture on the adjacent plains and production of groceries around the house. Despite their upland location, both settlements are situated so as to remain invisible from the main approach routes almost until reaching the first houses. This characteristic seems to have been crucial for most villages for security purposes against bandit raids. Both villages suffer from the recent severe depopulation of rural settlements, their inhabitants having moved to neighbouring urban communities or Athens, due to the more numerous opportunities (compare the 405 inhabitants of Evangelistria/Zagara in the 1940 census with the 205 in 1991).

Due to sloping terrain most houses within the village have 1½ or two storeys, following with their long axis the direction of the slope and exploiting the height difference for the addition of an auxiliary space at the basement. The few surviving single-storey houses are mainly longhouses. These longhouses have long been used for storage or small-scale household stabling (most flocks of goats and sheep were too big to be stabled within the settlement let alone the houses), their owners having moved to the attached 1½ or two-storey extension, if not to a modern cement house (*Figure 150*). They should be dated to the turn of the 20th century and possibly before, due to their unpretentious construction. They conform to the general features already mentioned for the longhouses elsewhere in Boiotia, whether in plan and internal arrangement of activities or construction. In Evangelistria, where most of the longhouses were found, the "through-passage" arrangement was preferred. The frequent existence of fireplaces at both ends of the house and consequently the two rooms, suggests that both were used by the inhabitants, because of the growing families. One longhouse (village number 31) in Evangelistria had a loft in one of its rooms, not unlike some longhouses noted in Erimokastro/Thespies, possibly suggesting an increasing need for additional interior space for the household.

Moving to the 1½ and two-storey houses, it has been noted that they were of approximately the same dimensions with the single-storey houses, ranging from 7.50 to 14.50 metres in length and 6 to 6.50 metres in width (*Figure 151*). The smaller structures are not internally divided, housing all household activities within the same space. This undivided space comprised a fireplace at the short back wall of the houses. This fireplace was the sole source of heat in the room and was presumably used of cooking too. A few niches may have provided the space needed for the placing of the household utensils and the religious paraphernalia. In the wall opposite the fireplace a couple of windows would allow some light to enter the house and provide a view of the underlying village and plain to the interior. The larger pre World War I structures had two rooms on the upper storey, the *cheimoniatiko* and the *sala*. The *cheimoniatiko* was at the back of the house against the slope and with a fireplace it very much resembles the rear part of the internally undivided house. A small window along the main façade together with the sole doorway to the upper storey allow some light into the room, that was otherwise lit by the fireplace and one or two mainly bronze oil lamps. The *sala* was slightly larger and had two windows overlooking the village. Usually entered through the *cheimoniatiko*, it was reserved for reception and only recently was it incorporated into everyday arena of household activities. Unfortunately, we do not know how the rooms were originally equipped, modern furniture having filled the rooms to satisfy the changing needs of the inhabitants. From our

limited information, though, we may deduct that furniture was rare. The earthen or wooden floors were probably covered with woollen rugs or carpets, either locally produced or imported from neighbouring manufacturing centres like Arachova, near Delfi. We can assume that eating took place in the *cheimoniatiko* from a low table, the people seated on the floor around it. The *cheimoniatiko* was also the room reserved for sleeping and the beddings probably piled up in the corner (*gioukos*) during the day, would be laid out at night. The arrangement of the *sala* is more difficult to reconstruct. It seems, though, that the focus of the room was the view from the windows. Nowadays the houses are equipped with the facilities and furniture described in the case of Pavlos, and even the interior arrangement has often been altered in accordance with developments and needs, with the addition of an intermediate hall between the *cheimoniatiko* and the *sala* with a small back room revealing increasing need for spatial specialisation and persistence symmetrical organisation.

The town of Livadeia

History

Livadeia, known in antiquity for its shrine of Trofonios based at the springs at the southern edge of the city, seems to have been a small flourishing centre of Western Boiotia in Middle Byzantine times (*Figure 152*). Focussed possibly around an 11th century church, now replaced by a late 19th and early 20th century chapel, named Panagia, after the Virgin Mary, at the southeast part of the modern city and west of the springs (Dimakopoulos 1986), and a tiny rock-cut chapel near the springs (Dimakopoulos 1990: 506) it seems to have been guarded by a tower or castle at the opposite bank of the stream, that was reinforced during the Frankish period (*Figure 153*). Minimal archaeological research within the city prohibits us from understanding the nature of the Middle Byzantine occupation and extent of the settlement. After the capture of the city by the Franks and especially after the establishment of a Catalan garrison in 1311 AD, the town seems to have flourished. The preceding fortifications were reinforced and most probably extended, resulting in a triangular castle with a separately fortified keep and a lower fortified town, or *chora*, reaching towards the tower near the springs (Mamaloukos and Mamaloukou-Kampoli 1997). The possibly Latin church of St. George on a hill north of the castle and to the west of the river was a 14th century building, suggesting a further extension of the Medieval town towards the north (Dimakopoulos 1990: 511).

By early Ottoman times the settlement was a respectable town, with 237 families in 1466, 30% of which were Muslim. Right after the Ottoman conquest of the town a garrison was placed in the castle accentuating the importance of the city. The only

surviving mosque in the city seems to have been constructed in this very early Ottoman period by one of the first governors Omer Bey, possibly also responsible of the settling of the Muslim community in Livadeia (*Figure 154*). Whereas Livadeia showed a slow demographic growth during the first decades after the Ottoman conquest, it accelerated throughout the 16th century in population and economic expansion. By 1570 the population had virtually quadrupled and beside the Christian and Muslim populations a small group of Jewish families coming from Thessaloniki was noted. The demographic growth was matched by a rapid increase in production and manufacture. The main products of the city were thin felt (*kebe*), cotton and silk, as well as rice, wine and corn. Beside the agrarian nature of the city, Kiel mentions the importance of the urban sector, providing manufacture, commerce and services (Kiel 1997: 324-325).

The lack of studied tax registers for the city during the 17th century prevents us from evaluating precisely the demographic and economic situation of Livadeia. Nevertheless, we may assume that the general figures followed the contraction noted elsewhere. In the late 17th century Wheler described the town as large and populous, probably in comparison with other villages and towns in the region (Spon and Wheler 1679: 49), since in the description of Richard Pococke 60 years later the town had 650 houses compared to the 753 households mentioned in the 1570 tax register. Still the town had five or six mosques and an equivalent number of churches, as well as watermills along the narrow, but powerful river Erkyna (Spon and Wheler 1679: 50). These observations are confirmed by the almost contemporary visit to the town by the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi (Celebi 1994: 145-149).

The 18th century was a period of a steady, but slow recovery. In 1730 the traveller Charles Thomson notes that Livadeia was flourishing mainly due to the production of wool and rice. The privileges granted to the town by Istanbul in the late 17th century had started to pay off. The low taxation and the relative liberty allowed a number of Greek families to establish themselves within the town's administrative elite. They seem to control the entire trade of the region by buying up the production of the peasants and exporting it abroad. Travellers mention that by the late 18th century the town was a commercial centre concentrating the entire produce of wool, cotton, dye, wheat, corn and wine and exporting it throughout the Mediterranean (Melios 1997). The War of Independence in the 1820s, though, disturbed the growth of the town. It was deliberately set on fire twice destroying apparently one third of the houses, sparing the mosques and churches to avoid religious extremism (Dimakopoulos 1990).

After a few decades of stagnation during the first decades of the Greek Kingdom, Livadeia showed clear signs of recovery. A crucial factor in this process was the construction of cotton manufacturing

industrial units from the 1860s onwards exploiting the so-called "white coal" of the town, the Erkyna River (Makris 1997). By 1889 Livadeia possesses 18% of the entire industrial production of Greece (*Figure 155*). At the turn of the 20th century the town is prosperous attracting population from the surrounding villages. In 1922 the influx of the 1,100,000 refugees from Turkey affects Livadeia too, marked by the extension of the city towards the north. Unfortunately, the industrial manufacture of cotton cannot be sustained anymore, due to planning laws prohibiting industrial activity within the bounds of the urban area and the inability of the owners to modernise their units (Psoma and Kopanias 1997). The declining industry was in the 1950s temporarily supplemented by the distribution of land of the by now drained Lake Kopais and the rising sector of services that nowadays dominates the economy of the town.

Topography

Within the newly established Greek state the town had to be virtually rebuilt. Unlike other provincial towns, Livadeia did not have a new plan imposed, based on Western principles, and only at its northern extensions was a new plan provided, having possibly allowed the preservation of a number of original features of the Ottoman and possibly medieval urban tissue, as the winding roads may initially suggest. I have already mentioned the 11th century church of Panagia as the main focus of the medieval community and the church of St. George marking the extension of the town towards the north of the castle. During the Ottoman period, though, the arrangement of the three mosques (Staropazaro-Omer-Tambachnas) and the two market areas of the Staropazaro and the Tabachna along the river Erkyna indicate a new alignment of the urban activities along the Erkyna River axis. This alteration suggests the attempt to link up the new market area of the Tambachna with the medieval settlement concentration around Panagia church in the vicinity of the castle. Along this axis on the western bank of the Erkyna and possibly on the street currently named Stratigou Ioannou were in most probability the coffeehouses mentioned by Evliya Çelebi and the "boutique de cordonnier" depicted by D. Maillart and M.H. Belle (*Figure 156*; Melios 1997).

From the distribution of the mosques and churches throughout the town it seems that the urban tissue consisted of distinct neighbourhoods focussing onto these religious structures. Thus, the Panagia church was the focal point of the homonymous neighbourhood, the church of St. George, which during the Ottoman period was converted into a mosque and during the mid 19th century rebuilt in neoclassical style, was the focus of the Kadi neighbourhood, St. Nicholas church of Zagaras, the mosque at Tabachna, the mosque of Omer Bey of the central lower area of the town and the mosque at Staropazaro of the region around the modern

metropolitan church. An additional determining feature for the Ora hill was the clock tower, possibly a renovation by Lord Elgin of an Ottoman Saat Kule, i.e. an older Turkish clock tower (Dimakopoulos 1990). Similar organisation is known from other urban centres in Greece during the Ottoman period, based on the *machalas*, or inward-looking neighbourhood around a particular religious or other monument. This organisation allowed seclusion of different religious groups and may demonstrate stages in the enlargement of the urban population and the extent of settlement.

In the case of Livadeia, therefore, we know that the central axis was densely built up comprising residences and commercial buildings. The houses were overlooking the river, resulting in the effect noted by Çelebi with houses from the west bank facing east and *vice-versa* (Celebi 1994: 147). It seems that during the 17th century only the Karsi-machalas on the east bank of Erkyna was less densely built up with houses surrounded by gardens (Celebi 1994: 149). In the early 19th century too the town seems to have had a busy and dense commercial core along the river with looser occupation on the hills around it, which were dominated by houses with large gardens (Leake 1835): 118). Nowadays the axis between the Staropazaro/Metropolitan church and the Tabachna neighbourhood still retains some commercial activity, even though the majority has been transferred to the 19th century extension of the town towards the east of King George square. The houses along this old commercial axis are still very densely built often without any open spaces between them. Further uphill the houses are usually within larger plots with enclosed yards and gardens revealing some of the characteristics of the older town. Unfortunately, many of the houses are currently being demolished and replaced by multi-storey structures.

The houses

Thus, the recording of the stone-built houses of Livadeia, initiated by the Boiotia Project, was a crucial task for the preservation of knowledge concerning traditional domestic forms of this urban centre. More than 600 houses were recorded and entered into a database in 1999, the aim being to analyse the architecture and to locate pockets of special interest revealing the spatial organisation and hierarchies within the urban tissue. The classification of the house types in Livadeia follows the principles of the houses in the rural settlements. This has been decided deliberately, in order to allow comparisons to be made. Furthermore, as already mentioned it was not until the late 19th century that the town showed distinct signs of industrialisation limited to the manufacture of cotton. Until the 1950s, though, the town seems to have had a semi-agrarian/semi-urban nature. Nevertheless, distinct urban structures do appear from the examination of the dataset, due to their type, internal arrangement, size and location within the city.

We have seen that the most characteristic house type in the rural settlements is the longhouse, comprising one storey and a simple internal arrangement of spaces and activities (*Figure 157*). Livadeia, exploiting partly the fertile arable land around it, was assumed to have a number of longhouses at least in its outskirts. Indeed, longhouses were found in areas away from the central commercial axis of Erkyna, albeit few. Most have long been replaced by modern structures and even the ones that did survive redevelopment have rarely retained their domestic function or original plan. These structures made of stone joined with mud and framed with wooden beams have approximately the same dimensions as their rural counterparts, ranging from 12 by 4.7 metres to 14.3 by 6.7 metres. Their entrance is usually directed towards the east in most cases in accordance to the direction of the slope. This tendency is confirmed by the few longhouses that do not conform to the east direction, strictly following the declining slope. This would allow appreciation of the view below, but equally important seems to have been the attempt to build on level ground so as to avoid substantial foundations or cutting within the bedrock. Moreover, the houses all had a yard that, whether open or enclosed by walls and auxiliary structures, was always at the side of the house's main façade.

Internally, most longhouses seem to have had two rooms. Not unlike the rural examples, one was for stabling or storage of household produce and the other reserved for the humans. The "through-passage" arrangement was not noted in any of the houses, but this may be due to internal redesign, as in the case of house 37 (*Figure 158*). Most seem to have had a working fireplace at some point within the main living space. Original chimneys have rarely survived. House 37 had a chimney made of three upright tiles joined at the top, whereas in the case of 436 the chimney was cylindrical made of tile fragments set into hard lime-mortar. From our small sample of surviving longhouses no clear indication was provided for a particular preference for the location of the living space. Only in the case of house 37 was there a noticeable distinction between the *cheimoniatiko* and the other rooms of the house, which were set at a lower level to the former that was provided with a floor of broad wooden planks. This difference in levels suggested the possible existence of a hidden storeroom beneath the *cheimoniatiko*, but no trapdoor was discovered despite assurances of the neighbours. In any case, some sort of hierarchical organisation of the interior was revealed, stressing the importance of the *cheimoniatiko*, or everyday winter room, and the central position of the fireplace, the *estia* or *tzaki* (the latter originates from the Turkish word *odjak*).

Externally, the houses were rarely plastered, thus revealing their construction. The more elaborate longhouses may have had finely cut quoins, lintels and jambs, but the majority did not have exquisite ornamentation (irregular quoins and jambs, wooden

lintels). Most roofs were altered and replaced, even though the original double pitched roof still seems to prevail. In some cases, stone ledges were noted high up on the main façade of the houses. These were used for placing flowerpots and provided some colour to the otherwise austere façade. This leads us to the yard, which was partly an extension of the interior and partly a garden and auxiliary space. In most surviving examples, the yard remains open and undefined. This, though, seems to have been the case only in the most recent longhouses in the current outskirts of the town. Closer to the core of the built-up area of the river the couple of longhouses located have enclosed yards. These yards show a distinctly introverted character encompassing all the possible facilities for the household. Separate storage houses, stables and sheds have been noted, as well as ovens, separate kitchen rooms and small cubicles used as toilets, the latter located the furthest from the main domestic structures. Furthermore, wine-presses and small olive-presses were found, but unfortunately only noted in a house that was demolished before 1999, when the main survey took place. Thus, the yard had an integral role to the organisation of the longhouse and its household, being not only a functional area and a space of reception during the summer, but also an intermediate space between the house interior and the world of the town, manifested by the large gateways leading to it, often with decorated stone arches.

Besides the longhouses a number of one-storey houses were recorded that did not clearly fit the dimensions and the internal organisation of the former (*Figure 159*). These one-storey houses too were located beyond the core axis of the town and spread through the outer neighbourhoods of Livadeia. They do not present a different spatial organisation to the longhouses, the majority comprising two rooms, but their smaller dimensions (5.20 by 6.20 to 11 by 7.50 metres) and the almost square plan of the houses makes them distinct (*Figure 161*). Within these houses storage rooms have been emphatically denied by the inhabitants and animals were never housed within them. Their gardens were open and surrounding the structure and were both decorative and used for grocery cultivation. Often they were slightly elevated from the plot adding height to the structures. Their façade is often protected by a small roofed veranda, not a *hagiati*, in the middle of the structure and leading to the main entrance.

The houses are externally plastered, disguising their stone and mud construction. They have a variety of roofs, but the double hipped and almost square roof seems to dominate. Later in the 20th century many of these houses were internally redesigned and the two original rooms were further distanced from each other with the addition of a small entrance hall with a back room, used as a kitchen or a bedroom.

These one-storey houses, thus, do not seem to have belonged to a similar group of people as the longhouses. Many of the inhabitants mentioned that they were working either on the land of others as labourers or for the thriving industrial units processing cotton at the turn of the century. The lack of storage space and the open yard without any auxiliary structures and features support this observation and point to the changes in the social infrastructure of the town caused by the first steps of industrialisation.

Whereas the majority of the one-storey houses date to the early 20th century onwards, two structures have been dated before the mid 19th century. It is not only their construction that is strikingly different, but a series of roof and wall modifications indicates their long history. Structure 58 measures 5.40 by 6.30 and is preserved to a height of 4 metres (*Figure 161*). Its walls are made of roughly cut stones and tiles joined with mud. Wooden planks are still framing the building at regular intervals (every 0.6 metres). It has one low door at its east façade and a small window towards the north that seems to have been a later addition. Traces of a hipped roof are still visible in the back wall that has been incorporated in the terrace wall supporting the modern road above. Internally no traces of division walls survive nor beams supporting a loft or an upper floor, suggesting that the structure was extraordinarily high with a roof at 4 metres. Apparently, though, according to neighbours of this ruined structure, the house was much taller, with a superstructure made of an overhanging wood-framed construction filled with *tsatmas*, or thin wooden planks that have been plastered over. Such square domestic structures still exist in other parts of Greece and a reminiscent of the architecture adopted during the Middle and Later Ottoman periods in the urban and manufacturing centres. The overhangs, or *sahnisia*, mentioned elsewhere were characteristic of the Ottoman International style and while extending the upper floor beyond the stone substructure, they also provided undisturbed view of the lower town. Unfortunately, I cannot speculate about its internal arrangement, even though it seems that the house was entered from the ground floor door, leading to a small storage space and a steep wooden staircase allowing access to the upper living spaces. The house being located on a broad terrace does not have any structures in its immediate vicinity. Thus, the terrace could have had a garden surrounding it, in accordance with the observations made by 19th century travellers about the houses of Livadeia (Leake 1835: 118).

In contrast, structure 75, currently used as a storehouse, is a much less conspicuous building (*Figure 162*). With dimensions of 7.6 by 6.5 metres it cannot be considered a longhouse, but a small one-room dwelling, between the equivalent structure 76 to the east and a ruined building towards the west. All three structures seem to have either been the auxiliary buildings of a large house in the vicinity that has not survived or part of a *makrynari*, similar to those discovered in the deserted village discussed above. Built of stone with two bands of wooden beams framing it, the house is facing the south, as do the other two structures. It has a single window on the side of the main façade. The fact that the roof was replaced and heightened may suggest that originally the western part of the interior had a low loft and basement exploiting the steep slope and enlarging the functional space, the new roof increasing the height of the loft. The irregular quoins may also be suggestive of its age.

The possibility of a loft and basement in structure 75 introduces the following type of the 1½-storey houses (*Figure 163*). These are the vast majority of houses in Livadeia with 427 examples recorded. The 1½-storey houses are always built on sloping terrain and are therefore ideal in the case of Livadeia being "built on seven hills" (Celebi 1994: 147). The addition of a substructure levelling the ground for the upper living spaces of the house has already been discussed above. In Livadeia the houses have demonstrated a high degree of variability in size, ranging from 5.80 by 4 to 22.40 by 6.50 metres (house 401 being a *diplo* or *aderfomoiri* structure). Most 1½-storey houses, though, are approximately 11.50 by 6.50 metres, comparable to the longhouses of the town and surrounding villages. The main bulk dates from the late 19th century onwards. They most often have a small entrance hall with a back room and one large room at either side, displaying a symmetrical arrangement of internal spaces that is reflected in the position of the external features. Here we were told that the small entrance hall was called *embadon*, which was confirmed after mentioning the term in the villages as well. The word derives from the Greek word meaning enter and is descriptive of the function of the room. Besides permitting entry, though, it allowed isolation of spaces according to the occasion and the nature of the visit, being the sole access point for all rooms. The little back room, or *kamari*, was usually a storeroom or a bedroom and was rarely opened up to visitors ("*embadon-kamari*" house plan). In some cases it was converted into a separate kitchen or even a bathroom, the latter usually placed in a cubicle at the back end of the yard or garden. In a similar fashion to the rural 1½-storey houses, the living and the reception rooms, the *cheimoniatiko* and the *saloni* respectively, were determined by the direction of the slope. Thus, since the long axis of the houses followed the inclination of the slope, the *cheimoniatiko* with a built neoclassicising fireplace was placed at the back of the house and against the slope. It may have had only one window along the façade to allow some light into the room, but its closed nature justified its name as winter-room, or *cheimoniatiko*. Since the room was in most part on bedrock, its floor was originally covered with compact clay or wooden planks, replaced nowadays by polished fine coloured concrete with larger colourful stones, or *mosaïko*. The fireplace or the brazier was usually placed centrally along the back-wall. Large built-in niches symmetrically flank the fireplace providing storage for the everyday household utensils. In contrast, the *saloni* was always located in the two-storey end of the house. It was well lit with windows on all three sides offering the best possible view over the town. In some cases, a small wooden or metal balcony would be built at the side with the most interesting view. The *saloni* would be packed with furniture according to the possibilities of the household, exhibiting the wealth of the owners. Two items should deserve special reference, the large dining table and the *divani*. The size of the dining table, for modern standards disproportionate to the room size, had a central role in the organisation of the room. It is a piece that clearly displays the sole use of the *saloni* for reception and dining on special occasions and usually not for the family itself, but for receiving guests. The *divani* adds to this picture. It is a bed for guests, which usually converts into a sofa. Moreover, old photographs of ancestors would be hung on the walls and a series of family paraphernalia arranged in glass cases. A shelf or niche would be reserved for the icons of Mary and the guardian saint together with the wedding wreaths of the parents, stressing the importance of the unity of the nuclear family.

The ground floor was usually used for storage of household foodstuffs, either produced in the field by the inhabitants themselves or bought in large quantities in the market. Nowadays these storerooms are usually empty and are used for the storage of tools for domestic repairs rather than actual storage of produce, only in some cases olive oil may be stored in large barrels or wine for domestic use. In the vicinity of open spaces in the urban tissue, around churches or road junctions, some basements may have been used as small neighbourhood shops or *bakalika*, most of which have by now disappeared.

Whereas this particular plan is predominant in the 1½-storey houses, it seems to have been an introduction of the early 20th century, when symmetry was established with the spread of Neoclassicism in the Greek provinces. Most houses were redesigned internally abiding to the trend. Very few alternative internal plans have survived, such as a few single or two room houses, possibly with a similar internal organisation of activities whether between the two rooms or conceptually within the same undivided space. Two houses, though, had a very different plan, remaining unaltered, in the case of the abandoned 125, or changed and reconstructed from the memories of the inhabitants, in the case of house 48. The former is a long narrow building (11.70 by 4.20 metres) built of large roughly cut stones framed with the usual thin wooden beams at regular intervals (*Figure 164*). Unlike most 1½-storey houses, it is built perpendicularly to the slope direction and faces the North. The ground floor was divided at two thirds into two spaces by means of a stone wall, also providing support to the wooden floor of the living space above. The small room to the west was divided with stone slabs and was possibly used for storage of goods, the other end of the house had a series of niches around

the walls that seem to have been used for placing fodder for the animals stabled within it. The location of the house may be supportive for this, since the house is built at the edge of the modern town and possibly well beyond the main settlement concentration in the 19th or possibly the 18th centuries.

The upper floor of house 125 had two doorways, one at the main Northern façade and opposite in the South wall, providing direct access to the road behind. The doorway of the main façade being 2.10 metres off the ground was accessed by a narrow wooden *hagiati* structure with a wooden staircase supported on five or six stone steps at the bottom. The *hagiati* did not extend along the entire façade of the house, leaving the western part open to view. Internally, the plan was reminiscent of the "through-passage" arrangement of rooms of the long houses, with a corridor-like space from the one door to the other and one room at either side. The room to the east had a built fireplace on a slightly elevated platform along the east wall flanked by two windows. The room at the opposite end did not have any distinctive features beside the two windows along the façade and the tiny storage space to the west, exploiting the intermediate space with the neighbouring house. The presence of a loom, even though not necessarily in its original location, may indicate that the room was used as an everyday living room. The small structure below the *hagiati* seems to have been the kitchen, thus suggesting that cooking was not necessarily done within the house and consequently not in the room with the fireplace, which seems too ornate to have been used for cooking.

The yard below was divided into the area underneath the *hagiati*, being an extension of the house interior, and the garden. The structure used as a kitchen was underneath the *hagiati* and was further protected from the rain and the rays of the sun by a separate roofed area at its east end. The rest of the garden was possibly planted with vegetables for the household and other plants as the vine and the almond tree suggest.

House 48, though, is internally divided in a different way (*Figure 165*). Whereas both its dimensions (13.20 by 7 metres) and direction in relation to the slope is comparable to a large number of 1½-storey houses, its original plan is strikingly different. The original entrance of the house was at the south side, before it was divided into two properties by the brothers of the family. Most of the external features have been added after the division, obscuring the original façades. Fortunately, the house interior could be reconstructed according to the memories of the current inhabitants. Thus, the ground floor, divided into two rooms by an intervening corridor, was partly used for storage and partly for stabling horses. It was accessed solely from the road on the north long façade. The upper storey was directly accessed from the yard at the south side. A roofed space along that façade, *hagiati*, added an intermediate area for household and social activities during the warmer summer months.

Nowadays, the original *hagiati* has been replaced by auxiliary structures, converted into a kitchen, a toilet and small bedroom, reflecting to some extent the facilities provided by the former. The interior was divided into three rooms that were independently entered from a narrow corridor along the south façade. The room towards the west had a built fireplace and one window at either side. This room was the *cheimoniatiko*, used during most part of the winter as the main living space of the family. Beside it was a bedroom and at the east end, enjoying a nice view of the town, was the *saloni*. This part of the house has now a concrete veranda alongside it, which replaces a small wooden balcony.

The internal plan of the house has been previously characterised as a linear arrangement of rooms along a *hagiati*, in this case a corridor that has been used as an intermediate relatively open space providing access to the isolated rooms. Whereas this was supposed to be the predominant arrangement of the houses in Livadeia according to travellers ("*the galleries*", Leake 1835: 120), only this house is remembered to have the particular plan. Wooden *hagiatia*, though, were built and rebuilt until the 1920s, and currently 65 of the 1½-storey houses, especially in the western part of the town, seem to have one, whether original or substituted by a concrete veranda. The most characteristic example of a wooden *hagiati*, nowadays converted into a balcony, is found in house 10, one of the very few restored Ottoman period houses, nearby the Erkyna River and adjacent to the old *hamam*, or Ottoman bathhouse, of the town.

Furthermore, four 1½-storey houses have survived with a *sahnisi* construction (296, 304, 310, 575). Three were discovered in the area of St. George church and one between the Metropolis/Staropazaro and the Gazi Omer mosque. The former three seem to be the result of the incorporation of an original *hagiati* into the main domestic space, enclosing the latter with light wall construction made of reed and plaster, or *kalamoti*, possibly sometime in the early 20th century. House 575, though, has an original *sahnisi* construction hanging over the stone substructure and extending over the road (*Figures 166* and *167*). It is a tiny house on the main commercial axis of the town and opposite an original 19th century fountain. The basement of the house was clearly of commercial use, as the large wooden doorways suggest along its eastern façade. The superstructure, the actual living space, was entered from a door directly from the steeply inclining alley at the western side of the house. The long history of modifications is marked on both the interior and the façades. Internally, the original linear arrangement of rooms along an enclosed *hagiati* has been changed into an "*embadon-kamari*" organisation flanked by two larger rooms. In the northernmost of these larger rooms a tiny marble balcony was inserted with a Neoclassical design. The *sahnisi* runs along the entire eastern façade overlooking the road, in accordance

with 18th and 19th century engravings and descriptions of the town.

A unique house complex, disguised behind a restored façade, was discovered near the Metropolis/Staropazaro (*Figure 168*). House 41, seemingly early 20th century, belonged together with the neighbouring houses to a large domestic complex owned by a wealthy horse and carriage owner involved in long distance transportation. The complex comprised courtyard to the south surrounded by horse stables, storage rooms and the domestic area of the horse-owner, and a separate walled yard and garden to the north, on to which the main living spaces of the occupants were directed. The yard and courtyard were entered separately through two adjacent gates in the east façade of the 1½-storey house complex. Especially in the case of the main domestic area and garden the gate led into a dark tunnel-like construction with a barrel-vault opening up into a garden with a view over the town, the Erkyna river and its sources. Whereas the ground floor was used for auxiliary household activities such as cooking, weaving, at some stage even manufacture of silk, the upper floor, accessed through a relatively wide wooden *hagiati* stretching the entire length of the façade (now replaced by a concrete structure extending over the house), comprised the main living spaces and the *ondades*, or reception rooms, always facing the garden and the view. This Ottoman period house is now divided between heirs of the initial owners and has undergone substantial alterations to its original arrangements to meet the needs of the different households.

Due to the sloping ground and the nature of the bedrock, locally called *thrami*, a brown schist, most houses had a channel dug along the back of the house, directing the rainwater away from the structure and into the yard. This channel, or *kanalos*, also noted in urban centres elsewhere in Greece, prevented the basements from flooding and the house foundations from deterioration. The closure of one such channel recently not only caused flooding, but partial demolition of the house façade.

Similar in construction and often in arrangement to the 1½-storey domestic buildings, two storey houses are less common (*Figure 169*). In fact they are mainly concentrated on higher ground or along the axis between the Metropolis/Staropazaro and the Gazi Omer mosque. This characteristic distribution and the relatively larger size of the two storey houses, whether in dimensions or in real domestic area, makes them a distinct group, possibly owned and built by wealthier social groups (excluding the ground floor, in both cases rarely used as living space, the dimension of the 1½-storey are 11.50 by 6.65 metres and 66.15 m², and of the two-storey 10.10 by 8.60 metres and 85.43 m²). Within this type three distinct categories may be distinguished, based on both chronological and planning grounds. Whereas the majority conforms to the "*embadon-kamari*" organisation especially from the late 19th century onwards with approximately the

same dimensions as the equivalent 1½-storey houses, a large number adopt an even more symmetrical arrangement of central wide corridor flanked by two or more rooms at either side. This plan is encountered during the same period as the "*embadon-kamari*", but results in increased internal specialisation and isolation of spaces as well as almost square structures, unlike the broad rectangular houses we have examined until now. The organisation of the rooms along a central communication axis rather than a central point provided by the *embadon* is a more explicit introduction of the Neoclassical style and was therefore seen in the grander houses of Livadeia, predating the clear Neoclassical structures of the early 20th century (*Figure 170*).

In the third category of two storey houses belong the few examples of definite early and pre-19th century structures, which may still possess original internal arrangements. None of these six houses (34, 49, 63, 110, 117 and 260) is arranged in a similar manner to the others, indicating a tendency towards the individual needs and ideals of each household. The only common determinants are the shape of the house, the orientation and the best possible view. Thus, in house 34 the upper floor and living space of the house has three rooms along a corridor, or enclosed *hagiati*, similar to the arrangement of the 1½-storey house 48 (*Figure 171*). A small balcony with a wooden staircase, now replaced by a concrete veranda, provided access to the sole entrance of the upper floor towards the garden. A small trap door seems to have existed in one of the rooms leading to the basement that was only used in case of danger. House 49 is different with a large central room with a fireplace flanked by four rooms, a kitchen, the *saloni-kalokairino* and two bedrooms. Neighbours even though not certain whether this was its original plan, were positive about its Ottoman date, as the arched gateway towards the north and the various auxiliary structures in its former much larger yard suggest. The large house 63 has been totally refurbished internally, disguising its original plan, but it seems to have had a similar arrangement to the rooms along an enclosed *hagiati* of house 34. House 260 is perfectly square with a broad multifunctional room at the entrance leading to two smaller square rooms at the back, both overlooking the town. One of these back rooms was used as a bedroom and the other as a small *saloni* for reception. The sizeable multifunctional room was originally entered through a *hagiati*, nowadays replaced by a kitchen, a bathroom and a semi-open sitting room, betraying the uses of the original wooden *hagiati*.

The most interesting structure is house 110, not so much because of its internal arrangement, but mainly due to the reference to it by the traveller Leake (*Figure 172*). He mentions the house in association with an antique inscription built into its wall (*Figure 173*; Leake 1835: 130). This suggests that the particular house dates to at least 1805 when the

traveller visited Livadeia, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the house and consequently its particular features. Thus, the arched low broad doorway at the basement comprising two large masoned stone slabs, the decorated jamb capitals of the main entrance and the alternating quoins, pre-date the 19th century, at least as far as the larger houses are concerned. The derelict *hagiati* with a wooden ladder supported on a few stone steps are proven relatively old features in Livadeia, even though the wooden structure seems to have undergone repairs and changes, to a certain extent, with the addition of a wooden construction used as a toilet. Internally, the enclosed *hagiati* organisation seems to have been adopted, but changes to the plan should be considered plausible.

House 201 near the Clock tower on the Ora hill was refurbished in 1845 according to the surviving date stone (*Figure 174*). This sizeable house with dimensions 11.80 by 16 metres and up to 4.50 metre high ceilings was burned during the War of Independence. According to the owner, who further renovated the house in recent years, the house was periodically altered internally according to the contemporary trends and the needs of its wealthy owners. Thus, the house interior was arranged symmetrically with reference to a central corridor at both ground and first floor levels. A central doorway on the ground floor and towards the east side of the house was the main formal entrance, with a smaller one at the opposite west end for everyday use. A large L-shaped staircase would lead to the upper floor where the most formal rooms and bedrooms were located. The contrast was striking between the rustic original kitchen facilities, as restored by the current inhabitants, the Neoclassicising dining room and the eclectic style of the living room, allowing an insight into the stylistically diverse history of the house.

Finally, comes an interesting structure combining a traditional enclosed courtyard arrangement with pure neoclassical decorative features (house 328; *Figures 175* and *176*). The core of the house was of rectangular shape facing the north. The interior conformed to the "*embadon-kamari*" arrangement with the *cheimoniatiko* at the west side of the house and the *saloni* at the opposite east side extended by means of a *sahnisi* over the road. A built L-shaped external staircase leads to the *hagiati*, which was in turn extended northwards to facilitate a sizeable kitchen-everyday room, or *tzamaria*, named after the large windows towards the *hagiati*. At the end of the *hagiati* a tiny toilet was built being placed at a distance from the main structure. Beside the symmetrical plan and the consequently symmetrical alignment of doors and windows, the house was decorated with neoclassical door and window frames with elaborate jamb capitals with floral patterns, all set in plaster. Even the wooden supports of the sahnisi and the capitals of the wooden posts supporting the roof of the *hagiati* conformed to the neoclassical decoration of the house, the circular window of the toilet being the ultimate neoclassical expression. Nevertheless, the house had a courtyard enclosed by high walls preventing view to the interior. The combination of the traditional and Ottoman period characteristics of domestic architecture of Livadeia with neoclassical and eclectic features has also been noted in the area of Plaka below the Acropolis in Athens and should be explained as an adaptation of the architectural form to the ever changing trends, without a radical change in the actual lifestyle. Thus, whereas the house exterior conformed to general trends, the shell of the house retained its original function, both enhancing the attempt to "modernity" and preserving the traditional values of the household.

Much more rare, but varied in arrangement, are the multi-storey stone domestic structures of Livadeia (*Figure 177*). In most cases they are located either along the commercial axis and the riverbanks of Erkyna or in the immediate vicinity of a religious establishment. These multi-storey houses have in most cases a low basement, usually partly dug into the bedrock and used for storage, and two storeys (*Figure 178*). In the commercial streets especially along the Erkyna, the first floor of the houses is reserved for commercial use and the upper floor comprises the main living rooms. In these cases the houses are terraced and have narrow façades, ranging from 6 to 9 metres, and are considerably deeper, in some instances up to 16 metres. The living spaces are usually entered from a doorway along the road, leading to a narrow staircase and a corridor or internal *hagiati* providing access to the individual rooms. Similar examples have been studied in other Ottoman urban centres in Northern Greece, where equivalent houses are inhabited until today, often preserving their original plan (e.g. Edessa, Zarkada-Pistioli 1988).

The multi-storey houses at a distance from the main town axis and in the vicinity of churches or the location of mosques have different characteristics. They do not demonstrate the highly urbanised organisation and arrangement of the previous group. This is permitted by the abundance of large open spaces in the outskirts of the pre-modern town. All houses date to the pre 19th century, both according to their inhabitants and their structural characteristics. Thus, two types have been discerned, the rectangular and the L-shaped structures. The latter consist of two wings, one of which is usually a later addition allowing the possible extension to be incorporated into the main body of the house (*Figure 179*). It could therefore be claimed that all multi-storey houses were originally rectangular buildings, an observation confirmed by careful examination of the wall constructions and the method of intertwining them to create a statically stable and anti-seismic structure.

The dimensions of the core of these multi-storey houses are in all but one comparable to the house types examined above (~13 by ~6.5 metres; *Figure 180*). In all cases the basement is partly cut into the bedrock and was originally never accessed directly from the adjacent street. Unlike other areas of Greece it was not barrel-vaulted, but covered by beams supporting the floor of the first storey. The latter, the *mesopatoma*, was used for the main everyday activities and usually comprised a kitchen at the back end and a manufacturing or living area at the front. The part of the kitchen was until recently called the *cheimoniatiko*, since throughout the cold winter months the family used to reside here. The top-floor was the area of leisure and formal reception, especially during the summer months. In all cases the houses were redesigned following the "*embadon-kamari*" arrangement, possibly replacing the simple linear array of rooms along a *hagiati*. The *hagiati*, in fact, provided access to the upper floor and protected the main long façade of the house. As we shall see in the case of house 42, besides being the sole communication area between the floors, as well as the individual rooms, it should be regarded as an extension of the house interior as already mentioned.

These multi-storey houses were often extended with the addition of an extra wing, often multiplying the domestic space with this in most cases fully independent structure. Only in the case of house 32 does the extra wing seem to be fully integrated, being an additional kitchen at the top floor level and a spare bedroom downstairs. Elsewhere it was used as an independent dwelling for the family of one member of the original household. A continuous *hagiati* along both wings of the house would allow communication and become a common reference point for the entire extended household. One such example has been recorded in the 1960s photographs of house 42, where the continuous "galleries" of Leake (1835: 120) are clearly depicted (*Figure 181*).

All multi-storey houses had an enclosed cobbled yard with a high courtyard wall preventing view to the interior. Within it a number of auxiliary structures, such as stables for horses, storerooms and haystacks would be arranged along its sides. Wells are rare within the yards due to the location of these houses on high ground, but the ample fountains and water sources of the town were always in proximity.

Very little has been preserved of the original interior of these houses, but the notion of exhibiting the family wealth and hospitality has been noted by 18th century travellers and was retained until the modern period, as the introduction of Neoclassicism in the late 19th and the large pretentious modern concrete structures suggest. Neoclassical houses or older houses with redecorated façades and interiors are concentrated solely around the old commercial axis and its extension towards the northeast (*Figure 182*). The majority of the houses along the Erkyna River are Ottoman period houses redesigned into the Neoclassical style, as their construction towards the riverbanks suggests (*Figures 183* and *184*). The few clear examples of Greek Urban Neoclassicism were built around the 19th century square of King George and the current commercial street extending from it towards the east. The most pretentious example though was built near the Metropolis/Staropazaro (house 38; *Figure 185*). It is a house reminiscent of the 1850s neoclassical examples of the harbour island Syros, in the Cyclades, being a big rectangular structure with a pediment, crowning the slightly protruding central part of the façade with the main entrance. The house originally belonged to a wealthy landowner and merchant of Livadeia, passed on through the generations, to become a police office and currently to be divided into apartments corrupting its original grandeur.

Conclusions

The settlements

Not unlike the *machalades*, or neighbourhoods, of Livadeia, the villages in Boiotia have presented a characteristic organisation of settlement concentrated on religious foci, namely churches. In contrast to the current pattern, where the village church and the central square occupy the centre of the village, when examining the settlements it was noted that the general trend was rather different. Thus, besides the already mentioned proximity to water sources and concealment behind topographical features (Common and Prentice 1956), the deserted villages of VM4 and Radhon were in fact confined, the former between the Frankish tower and a church, and the latter between two chapels. We get a similar picture from inhabited villages after having located their original core of occupation. One of the chapels is usually the main village church and the other belongs to the cemetery.

Furthermore, I have already suggested that the villages tended to develop along parallel axes set by the original domestic structures. The result is that the older parts of the villages have a pattern of parallel house-lines, *makrynaria*, at regular intervals, possibly belonging to a particular village clan. As may be demonstrated by the *çiftlik* Harmena, having a similar pattern and bounded at least at the south by the owner's tower, and the contemporary village Skourta at the borders with Attika, the Boiotian villages had originally a rather dispersed pattern of settlement, allowing for large intervening parcels of land between the houses. Dispersion permitted the extension of these houses along their axis, resulting in *makrynaria*, while at the same time retaining the intervening distance between adjacent structures and, this leads to the linear pattern so frequently noted. It was only in the 19th century that the Boiotian villages obtained a focus around a church and square and acquired their current spatial organisation.

A further late 19th century development was the creation of new villages by people moving towards the lowlands in the vicinity of the former Lake Kopais,

having obtained cultivable land at its edges. Alalkomenes, mentioned above, was one of these villages, as well as the new establishment towards the east of the ancient acropolis of Haliartos of a redistribution centre for the British company responsible for the drainage of the lake. Both villages established along main roads rapidly expanded into a settlement pattern characterised by Beuerman as a "road-village" (Beuermann 1955). Haliartos, for instance, developed over a stretch of at least one kilometre along the main road between Thebes and Livadeia, with only one house depth. This development should be interpreted in relation to the increasing need for road services along this busy agricultural and trading route of central Greece between the redistribution centres of Livadeia and Thebes.

As for the urban centre of Livadeia we have already noted the central commercial axis and the *machalas* arrangements focused mainly on religious structures. This picture seems to be confirmed in the case of the other Boiotian urban centre, Thebes. Whereas the latter does not have a river fuelling both industrial and commercial activity, a central commercial axis runs across the town in a similar manner as Livadeia, following the same north-south direction. The neighbourhoods too were and are still directed towards religious foci, often being named after them. Thebes, though, was redesigned after the War of Independence and the rectilinear streets and squares have replaced the winding alleys and the open communal spaces at road junctions and around the religious foci, characteristic of Livadeia.

The houses

The "opulence" of Livadeia so frequently mentioned by the travellers (Leake 1835: 118), whether referring to the general impression of the town or the grandeur of the domestic structures of its wealthy inhabitants (e.g. the house of Giannakis Logothetis either praised or critisised by the 18th century travellers), was retained after the War of Independence and with the introduction of Neoclassicism. It stands, though, in contrast to the simplicity of the houses of the neighbouring villages and rural settlements, both in Ottoman and Early Modern times. The surviving urban Ottoman and Neoclassical houses, mainly in a rural expression of these styles, are supplemented by rural architectural forms at the urban fringes reminiscent of the houses of the rural settlements, emphasising the semi-urban provincial nature of Livadeia. Thus, whereas the main rural domestic form is the longhouse, Livadeia has predominantly 1½ and two-storey houses, representing a higher degree of urbanisation. This is further demonstrated by the internal use and division of space. In Livadeia very few houses have a single, two-room or "through-passage" arrangement, in contrast to the villages,

where humans and animals share the same house and often the same room.

This distinction, though, should not be overemphasised, since most of the houses, both urban and rural, were built by the same travelling groups of builders (*isnafia* or *sinafia*, from the Turkish word *esnaf* meaning cooperatives). The common building techniques from the most exquisite to the simplest structures are the most important manifestation and it is not until the influx of Neoclassical decorative principles that a higher degree of specialisation in building techniques was required. Thus, whereas the size and the height of the houses varied, most of the decorative features remained the same. The alternating pattern in the quoins and the construction of the door and window jambs has been noted both in Livadeia and the villages. Lintels of carved poros or marble requiring specialist's skills were used in the entire region, implying that the house even in the seemingly impoverished rural areas was loaded with social and symbolic meaning. Finely cut crosses and rosettes, as well as the so-called "breast" carvings, have been noted on several occasions in the villages Panagia/Askri, Erimokastro/Thespies, Chaironeia, and in one case in the town of Livadeia (house 110). These symbols, often regarded as guards of the house against the "evil eye" and ensuring longevity and fertility to the inhabitants, refer to common ideals between town and countryside, while at the same time signifying the attempts of the inhabitants to distinguish and differentiate themselves from their neighbours. Dating stones with the name of the owner also add to this attempt towards monumentality and domestic elaboration, ultimately presented by the almost "megalithic" quoins, jambs and lintels of late 19th and early 20th century Panagia/Askri.

In the attempt to bridge the gap between the medieval domestic traditions and the Ottoman or Early Modern surviving examples, a number of interesting conclusions have been drawn. Thus, whereas a distinction between urban and rural architectural forms has always been attested, the difference became more apparent in the later period of the Ottoman era and the initial sparks of commercial globalisation and proto-industrialisation. The few urban houses surviving from this period in Livadeia and the references to the opulence of Livadeia by travellers seem to confirm this. Furthermore, the examination of the house remains from the deserted villages suggests that despite the economic fluctuations throughout the period and the settlement mobility suggested by Bintliff, the house types especially in the rural settlements do not seem to diverge, so not reflecting the successive changes. Contrary to expectations, it seems that the houses reflect pre-industrial *modes de vie*, recorded in all areas of Greece as well as the rest of Europe as far as Scotland and the Outer Hebrides (Symonds 2001, Ward 1998). Thus, our heavy reliance on ceramic analysis for the dating of structures of the period in Greece, rather than wall constructions, house

plans and spatial arrangements, should not be surprising, considering the uniformity of domestic forms in the rural settlements. It is either in the urban centres or after the 19th century in villages that new types make their appearance, in association with modernisation of agricultural methods, commercialisation of production and trends towards westernisation. Moreover, the characterisation of the villages in the Ottoman registers according to nationality, as Albanian or Greek, could not be extended to the houses, emphasising the uniformity of lifestyle as well as the already suggested adoption of the Mediterranean agricultural mode of production by the formerly semi-nomadic Albanian clans (Kiel 1987).

8 MESSENIA: A DIFFERENT CASE?

Messenia lies on the Southwest corner of the Peloponnese (*Figure 186*). The location of the province at the entrance of the coastal routes to the Aegean, the sheltered natural harbours and the fertility of the land were since prehistoric times its blessing and curse. Despite being equally attractive, as Boiotia, due to its history and archaeology, the travellers provided less pleasing descriptions. The settlement patterns of the 18th and 19th century were not comparable to its grand historical past, and the apparent settlement disruption through constant warfare between the Ottomans and the Venetians, already from the 15th century onwards, offered sufficient explanation. Nevertheless, the entire province is scattered with villages and castles dating to at least the Frankish period or even earlier, as well as the Ottoman era, with brief interludes of Venetian rule.

Despite the pioneering survey of the Minnesota Messenia Expedition of the 1960s very little is known about the archaeology of Medieval and Ottoman times. The purpose of the survey was the reconstruction of the prehistoric landscape and the post-Roman sites mentioned in the publication were, in fact, settlements recovered largely from the written sources rather than the archaeological context (McDonald and Rapp 1972). Starting from the Frankish period, the censusses available to members of the project shed some light on the demography and rural economy of the province. During the Ottoman period Messenia could be characterised as *terra incognita*, with a window of detailed information provided by the inventories compiled at the time of the brief Venetian conquest of the entire Peloponnese in the late 17th and early 18th centuries (Longnon and Topping 1969, Topping 1972, 1976). Within the context of the Expedition the multifacetted study of the modern village Karpofora not only completed this Messenian journey through time, but also provided a comparative model for the reconstruction of the past-time settlement and economy of the province. This latter study included an initial attempt at the study of the vernacular architecture of the region, in the brief description of the houses of the village (Aschenbrenner 1986, 1972, 1976).

It was only very recently, then, with the commencing of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (PRAP) that part of the province was intensively surveyed, with the aim of reconstructing the settlement and landscape in the area north of modern Pylos through time (Davis et al. 1997). Rapidly the interest of the project extended to the Medieval and Ottoman periods, based on the preceding research of the Minnesota Expedition, the travellers' accounts and the translation of the Ottoman tax registers (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000). Furthermore, the very recent publication on the human landscape of the village Maryeli, as part of PRAP, provides further insight into the organisation of the early modern villages in Messenia and discusses the developments of domestic architecture in relation to the economic and demographic changes of the last 200 years (Lee 2001).

Beside the aforementioned surveys two more studies should be mentioned specifically, focussing on the investigation of housing in Messenia and the wider region. Thus, within the wider collection of vernacular architecture studies edited by Filippides and discussed elsewhere, a small group of architects composed a study on the houses of the regional towns Methoni and Koroni. These two semi-urban settlements developed in the immediate vicinity of the Venetian and Ottoman castle-ports during the 19th and 20th centuries, once again exploiting their strategic location as major harbours on the sea-route to the west. Whereas no remains within the castles survived, the settlements outside the walls flourished during this period and obtained settlement and architectural characteristics reminiscent of Ionian and Venetian or Neoclassical prototypes (Grigorakis, Migado, and Charalampous 1985). Similarities between these two settlements and modern Pylos/Neokastro will be discussed at a further stage of this chapter.

The medieval and traditional architecture of the villages of the Western Peloponnese, concentrating mainly on the provinces of Achaia, Elis and northern Messenia, has been one of the main aims of the Minnesota Archaeological Researches in the Western Peloponnese (MARWP) project. Using satellite reconnaissance it has attempted and successfully managed to locate a number of Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish castle sites previously unknown, also documenting vernacular domestic forms within their boundaries. Simultaneous recording of houses within modern villages, resulted in a multivariate database, invaluable as a documentation tool of the vernacular traditions as such, but most importantly

providing the grounds for a potential analysis of the changes, developments and variations in houses throughout the Medieval, Ottoman and Early Modern times (Brenningmeyer, Cooper, and Downey 1998, Cooper 1993). The results of the building survey though, still await publication.

These studies have thus provided a firm basis and starting point for the building survey that was undertaken by myself during the summer of 1999. Besides the study of the vernacular domestic history of particular settlements of the province, this survey was an alternative case study controlling the results of the Boiotia survey. Both provinces being relatively fertile and located on main trade and cultural routes provided interesting comparative examples, while lacking major urban centres that would disproportionately attract the attention of the socio-economic and archaeological researcher. Furthermore, the lack of Ottoman style architecture at first sight was striking. The differing degrees of survival, rebuilding and the speed of introduction and assimilation of external influences were assumed to have depended on the different regional histories. The general underlying trends, though, already pointed out in the case of Messenia too, allowing only for regional variation in the degree and date of change, development and penetration.

A brief history of Post-Roman Messenia

Despite the desertion of the Messenian landscape noted in the Roman period by travellers like Strabo, from the 5th century A.D. the province enjoyed a relative prosperity. The temporary disruptions caused by barbarian invasions and severe earthquakes do not seem to have prevented the development of thriving communities, as both the large Late Roman basilicas in the province and the densely occupied urban centre of ancient Messeni-Ithomi suggest (Themelis 1998: 43). During the 8th and 9th centuries the province disappears from the few surviving textual sources and archaeologically very little material may be attributed to the period. The gradual advance and settlement of Slavic groups during the late 6th and 7th centuries, though, is clearly recorded from surviving toponymic evidence in the province and the entire Peloponnese. Simultaneously, a number of surviving place-names in Greek have been interpreted as suggestive for continuity of settlement or establishment of refuge sites by retreating Greek populations before the Slavic penetration (Topping 1972: 65). In the 10th century, these "Greek" settlements were to become the bases for the so-called re-Hellenisation of the province after the re-establishment of Byzantine control sometime in the 8th century (Yannopoulos 1993).

Messenia seems to follow the general pattern of recovery from the 10th century onwards, as the evidence for church construction in the province may suggest (*Figure 187*; Appendix D). Methoni and

Koroni were already important ports channelling the trading contacts of the Aegean with the West. It seems, though, that beside these two important ports very few coastal settlements survived or were established during this period, as suggested by the texts and the archaeological work in the region (Topping 1972: 66). Thus, within the survey region of PRAP only *Skarminga* and *Kavalaria*, both inland settlements, provided evidence of significant settlement in the wider region of modern Pylia (administrative unit in SW Messenia; Davis et al. 1997: 475).

After the 4th Crusade, Messenia is characterised by demographic and economic acceleration at least until the mid 14th century under the firm control of the Franks, even though periodical disruptions have been documented in the literary sources after 1262, marking the re-establishment of Byzantine power in neighbouring Mistra. During this period Messenia was equipped with a large number of castles, whether attracting settlement or used solely for garrison (e.g. Iklaina), and Frankish towers controlling the landholdings of petty lords (Hodgetts and Lock 1996). Of the forty villages known from textual evidence most belonged to landholdings of feudatories or were estate villages or hamlets themselves, as in the case of Glyki in the plain below Pyla at the bay of Navarino (Topping 1966, 1972).

Methoni and Koroni and a large territory around them were assigned as colonies to the Venetians in accordance to the 1209 Treaty of Sapienza (Hodgetts and Lock 1996: 77). These two ports controlled the entire trade between the Black Sea, the Aegean and the West and became known as the eyes and the ears of the Republic. Furthermore, these two ports were the starting points for the expansion of Venetian holdings during the late 14th and 15th centuries, penetrating into the Frankish territories of the Principality of Achaia, and used as buffer zones against the attacks of the Byzantines and the Ottoman Turks (Lock 1995: 154-155).

Beside the strategic location of the region, textual evidence suggests that the fertility of the land made the province even more attractive. Grain, vines and olives were the main products of the region, as well as silk, legumes, honey, fruits, nuts, cotton and flax. Fishponds, saltpans and forests of Aleppo pines exploited for their resin are also mentioned. Agricultural production, though, was rather low with poor yields in relation to seed, suggesting that the region was not as profitable to its appropriators as its fertility may suggest. This may be due to relative economic and political instability, especially after the mid 14th century in relation to a demographic decline, as result of the Black Death that struck the Peloponnese between 1347 and 1348 and recurrently afterwards. Thus, the potential of the estate of the Acciaiuoli at Glyki was recognised, but the 18 remaining peasant households were not sufficient to cultivate the entire extent of the fief (Topping 1966: 436). The degree of depopulation in the late 14th

century is further stressed by the invitation to Albanian settlers to colonise the Peloponnese by the Byzantines of Mistra. In Venetian Messenia too Albanians were allowed to settle at least after 1425, indicating the need for population to farm the land and counterbalance the destruction caused by the continuous raids of the Ottomans (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 68-85, Topping 1972: 68-69).

With the Ottoman conquest of Messenia in 1460 the province gradually entered the wider region of the Pax Ottomanica. Only the hinterland of Methoni and Koroni remained under Venetian control until 1500, when the conquest of Messenia was completed. The effects of the conquest were almost immediate for the entire Peloponnese, suggesting a demographic explosion supported by an increase in agricultural and manufacturing production. According to the taxation registers of 1520/1530 the taxed population of the entire Peloponnese was 50,941 households, which is a relatively high number (Barkan 1949-1950: 129). Unfortunately, no taxation registers have been published specifically for Messenia until today, but the rapid rise in church building during the 16th century should be seen in relation to the general prosperity in the region (*Figure 187*).

Very little is known about the late 16th and 17th century until the Venetian conquest of Messenia and the Peloponnese in 1685. The graph of churches may suggest a slight increase in church construction and restoration, but this is mainly concentrated in the last decade of the 17th century during the Second Venetian period (*Figure 187*). In fact, only one church was built and another one restored during the early 17th century, indicating a significant decline in investment in religious buildings construction and consequently in the real economy of the population. According to the 1700 Venetian census 43,366 households were recorded. In comparison to the 50,941 households recorded in the 1520/1530 Ottoman registers, which did not include the still Venetian colonies of Nafplion and Monemvasia (conquered by the Ottomans in 1540) and additionally do not necessarily represent the peak of the population growth (in other areas reached in the 1570s), the Venetian census represents a substantial loss of population throughout the 17th century, corresponding to the trends noted elsewhere (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 125). Thus, we may assume that the province of Messenia followed the same processes noted in Boiotia and the wider region of Greece and the Balkans during the 17th century. Furthermore, the establishment of the *çiftlik* system in the province is clearly demonstrated by references in the Venetian censuses of settlements with Turkish names, possibly after their proprietor (Osman Aga, Pisaski, Kadir Aga etc. in the region of Northern Pylia; Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000).

At the dawn of the Second period of Venetian rule the entire Peloponnese and Messenia, in particular, were found to be heavily depopulated with possibly half of the population noted in 1520/30

(estimated at 25,000 households or ~110,000 people for the entire peninsula by 1685 or 24,000 souls for Messenia by 1689, Panagiotopoulos 1985: 141). Due to efforts towards intensification of agriculture as well as the invitation to populations from the neighbouring regions under Ottoman rule to resettle deserted villages in the entire peninsula, the Venetians managed to almost double the population of Messenia to 44,737 people by 1702 (a rise of 83%; Topping 1972: 71-72). This population boom triggered by economic development, which was encouraged and sustained by the Venetian Republic, is reflected in church construction and renovation too. The vast majority of 17th century churches were built during the 15-year period between the Venetian conquest of Messenia and 1700 (*Figure 187*).

The re-conquest of the Peloponnese by the Ottomans in 1715 was followed by a period of temporary stagnation and a possible steady expansion of settlement, economy and population throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries. This has been convincingly demonstrated by Panagiotopoulos (Panagiotopoulos 1985). Based on the evidence provided by the 1716 tax register for the region, currently being studied, and travellers' accounts meticulously analysed by PRAP, it appears that immediately after the re-establishment of Ottoman rule the previously sparsely settled lowlands were reoccupied and converted into estate farms or *çiftliks* (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000, Zarinebaf-Shahr, Bennet, and Davis (forthcoming)). This is a clear sign of commercialisation of agriculture in the region and incorporation into the economic periphery of Europe, simultaneously with Boiotia and the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire. At the eve of the War of Independence in 1821 the Peloponnese seems to have counted about 400,000 souls indicating a significant rise throughout the 18th century (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 171). However, the population increase is not a result of substantial productivity improvement, which seems to have remained approximately the same from at least Frankish times until the 1830s (Panagiotopoulos 1979, Topping 1966, Topping 1972). The incorporation of the Ottoman economy into the European economic sphere had as result the increase of prices of agricultural produce and raw materials, forcing an extension of the *çiftlik* system into previously uncultivated land, increasing the revenues of the owners together with the exported produce. Even within the larger towns of the Peloponnese and Messenia, the basic source of wealth was not so much the manufacture and secondary produce, but the exportation of raw materials and agricultural produce of the periphery mainly to the West, a practice characterised as trading capitalism (Panagiotopoulos 1979). It is characteristic that the attempts in Koroni, for instance, to establish a soap industry during the 18th century were doomed from the beginning, due to lack of interest from the central Ottoman authority and the interests of the

economically penetrating European states (Kremydas 1968).

Thus, it seems that the increasing pressure upon the population by *çiftlik* holders, especially in the fertile regions of Messenia, the collapse of Napoleonic power, which had so much benefited Greek traders, and the intellectual support provided by the Greek Diaspora, acting as trading agents in Central and Western European cities and carriers of the ideals of the Enlightenment, triggered a social revolution in 1821 that soon achieved a nationalistic nature and led to the creation of the modern Greek nation state. It does not come as a surprise that the War of Independence started in Kalamata, the current capital of Messenia. The widespread imposition of the *çiftlik* system in Messenia and the apparent oppression of the peasant population by the powerful Greek or Turkish landowners, which seems to have increased in the early years of the 19th century, were sufficient causes for the uprising. Interestingly, the social nature of the revolution was clearly demonstrated by the promises of redistribution of land to the peasants already in the early days of the uprising, a problem that remained unsolved until the early decades of the 20th century, well after the creation of the Greek Kingdom.

The destruction caused by the War of Independence throughout the Peloponnese and especially in the region of Pylos, which became the military base of the Egyptian forces invited by the Sultan to suppress the revolution in 1825, was immense, but temporary. Many settlements are soon resettled along the coasts and larger villages expanded rapidly often filling the niches left by the departure of the Muslim population (e.g. around the castle of New Navarino or modern Pylos). The substantial increase in population in the region does not seem to have been strictly natural and many local residents recall stories of population movements from the less easily accessible mountain regions of Arkadia.

Throughout the 19th century the Messenian economy remained agricultural and the periphery of the European economic system of trading capitalism. The coastal settlements of Navarino/Pylos, Methoni and Koroni and the town of Kalamata retained their role as local centres concentrating the local agricultural surplus produce and channelling it to the main trade routes of the Mediterranean. This development was assisted by the aforementioned total lack of paved inland roads sustaining the vast development of trade along the sea routes, hence benefiting Greek shipping. Thus, whereas these four centres developed rapidly, both demographically and economically, the rural settlements remained agricultural stripped of any opportunity for alternative economic development. The crisis in the market for currants, being one of the main products of the region, after 1860 paved the way towards an embryonic form of industrialisation with the creation of the first distilleries mainly in Kalamata. The mulberry tree plantations of Messenia and Arkadia sustained a relatively thriving silk manufacture, which expanded with the establishment of two silk-industries (Kalogri and Tsokopoulos 1985, Christopoulos 1971: 180). In addition, the establishment of a tobacco industry in the town further boosted the economy and encouraged the processes towards urbanisation by the turn of the century.

Growth of both economy and population will be sustained until mid-20th century, even though the signs of an outward migration, whether towards larger urban centres, like Kalamata and Athens, or to the Americas, had already started by the early 20th century. The slow development of the local economies could not sustain the demographic growth. The required agricultural reforms and encouragement of industrialisation were further hindered by the expansionist policies of the first decades of the 20th century, the First World War, the occupation of Western Turkey and the consequent vast migration of refugees into Greece. The largest current of outward migration, though, did not occur until after World War II and left many villages almost totally deserted (e.g. Romiri).

The settlements: from the castle and the estate to "pam' plateia"

The strategic location of Messenia was recognised already from prehistoric times (e.g. the palatial complex near modern Chora regarded to be the palace of Homeric Nestor). Despite the possible decline noted after the 6th century AD and the complete absence of both written and archaeological evidence, the province recovered rapidly from the 10th century onwards. The evidence of church construction and the ceramic concentrations discovered by PRAP, illustrate a steady recovery of inland settlement, the coastlines presumably considered unsafe due to piracy. Unfortunately, no domestic architectural remains have been uncovered until today. It seems, though, that the settlements of the Late Byzantine/Frankish expanded from these communities, while the establishment of feudal estates led to an increasing infill of the landscape. Unlike central Greece, these settlements were rarely provided with towers housing the fief holder or ensuring secure storage of local produce, with Krestena and Agoulinitsa, at the NW areas of Messenia and Elis, being possible exceptions (Topping 1966, 1972). Only at the dawn of the 15th century is there evidence of tower construction especially in the Venetian territories around Methoni and Koroni, guarding the region from Turkish and Albanian raids (Hodgetts and Lock 1996).

Castles were more common, though. The Frankish possessions were guarded by the large castles of Kalamata, Androusa and Arkadia/Kyparissia, whereas Methoni and Koroni were the bastions of the Venetian colonies. But numerous lesser castles were scattered around the Messenian landscape. All castles seem to have concentrated settlement around them, in many cases protected by a fortification wall. These castles represent large fiefs that were perhaps much larger than those found in Boiotia and elsewhere in Greece (Lock 1995). The larger castles, or towns (Androusa, Kalamata, Arkadia/Kyparissia, Methoni and Koroni), should be regarded as central places of the province supported by their agricultural periphery, concentrating its produce, providing storage, consuming and exporting surpluses, mainly to their patrons in the West. Sadly very little is known about their layout, mainly due to the continuous use of the settlements to date and the limited excavations directed towards the recovery of the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. Their organisation, though, should be comparable with the Medieval castle settlements of Lakonia and even though possibly lacking the architectural grandeur of Mistra they may be comparable to Longanikos, Mouchli and Geraki (Bouras 1982-1983, Moutsopoulos 1985, Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989-1990). The settlements would be characterised by its winding streets possibly flanked by freestanding houses with open yards, and with numerous churches marking neighbourhood foci, as dedications of better off families of the town quarters. Usually built on precipitous terrain beneath the castle, the houses would be arranged in such a manner, so as to exploit the possibilities of the sloping ground while achieving a maximum view over the town and plain below, and retaining the highest possible degree of privacy for both house and yard.

We do not have any information on the settlement organisation in Messenia during the Early Ottoman times, but no dramatic changes seem to have taken place, as may be demonstrable by the Ottoman construction of the castle of New Navarino, the Neokastro of modern Pylos. The castle was provided with a keep at higher altitude, with an intricate water collection system and an aqueduct for water provision. Below it towards the west and extending until the cliffs at the southern entrance of Navarino bay lay the actual town provided with a curtain wall. Notable is the construction of mosques, religious schools, fountains and bathhouses by the Ottomans within the extents of the towns, as recorded by Evliya Celebi just before the Venetian conquest, remains of which are still evident mainly in Kyparissia and Neokastro/Pylos (Celebi 1994).

A clear reluctance has been noted towards lowland settlement, albeit the assurances provided by the Pax Ottomanica. This is possibly due to limited archival and archaeological research in the region with the aim to discover the lost evidence of the Early Ottoman era. Nevertheless, the tendency towards inland settlement has been noted throughout the 16th and 17th century, the short-lived Venetian conquest (1685-1715) until the 19th century. The introduction of the *çiftlik* system in the 17th century, however, seems to have drawn or enforced settlement towards the fertile coastal plains. These settlements must have been comparable to the Boiotian *çiftliks*, discussed elsewhere. Assigned to Turkish landholders, they would usually obtain their name from them and, whereas the majority of Turks used to settle in fortified towns, a tower, comparable to the one of Boiotian Harmena, or reused fortifications of the preceding Frankish period would provide a secure storage and a signifier of control for the *çiftlik*. The *çiftlik* system was continued and intensified in the second period of Ottoman domination, extending lands for cultivation as result of high external commercial demand (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000).

After the 1830s the settlement pattern and the village layouts remained unchanged. The economy remained tied to commercial capitalism, which provided short-term solution to the subsistence needs of the citizens, but prevented the development of a modernised agriculture and industry in the province. Furthermore, the interests of the great landowners hindered reform especially in the first decades of the Greek Kingdom. The towns, though, needed to be reconstructed after the devastation of the war and architects, whether European or Greek having studied abroad, were invited to assist the planning of the towns. Kalamata, Messeni/Nisi, Koroni, Methoni, Pylos/Neokastro and Kyparissia/Arkadia were among the Messenian towns to be provided with a regular street plan, in all cases as extensions of the Ottoman period *varosi*, or the settlement outside the main fortification walls. The "new" towns were arranged along central market streets or squares often achieving a monumental character. Moreover, their role as market towns and nodes in the agricultural transport network on major sea routes, was the main source of wealth permitting the adoption and development of a semi-urban architectural style very much influenced by the recently introduced formal European Neoclassicism and the Renaissance architectural forms of the neighbouring Ionian Islands.

Within the Messenian villages similar attempts were made to "rationalise" the settlement organisation. Squares with a few shops and cafés were among the initial introductions, moving the foci of social activity from the churchyard or the streets to the *kafeneion* (café), in the *plateia* (square). These villages should by no mean regarded as isolated and cut off the developments in neighbouring urban centres. In contrast, as the building forms demonstrate, throughout the 19th and 20th centuries the inhabitants were in close contact with their urban counterparts and soon adopted various architectural characteristics dynamically adapting them to their financial possibilities and local traditions.

The houses of Messenia

General observations

Variations in the architectural forms of domestic structures in the province of Messenia are relatively few and, in agreement with the assessment of the Boiotian data, seem to be related to the settlement type, the economic activities and the available or selected prototypes, in the case of elaborate domestic examples. Furthermore, the main categories seem to conform to the general types noted elsewhere and in Boiotia, in particular. There are variations, though, in particular features of decoration and construction indicative of the differing building cooperatives active in the two regions (Messenia and Boiotia).

The *monospito*, or rural single-storey longhouse, is found in all settlements studied. Even though in very few instances have internal divisions not been noted, the *monospito* was originally undivided and like elsewhere in Greece housed both humans and household animals under the same roof. The subsequent division of the house into two distinct parts demonstrates that the single roomed house was at least conceptually divided, despite the lack of surviving examples or archaeological excavation to support this hypothesis. The location of the fireplace could be a valid reference point and focus of the human activities within the house, as has been shown in the case of Boiotia, but only in a few houses have fireplaces been located, suggesting a widespread use of braziers.

The most common domestic structure in Messenia is the *anogokatogo*, whether in the form of a two- or 1½-storey house. Whereas the 1½-storey house was mainly adopted at settlements with sloping ground, it has the same dimensions and organisation as the two-storey houses mainly built on more regular terrain. Both types were self-standing structures with broad façades and comparable dimensions to the one-storey *monospito*. The majority of these houses comprised two large rooms on the upper floor used for everyday activities and reception, respectively. The reception room was always directed towards the best view provided from the house, indicating its central importance in the social presentation of the household. The ground floor, in the cases where it was not used as a storage space, could be a workshop or a shop, especially whenever the house was located nearby a central village road, a square or a churchyard.

Interestingly, both the *monospito* and *anogokatogo* types were granted sizeable yards often with a variety of auxiliary buildings (store-rooms, stables, sheds, cisterns, wine-presses and wells) enclosed by a high yard wall and entered through a large and often monumental gate. Similar yards have been found throughout the Peloponnese and Attika, but also further north in rural settlements of Epeiros and Macedonia. These walled yards provided both security

and a high degree of privacy emphasised in literary sources from the Medieval and throughout the Ottoman eras.

Beside these rural forms during the later part of the 19th century more urbanised structures were introduced in the larger villages and semi-urban settlements, not only affecting the organisation of the settlement but also altering the principles of traditional architecture. These urbanised structures are large almost square two-storey houses, symmetrically arranged along the horizontal axis of an internal corridor or reception hall at the upper floor, and a vertical axis of doorways on the façade. The particular ideal of symmetry and the decorative features are characteristic of Neoclassical architecture. Kalamata being the main commercial centre of South Peloponnese presents early examples of the particular style, together with the semi-urban commercial nodes of Koroni, Methoni and Pylos/Neokastro. Thus, from the late 19th century onwards, vernacular architecture is "rationalised" with the adoption of symmetry both on the façade and the actual plan of rural houses. The transformation is accompanied by the aforementioned regular planning policy adopted by the Greek state and the introduction of a sizeable square as the social focus of most rural settlements in Messenia.

Rural settlements

All settlements dealt with in this section belong to the administrative region of Pylia. They are selected so as to provide a clear picture of the architecture on both lowland and upland as well as the semi-urban and rural settlements of the region. Deserted settlements of the Medieval and Ottoman periods have not been incorporated in this chapter, since most of the selected sites already existed in the Frankish and Ottoman periods and continue to be inhabited until today.

Pyla

Pyla is a small village located on a low hill dominating the small plain Pylokambos at the north-eastern part of Navarino Bay. Pyla was already mentioned in Frankish documents of the mid 14th century as a village with seigniorial farms, in the vicinity of the estate Glyki belonging to the Acciaiuoli family (Topping 1966). During the Early and Middle Ottoman periods published information for Pyla and Messenia in general is virtually non-existent. It may be suggested though that the site was still occupied and possibly flourished throughout the 16th century following the growth noted elsewhere in Greece. During the 2nd Venetian conquest (1685-1715) Pyla is noted in the cadastre compiled in 1700 with just 7 households or 28 inhabitants (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 262). Throughout the late Ottoman period Pyla was converted into a *çiftlik* estate with 13 sharecroppers. The village was apparently briefly abandoned between 1825 and 1830,

with the stationing of the Egyptian army in nearby Gialova, ordered by the Sultan, to suppress the Revolution. In 1829 the French *Expédition scientifique de Morée* recorded 15 deserted houses in Pyla (Bory de Saint-Vincent 1836 *see in* Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000: 360). Currently, the village has approximately 70 houses, many of which are abandoned or used as holiday homes.

Most of the 38 stone houses recorded were constructed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a period demonstrating a rise in agricultural production. Only a fraction of this number represents the houses built subsequently, a reflection of the decline of the village economy from the 1930s onwards. The oldest structures recorded in the settlement seem to have been built around the early 19th century, possibly using the foundations of the deserted houses recorded by the *Expédition scientifique de Morée*. These are *monospita*, or longhouses, built in stone with double pitched tiled roofs (*Figure 188*). They are all internally divided comprising two large rooms, conforming to the aforementioned sharing of the interior by both humans and household animals. Large yards, possibly surrounded by a high wall in their initial phase of occupation, flanked their main long façade. These yards were used as extensions of the house interior and used as working spaces and leisure areas during the long summer months. More recently, the yard walls were demolished and the *monospita* converted into storerooms of the adjacent modern structures built within the domain of the older yards. In subsequent periods *monospita* continued to be constructed, but they seem to be of smaller dimensions and are usually attributed by the local inhabitants to newcomers from the neighbouring province of Arkadia, arriving throughout the late 19th century (*Figure 189*).

The second major category of houses found in Pyla comprises of houses with two-storeys. Their dimensions, comparable to the *monospita*, are about 11 by 6.5 metres. They too are built of roughly cut stone with finer quoins at the corners of the house and the jambs of both doors and windows. Whereas the ground floor was reserved for storage, the upper floor, accessed though a stone *hagiati* construction, was solely used for the every day domestic and social activities of the household (*Figure 190*). Internally, the upper floor was subdivided into rooms flanking a broad entrance hall. The largest room was used only for reception and was usually closed to everyday use. Within this room wood-panelled niches were used as cupboards for exhibiting the valuables of the family, usually acquired as part of the dowry of the wife. This so-called *saloni* was always freshly plastered and kept clean, being the public face of the household. The other rooms housed the everyday activities of the family and were either used as everyday living spaces and kitchens or bedrooms. In house 18 the two everyday rooms were not plastered, the stones being painted over with a thin layer of paint, contrasting to

the well plastered *saloni* and entrance hall (*embati*). This particular house possibly dating to the mid 19th century revealed the existence of a walled yard providing security and privacy to the house. The adjacent structure facing the walled yard was presumably an animal shed and storage space for the household produce.

House 10 though is quite different and may be regarded as more representative of the two-storey houses of Pyla (*Figure 191*). It was built at the turn of the 20th century at the main crossroad within the heart of the village. Its central location and later date are reflected in its austere symmetrical construction, enhanced by an increase in height and addition of plaster mouldings around the relatively larger openings. Internally, it followed the very common symmetrical house plan of a small entrance hall flanked by two larger rooms and a small back room. At ground floor level the front yard was shielded from the sun by a dense vine, providing an ideal arena of social control and gossip at the heart of the village. The inhabitants noted that before the opening of the small café further down the street the particular house yard concentrated the main social activity of the village. Most two-storey houses are similar even though they seem to have been sheltered within walled yards.

Kremmydia

The village of Kremmydi lying below the southwest foothills of mount Matarangas was also mentioned in Frankish times (*Figure 192*). It was part of the Acciaiuoli estates and in 1354 it numbered 64 peasant households and 21 deserted houses, regarded as an indirect indication of the depopulation process during the mid 14th century accelerated by the effects of Black Death having affected the region in 1347 (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 65, Topping 1966: 432). During this period the village attracted extensive commercial activity due to its annual market, possibly on July the 16th, concentrating and redistributing the produce of the wider region (Lampropoulou 1989). Kremmydi is mentioned again in the Second Venetian period registers with only 6 households in 1700, possibly illustrating a dramatic decline during the 17th century. Nevertheless, from the 19th century onward the village developed around two foci, resulting into distinct concentrations of houses named Ano and Kato Kremmydia, Upper and Lower, respectively. The former is located on relatively flat terrain and the latter on terraces towards the southeast of a little stream forming a small gorge. Along this stream an Ottoman fountain was noted, as well as some buildings that may have been old watermills. According to the inhabitants of Ano Kremmydia the modern cemetery church replaced an older "Byzantine" chapel, but unfortunately no traces of the older church could be located.

The main domestic type within both neighbouring settlements is the *monospito*, or

longhouse (*Figure 193*). Unlike Pyla, many longhouses are built of mud-brick, easily produced along the banks of the stream. These houses are founded upon a stone substructure, allowing longer preservation of the perishable walls (*Figure 194*). A series of wooden beams at approximately half metre intervals are also inserted to provide additional stability to the structures in case of earthquake. Furthermore, the mud-brick is externally plastered to prevent weathering and results in an impressive contrast between the dark red soil and tiled roof, against the white walls of the houses. The short life of these mud-brick houses, though, was demonstrated by the recovery of a large fragment of Pesaro-ware within the mud-bricks of house 1 dating to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The particular structure, though, was founded upon the remains of an older stone-built *monospito* possibly deserted or destroyed by an earthquake.

Internally, these longhouses are commonly divided into two rooms, although the storeroom or stable, more recently, has usually been converted into an everyday room expanding the space utilised by the humans and expelling the animals to an adjacent shed. A series of niches in the wall structure were used as cupboards, either plastered internally or lined with wood. Wooden pegs acted as hangers and stone ledges, whether in the interior or the exterior of the house, as shelves. The large yards along the façade of these longhouses sufficed for household, workshop, gardening and social activities of the family. No clear evidence survives to suggest that the yards were walled, but the arrangement of the outbuildings implies at least an attempt to seclude the yard.

In the case of house 5 the original longhouse of the late 19th century underwent multiple extensions (*Figure 195*). The different phases of development were not only discernible from the different units, but also from the building material used. Thus, the possibly original structure was built of stone with a mud-brick extension, nowadays used as an animal shed, only to be extended three more times after the 1940s with concrete and brick structures along the main axis of the house. This *makrynari* complex was one of the very few still surviving in both Ano and Kato Kremmydia, the other one comprising houses 8 and 14, the former built of stone and the latter of mud-brick. Within house 8, in particular, a built oven was found in the middle of one of the short sides, flanked by a relatively high plastered mud-brick bench (*pezoula*). A large storage jar placed on the bench may suggest that the bench was used as a workspace for the household. The neighbours of this abandoned houses suggested that it belonged to a baker, confirmed by the various utensils found within it.

The remainder of the vernacular structures of Kremmydia have two storeys and date mainly from the 1920s onwards. Only three two-storey houses may be dated to the mid-19th century. House 9, being the most characteristic example, is a simple rectangular structure (10 by 6.7 metres) with a storeroom at the ground floor and the living spaces upstairs (*Figure 196*). The former is entered through a broad doorway with finely cut stone jambs and a low arched lintel. This may suggest that beside storage of produce the ground floor was possibly used for stabling too, and was therefore divided into two different spaces by means of a low fence and later by a mud-brick wall. The upper floor, entered through an equally decorated doorway of smaller proportions, was located slightly off-centre to the main façade of the house, both assuring the stability of the house and complying with the internal arrangement. It seems that a small wooden *hagiati* with a stone staircase led to this door, long replaced by a metal construction. The two stone ledges flanking the door originally supporting flowerpots, decorated the austere formerly unplastered stone façade. The upper floor was a reflection of the ground floor, comprising an everyday room and a more formal reception *saloni*. The everyday room seems to have possessed a fireplace with a niche along the short wall. In the *saloni* the number of windows and the orientation once again revealed the preference for view, already noted in Boiotia and elsewhere. No other features were discovered betraying the organisation of the interior.

The majority though of the two-storey houses, were of larger proportion and were almost square (*Figure 197*). The lack of the *hagiati* suggests that the top floor was accessed internally from the ground floor and through a staircase. Thus, at the dawn of the 20th century, the ground floor of two storey houses at Kremmydia seems to become gradually more integrated into the everyday activities of the households. In most cases the kitchen will be located at ground floor level, in close association with the storerooms with the foodstuffs reserved for the household consumption and the bedroom of the elderly members, who would find difficulty in climbing up the stairs. The top floor comprised the bedrooms and the *saloni*, prominently placed in the centre house plan and most frequently leading to a small balcony. These two storey houses demonstrate an increase in the size of the openings as well as a clear emphasis on symmetrical organisation of both façade and room arrangement. The departure from the less internally differentiated houses and the notion of symmetry should be regarded as clear indications of the introduction of Neoclassicising principles into the vernacular traditions, found in their ultimate elaboration in the rural Neoclassical examples of the semi-urban and urban settlements to be discussed below.

Kynigou

Similarly, the settlement Kynigou seems to have been an early foundation, dating at least to the 14th century as an unfortified village (*Figure 198*; Topping 1972). During the late 17th and early 18th century the village is mentioned again in the Venetian registers, comprising two villages, *Chinigú* and *Chinigú alto*, with 20 and 14 souls respectively in 1689, and 31 and 28 in 1700 (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 226, 265). The village economy was until recently dominated by stockbreeding according to the inhabitants and large flocks were still to be seen in summer 1999. The plain below the village and towards the north, though, is quite fertile suggesting that agriculture also played an important role. In fact it seems that Kynigou was a relatively flourishing village at least during the early and late Ottoman period, located at the foothill towards the north of its current location. The few remains of structures, a derelict fountain and the ruins of a mosque, currently used as a bell-tower of an early modern rural chapel, suggest a thriving community (*Figure 199*). The village is now situated at a slightly higher elevation, possibly as a continuation of the Venetian *Chinigú alto* establishment.

The architectural variation within the settlement may be regarded as characteristic for an apparent continuity of settlement from at least the second Venetian period of occupation (*Figure 200*). Thus, besides the remains of the fountain and the mosque, the houses suggest to some extent the longevity of the site. Within the modern village, houses dated to the pre-19th century have been recorded in relation to 19th and 20th century structures, to reflect developments from Ottoman to Early Modern times. The characteristic house type of the earlier periods is the longhouse, or *monospito*, presenting many similarities to the Boiotian equivalent discussed in the previous chapter (*Figure 201*). All longhouses of Kynigou follow an east-west direction, uniformly facing the south. Consequently, the settlement seems to have been organised along parallel lines of longhouses that seem to have originally reached the remains of the mosque.

The uniformity among the longhouses, though, is not restricted to their orientation and general alignment. As a matter of fact, all longhouses recorded conform to set characteristics in construction, decoration and organisation (*Figure 202*). They are built of roughly cut stone joined with lime-mortar. Simple irregular quoins have been used alongside small cut stone blocks resulting in an alternating pattern at the corners of the longhouses. The doorways are in most cases built of larger finely cut limestone or marble jambs with low arched stone lintels. The windows, whenever original, had less ornate jambs and lintels. The roofs, either double pitched or hipped, are currently covered with tiles possibly replacing stone slabs, or *plakes*. The tiles are supported on a simple wooden roof frame covered with reed mats for insulation. High up along the façade and adjacent to the main doorway a ledge or two were noted reserved for flowerpots providing colour for the house. Internally, niches within the wall structure were frequently found lined with wood and used as cupboards. Divisions were usually built of stone in the longer structures, or *makrynaria*. The use of cane and plaster, the so-called *kalamoti* construction, was common for internal divisions, being light and easily removed according to household needs. As far as the decoration is concerned, it comprised mainly the structural characteristics of the house and their arrangement. Thus, the alternating quoins and the finely cut jambs and lintels presented the main features of decoration and were often imported or required special expertise. Some houses were roughly plastered externally, especially in recent years, in an effort to modernise and exhibit cleanliness. Internally, the living space was in most cases painted in various pastel colours, resulting in rooms that were more appropriate to the changing notions of social presentation of the household and reception throughout the late 19th and 20th centuries.

As for the organisation of the longhouses, the relatively secluded walled courtyard was a clear manifestation of the ideal of privacy that the household represented. This strive towards increasing privacy was both the result of and the cause for the extension of the house interior into the yard, functionally, socially and symbolically. The bench along the façade of the house facing the yard was used both as a working surface and a socialising focus. The rest of the yard, often provided with auxiliary structures could be regarded as an intermediate space between the village and the household, between the exterior and the interior, being a meeting point for the cultural constructions (bounded spaces) and the natural environment (open air garden). The house interior does not differ from longhouses elsewhere. Whether undivided, with two rooms, or presenting a "through-passage" arrangement, they were originally housing both household animals and humans. Fireplaces at the side for the humans seem to be recent additions, replacing the simple clay braziers or trays noted elsewhere (Aigina: Bakirtzis 1989; *fig.* 14.3; Macedonia: Common and Prentice 1956). These would be usually placed in the centre of the room gathering the family around them, possibly stressing a notion of centrality and focus around the fire, which is otherwise not discernible from the other features of the house.

The bulk of the houses, though, within the village were more substantial in dimensions and pretension than the simple longhouses mentioned above. These were long rectangular structures of the 1½-storey type, built on two terraces running along the direction of the slope. Structurally, they should be dated from the mid 19th century onwards, coinciding with the most recent period of flourishing of the village community, even though the original core of some structures may predate the 19th century. This is in some cases demonstrated by a longhouse at the extension of the main domestic space, currently for auxiliary or secondary use (*Figure 203*; e.g. houses 1 and 4). The 1½-storey houses too, uniformly face the south with very few original openings towards the north. The originally large walled yards included kitchen gardens and provided sufficient space for

accommodating flocks of sheep and goats, as well as auxiliary buildings reserved for storage and processing. Few yards survive in their original form as most walls have been demolished opening up the yard interior to the village. Despite the loss of privacy within the yard, the roofed sheltered veranda along the façade of the house, the *hagiati*, has been in most cases retained and even extended by means of a sizeable cement veranda. Thus, whereas modernisation processes seem to be clearly in progress, the intermediate sheltered semi-open space provided by the *hagiati*, is further extended demonstrating its central role in the life of the household, as shown by Charissis (Charissis 1983).

Structurally, the houses do differ from the longhouses, as far as with the wall and roof construction are concerned. This is also the case when evaluating the decorative features, such as the door and window jambs and lintels or the quoins. Internally, though, the ground floor was solely used for storage, allowing the upper floor to be reserved as the main living space of the family. Furthermore, the large dimensions of the structures increased the possibilities of spatial and functional differentiation and seclusion. Thus, whereas in smaller houses the upper floor was divided into two rooms, the *saloni* and the *cheimoniatiko*, most houses comprised one or two extra rooms reserved for sleeping and a small entrance hall, usually open towards the *cheimoniatiko*. Despite the increase in the number of rooms, the basic organisation of space remained focussed on the opposition between formal and everyday, social and private, light and dark, clean and dirty. The *saloni* being reserved solely for reception was always placed towards the view, supplied with many windows and in some cases a tiny balcony opening up towards the plain below. In contrast, the *cheimoniatiko*, or the everyday room, was at the back of the house and being relatively dark was lit by the fireplace and a few oil lamps (*lychnari*; *Figure 204*). The additional rooms and the entrance hall were placed between these two activity spaces, bringing them further apart and stressing this opposition, as will be further demonstrated in the case of the village Romiri discussed below.

Many houses, in the course of the 19th and early 20th centuries, were further extended with the addition of a square two-storey structure, resulting in an L-shape (*Figure 205*). This additional space was often accessed only through the *saloni*, or possibly the entrance hall extended into a corridor structure to reach the annexe. Often this room was used to house a newly wed offspring of the family, but it was originally to extend the reception possibilities of the household and provide a separate bedroom for visitors. This is in line with the nature of the family structure and the choice of brides from neighbouring villages rather than the local community. This habit, so much studied and emphasised in anthropological studies throughout Greece (*see for instance* Sant Cassia and

Bada 1992), had as a result a higher frequency of family visits, providing simultaneously an ideal opportunity for the exhibition of family wealth.

Romiri

The almost deserted village of Romiri was originally situated on a shoulder towards the North of Mount Lykodimo. A tiny chapel, possibly dating to the Middle Ottoman period, at the highest point of the shoulder and a grand 19th century church at a lower level on the western slope seem to have marked the original extent of the settlement. According to archival data the earliest mention of Romiri dates to the period of the second Venetian occupation of the Peloponnese. The village is found in the studies of both Sauerwein and Panagiotopoulos, the latter recording a population of 180 souls in 1700 according to the Grimani census (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 264, Sauerwein 1969). As far as the name of the village is concerned, very little is known. Unlike the Messenian villages discussed above, Romiri is not known in the Frankish period and does not appear to be a Greek, Slavic or Albanian name. In most possibility it is a corruption of the Turkish words *Rum* and *miri*, standing for inhabitant of Roumeli (peninsula of Greece) and plot of land, respectively. Some other villages in the region seem to have obtained similar endings, possibly suggesting 17th century establishments on plots of lands, or *miri*, abandoned in preceding decades. Such lands would be assigned and rented out by the state to wealthy landowners, responsible for the extraction of the taxes.

Most of the houses of Romiri were recorded, providing a relatively complete picture of the village, but unfortunately its desertion and the loss of its status as a *koinotita*, the cell of the 19th and 20th century Greek administrative system, meant that the site was not planned (*Figure 206*). Thus, no map was at our disposal to assist a spatial recording of the domestic structures. Furthermore, the abandonment of the settlement and the 19th century transfer of the core at a lower altitude on the western slope of the shoulder resulted in the collapse of many structures higher up, most of which have currently surrendered to the disguising forces of the neighbouring oak forest. It is this precise region that presented the highest concentration of pre-19th century structures. The most characteristic structures, despite their ruined condition, were houses 2 and 4 (*Figure 207*). They were both built within a virtually rectangular yard lined by a high stone wall made of rough fieldstones, not unlike the Late Ottoman houses surveyed in Kynigou. In both cases, a second building was located within the yard, either as an extension of the main domestic structure or at one of the corners of the yard. These auxiliary buildings were in most probability animal sheds, supplementing the space available within the main domestic area.

The houses within these yards on the upper part of the village were almost entirely longhouses,

monospita, built of rough fieldstones joined with mud. The quoins of the houses, the door and window jambs as well as the lintels were more carefully cut, whether of local stone or imported marble. These features together with the ledges for flowerpots and the tiny niche of house 2, possibly for the same purpose, were the only decorative features of the house exterior. A low bench may have extended the interior of the house to the yard, but no such features are retrieved in the field in relation to these relatively early houses.

The house interior too conforms to the general characteristics noted for other longhouses whether in Messenia, Boiotia or elsewhere in Greece. Interestingly, though, all examples seem to have been internally divided into two general functional areas of approximately equal size. The higher half of the house, usually partly built into the bedrock, demonstrated a variety of surviving built features, indicating intense everyday use of the space by the human inhabitants of the household. In both houses 2 and 4 this part of the house possessed a bench built against the back wall, in the centre of which a fireplace should have been located, in accordance with examples from Kremmydia. Niches used as cupboards were recorded, pointing towards the need to store everyday utensils within the living space itself. Interestingly, house 4 presented an additional feature indicating, on the one hand, the level of insecurity caused by banditry and oppression by large landowners and, on the other, the fact that despite the degree of poverty the house interiors were originally plastered, suggesting a developed feeling of cleanliness within the most private part of the domestic structure (*Figure 208*). It is a complete ceramic pot found within the wall structure that must have acted as a money hoard that would have been filled in and occasionally plastered over to conceal its contents. In contrast, the lower half of the longhouses did not present any features suggesting any human activity in its domain. This may have been a storage room or, initially, a stable for the household animals. The lower elevation of this part may be justified so as to assist the cleaning of the animal dung from its interior through an outlet hole at the lower end, using the natural inclination of the ground in order not to dirty the upper end of the house. At the same time, though, the existence of a separate animal shed within the yard may suggest that this lower end was possibly used for special occasions as a reception area in accordance with 1½- and two-storey house to be discussed below.

From the mid 19th century onwards more longhouses were constructed (*Figure 209*). These are often larger in size and structurally show slight variations. Thus, the introduction of lime-mortar seems much more widespread, as well as the use of tile within the wall construction, signifying a period of reconstruction of the village after the War of Independence reusing much of the building materials from the surrounding ruins. Furthermore, the low arched or monolithic lintels of the Ottoman period

seem to have been replaced by plain wooden or more elaborate filled-in arched constructions, suggesting an introduction of new building techniques. The structural differences are accompanied by an increase in decorative features. A carved breast, generally regarded as a fertility symbol, and the decorative tile patterns on the façade of house 22 are manifestations of a further development (*Figure 210*). These houses seem to have been built not by local builders or travelling groups from Epeiros in Northwest Greece, as is generally accepted to have been the case in the Ottoman period, but by known Langadianoi builders' cooperatives operating after the 1830s. The creation of the Greek Kingdom cut Southern and Central Greece from the northern Ottoman provinces with their long building traditions and allowed smaller local builders' families from northwest Arkadia (Gortynia), and the village of Langadia in particular, to take over the huge task of the reconstruction. Furthermore, these Early Modern longhouses were more elaborately equipped internally, with larger fireplaces with chimneys, built sinks, broader and higher benches and larger niches (*Figure 211*). In many instances, the houses are clearly subdivided into different functional zones, each one provided with separate doorways limiting the interdependence of the different spaces (e.g. house 22). Within the yard the changes are less marked and it is possibly the addition of an oven or more recently a tiny toilet that point towards the 19th and 20th century transformation of lifestyles.

Below the old core of the settlement, longhouses remain frequent, but mainly in a relationship with 1½-, two-, or three- storey extensions. In those cases, the longhouses obtain a secondary function, mainly as storerooms, and the main bulk of domestic activity is transferred to the upper floors of the extensions. These two-, or more, storey extensions do not vary much from the organisation of the longhouses. In most cases, beside the storeroom or workshop at ground floor level, the main living space on the upper floor is divided into two rooms, the *saloni* and the *cheimoniatiko*. This particular arrangement has been already mentioned and discussed on many occasions, but here the only additions that should be made refer to particular features signifying their role in the household. Thus, whereas in the mid- and late-19th century houses fireplaces, if present, were later additions in one of the corners or the middle of the back wall in the *cheimoniatiko*, in more recent houses a formalised built fireplace is a precondition for the room. This fireplace, unlike the longhouses, is not elevated and flanked by a low bench, but it is usually placed as an independent feature and possibly a focus of the simple furniture of the household. Along one of the sidewalls and always underneath a window a built sink would be placed for the household washing, provided with water either from a metal container or a ceramic jar placed on the windowsill. Contrary to the multipurpose *cheimoniatiko*, the *saloni* seems totally empty,

possibly filled with furniture in the same manner as the Boiotian houses. Interestingly, though, a long but narrow balcony was always built on the short side with the best view, accessed through one or two large doorways, being the main focus of the *saloni*.

The persistence of a good view, characteristic for both Byzantine and Ottoman houses, and the relatively undeveloped interior, even in the larger houses shows the importance of the outside in relation to the house interior, also noted elsewhere in Greece (Thakurdesai 1972). This is possibly the reason for the development of the yard in the longhouses and the *hagiati* in the 1 ½-, two- and three-storey houses. In Romiri too, the *hagiati*, which due to the precipitous slope is often not elevated from the ground, seems to have been gradually enlarged so as to occupy the entire broad façade of the house, as in houses 24, 30 and 36 (*Figure 212*). The latter, in particular, developed a colonnaded *hagiati* partly occupied by a tiny kitchen at the far end. In other houses ovens and tiny toilet cubicles were added at the extension of the *hagiati*, indicating its multifunctional nature, as well as its centrality to the life of the household.

Interestingly, three of these two and three storey structures provided us with precise dating evidence (27, 30, 36). The dating stones above the main entrance of these houses suggested dates in the mid 19th century, providing a date to particular features of the structures. But in the case of house 27, dating to the 1850s, it was obvious that the dated upper floor was a later addition to the already existing 1½ storey house (*Figure 213*). Besides the different general treatment and joining of the stones, the window and door lintels of the lower structure were made of cut and slightly arching stones, similar to those of the Late Ottoman period longhouses. It seems, therefore, that the lower 1½ storey structure should be dated to the 18th or early 19th centuries, before the disruption caused by the War of Independence.

Beside house 27, a number of 1 ½- and two-storey houses demonstrate similar characteristics, the most representative being house 1 (*Figure 214*). This house has a very austere construction style, with only a door and small window at ground floor level and small openings upstairs. The ground floor seems to have been used as a kitchen and store as the low bench with the fireplace suggest. The upper floor, in ruinous condition, does not present any features betraying its use and may therefore be regarded as equivalent to the *sala* or *kalokairino* of the Central and Northern Greek houses discussed elsewhere. This space was accessed through a stone staircase, which in other houses, may have had an arch below it, used for the storage of firewood. This particular house type is reminiscent of the Late Byzantine/Frankish houses of Geraki and the more elaborate Mistra, a comparison that, despite the two or three century gap, is worth mentioning.

It would be an omission not to mention that many of the 1½- and two-storey houses have throughout the years of their occupation acquired extensions to the original structure. These in some cases have been the result of the incorporation of the *hagiati* to the house interior, identifying and separating its original use. Thus, the house is provided with a series of small rooms, among them a kitchen, along its façade (e.g. 29). Furthermore, an extra wing may be added vertically to the house, comprising one room, which was possibly used as a bedroom or a room for guests, as mentioned in the case of the L-shaped houses at Kynigou (e.g. 10). In some cases, the extensions take the form of identical units to the original structures, either along the long axis of the house or parallel to it (houses 37 and 36, respectively). Whereas both structures seem to communicate directly with each other, it has been established that they belonged to the *aderfomoiri* type, belonging to two different offsprings of the original family and their dependants. Thus, the houses of Romiri have presented us with the multiplicity of rural structures and their features from the Late Ottoman and Early Modern periods in the province of Messenia.

Douvraiika/Voudouraiika

The small village of Douvraiika or Voudouraiika is a 19th century establishment, a result of the movement of populations after the War of Independence whether within the bounds of the Kingdom of Greece or from the areas still under Ottoman rule (Sutton 1999: 79). Many of the new 19th century hamlets of Messenia were established by shepherd families from the mountainous region of western Arkadia. These hamlets obtained their name from the familial patronym of the founder with the addition of the ending -*aiika*, -*aika*, -*ika* (Wagstaff 1982). These transhumant groups soon got involved in agricultural practices and established permanent settlements, like Douvraiika/Voudouraiika, settled by the Voudouris family. The village in question is situated on low hill 500 metres North East of the village Kazarma, on the main route between Kalamata and Pylos/Neokastro. The hamlet consisting of 15 houses is reached via a narrow cobbled path, or *kalderimi*, from neighbouring Kazarma. There is no church in the hamlet itself, but it is possible that the churches now in use in Kazarma were the ones used by the community too. Douvraiika/Voudouraiika was burned and consequently abandoned during World War II and it seems that part of its population moved to neighbouring Kazarma, which was more centrally located and already from Ottoman and Venetian times was an important military establishment as its name suggests (Kazarma is a corruption of the Italian *casa di arma*, meaning arsenal or barracks) and a resting station of travellers (the remains of an Ottoman inn, or *hani*, were visible until recently).

As far as the nature of the houses is concerned, they are either longhouses or two-storey houses (*Figure 215*). The former are usually built into the slope, which in some cases allows the existence of a low basement (used for storage) at the lower part of the house that was entered from the interior of the house (*katapakti*). The longhouses were divided in two rooms by means of a stone wall. The lower room was usually used as animal shed and the upper was reserved as the main living space of the household. The living area might have had a fireplace against one of the shorter sides or in a corner as recorded in Romiri, but no trace could be observed. In some cases the longhouses had a small window in the short side towards the view surveying the lower plain and ensuring security against the late 19th century bandit groups.

The two-storey house type is more common. Some of the houses were as long as the longhouses with an internal dividing wall (*Figure 216*). The ground floor was used for the animals and storage, whereas the upper floor was the arena of human activity. The room with the view, the *saloni*, was used for special occasions and reception. The back room, though, was the kitchen, or *cheimoniatiko*, and it also provided the main sleeping space and housed most other daily household activities, especially during the winter months, as its name suggests. Two houses have decorative designs made with tiles on the outer wall, usually attributed to the Langadianoi builders mentioned above (*Figure 217*). These were mainly rosettes and niches for nesting birds, the former regarded as symbols of longevity since ancient times and the latter attracting luck to the household.

The most common type of two-storey house, though, was single-spaced, entered from the broad façade and with a balcony to the short side celebrating the view over the plains below. There were no traces of internal division discovered. The kitchen was at ground level below the *hagiati* or within an extension at the front of the house. In all cases the walls were thicker at the bottom (0.6 m) and were in most cases approximately 5 cm thinner at first floor level. In this way the super structure was not only made lighter, but the resulting continuous ledge around the interior of the structure, provided an additional support for the wooden planks used for the floor. The walls were well built with local stone joined with lime-mortar. The roofs were in most cases double-pitched. The few double-hipped roofs had upturned corner ends, a characteristic of many Messenian houses mainly to be attributed to the Langadianoi builders as well.

Pylos/Neokastro: an Ottoman and Early Modern Messenian town

General observations

The small town of modern Pylos is situated on the southwest entrance of the large natural harbour of Navarino bay, known in Frankish times as Port du Jonc. The modern setting was not occupied in antiquity and it seems that only by 1572 was there a fortress built on the foothill of mount Agios Nikolaos by the Ottomans to guard the southern entrance of the harbour. The castle was locally named Neokastro allowing distinction from the settlement and castle that was situated at the northern entrance of the bay, the so-called Palaiokastro, old Navarino or old Pylos (referring to the Classical to Late Roman town, rather than the prehistoric palace site further to the north). Whereas Pylos/Neokastro grew rapidly in importance through the Middle Ottoman period, due to its substantial curtain wall safeguarding the main entrance to the natural harbour, Palaiokastro was still occupied in the late 17th century, even though counting a substantially smaller population than the former according to Evliya Çelebi's accounts. Thus, Pylos/Neokastro with 33 tiled stone houses in the upper fortification, 600 houses in the lower and approximately 200 in the extramural settlement outnumbered the 80 odd stone houses with gardens and vines at Palaiokastro (the numbers are unreliable in detail, but do provide a general idea of the population difference; Celebi 1994: 57, 59-60, 62). The latter seems to have been abandoned and dismantled during the second Venetian period and lies nowadays overgrown and virtually inaccessible (Andrews 1953: 40-48).

Contrary to Palaiokastro, Pylos/Neokastro developed into an important trading station for the South West Peloponnese throughout the 18th to the early 20th century, gradually superseding even Methoni towards the South, one of the chief "eyes" of the Venetian Republic. The settlement consisted of three parts, the upper fortress equipped with strong-built bastions, the lower *enceinte*, comprising the main habitation area, and the *varosi*, or extramural settlement, toward the East of the castle. The lower *enceinte* comprised the majority of the population in the 17th and 18th centuries. Çelebi's 600 houses in the late 17th century, as mentioned above, were centred on two mosques, an Islamic school, a dervish convent, an inn and a bathhouse. Only one mosque is currently surviving in good condition, which was converted into a church during the 19th century, but was originally built in 1575/77 and dedicated to the Sultan Murat III (*Figure 218*; Kiel 1999: 228). It seems that the walled town was densely built up with small stone houses with tiled roofs and possibly tiny yards. Small-scale excavations within the castle have revealed a few such houses conforming to these descriptions, but despite having led to their partial reconstruction the details have not been published yet.

The *varosi* was seemingly less densely built up and populated and, contrary to the lower *enceinte* that was mainly inhabited by Muslims, consisted predominantly of Christian residents (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000: 352). Here too the houses were built of stone, according to Çelebi's account, but in this case dispersed and surrounded by large gardens (Celebi 1994: 62). The *varosi* was recorded on various maps during the Second Venetian period, its main concentration depicted towards the east of the castle

and north of the Ottoman aqueduct, remains of which are still visible along the modern road to Methoni (*Figure 219; see reproductions in* Andrews 1953: 244). In 1716 right after the Ottoman reconquest of the Peloponnese, the tax registers refer to this settlement mentioning a non-Muslim population of 30 households (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000: 354, note 36). It seems that the settlement was not located near the harbour, but set back possibly for security reasons. In 1800, almost a century later, Pouqueville noted that the *varosi* was inhabited by 130 Greeks, indicating a stagnant population for over 75 years (Pouqueville 1820-1821: V, 122). Beside the *varosi*, though, he mentioned a further settlement of 20 *kalyvia* (small seasonally occupied houses) close to the *skala*, or landing stage, suggesting an expansion of the *varosi* towards the coast (Pouqueville 1826-1827: VI, 73, note 1). It is probably in this settlement that the house of the Greek wealthy merchant Oikonomopoulos was situated, where various travellers were welcomed during the early 19th century. The traveller Leake regarded his host Oikonomopoulos, like the previously mentioned Logothetis in the case of Livadeia, as the merchant controlling the entire commerce of the region, acting as an agent for many European nations. His grand house nearby the port "excited the cupidity of the poor Turks of the town, who are starving by the effects of their pride and idleness" (Leake 1830: 399).

The strategic location of the town on the main trading routes from East to West and North to South seems to have added to the life of the town, which was mainly focussed on commerce and production of market goods for the 17th and 18th century increasingly long-distance markets. In fact, Çelebi remarked on the plantations of vines, lemon, orange, pomegranate, fig and olive trees in the vicinity of the castle and I have already noted the existence of a number of Late Ottoman *çiftliks* in the wider region, their produce being channelled through Pylos/Neokastro into the main Mediterranean trade routes. Furthermore, the production of fine cotton fabrics, gunpowder and even coffee were highly valued, demonstrating both the wealth and fertility of the region (Celebi 1994: 61). Thus, the expansion of the *varosi* and the habitation of the *skala* should be seen as natural consequences of these developments of commercial capitalism noted as commencing in the Later Ottoman period.

The temporary disruption caused by the War of Independence and the destruction due to the encampment of the Egyptian army assisting the Ottomans, in the area of modern Gialova along the coast in the Navarino bay, has been figuratively illustrated by the compilation of travellers' accounts and French military reports by the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000). The town, though, recovered rapidly after restoration of peace, and the rebuilding processes started already in 1829 with the construction of the arcade around the large early modern square next to the landing stage, according to the 1828 plans of General Maison (*Figure 220*). The square and the three parallel streets built towards the north became the core of the 19th century settlement and provided the basis for the expansion of the settlement according to the principles of rational and regular planning. The castle was no longer inhabited and some of its buildings were used as military headquarters, prison and currently house a museum and the offices of the archaeological service.

During the 19th century Pylos showed a rapid economic and demographic development, mainly due to its port facilities, which until recently served for the transportation of the regional agricultural and manufacturing produce. As a transporting and commercial node along the Peloponnesian coastline, it benefited from the slow development of land routes during the 19th century. Economic flourishing and direct contact with major urban centres of Greece, the Ionian Islands and the rest of the Mediterranean allowed the development of domestic architecture combining traditional features and building techniques with the formal Neoclassical urban prototypes. This architectural style, which developed in small towns like Pylos and neighbouring Methoni and Koroni, termed Rural Neoclassicism, has been observed in most towns and cities of Greece, but at coastal settlements its adoption is overwhelming, especially due to the economic and transportation conditions in the 19th and early 20th century.

The houses

Whereas the need for recording domestic structures in Pylos was not as urgent as in Livadeia, due to the legal framework and the understanding by the inhabitants of the need for preservation of the architectural heritage of the town, the collection of the most representative houses allowed an insight into the processes of architectural change and their causes. These processes may be comparable to many other coastal towns specialising on concentration and redistribution of local agricultural produce via sea routes during the 19th and early 20th centuries, currently engaged mainly with tourism, whether in the Peloponnese or Central Greece. Thus, out of the 154 houses included into the database, the vast majority date from the late 19th century onwards and many could be regarded as clear examples of Rural Neoclassicism, comparable to the domestic structures of the neighbouring ports of Methoni and Koroni (*Figure 221*).

In Pylos, like in aforementioned Livadeia in Boiotia, longhouses or *monospita* proved to be rare. Simple rural one-storey structures are known to have existed in the early 19th century near the port or skala, mentioned by Pouqueville as *kalyvia* (Pouqueville 1826-1827: VI, 73, note I). These could have been small wooden, mud-brick or stone structures acting as seasonal residences, storage spaces or shops related to the port, but no such structures survived the economic development of the 19th and early 20th century. The three longhouses recorded in Pylos are permanent residences of an agricultural nature comparable to those of the villages discussed above (*Figure 222*). They have large associated yards originally bounded by a high wall ensuring privacy to the interior. Whereas the yards were originally concentrating the majority of household activities, these have been recently transferred to the house interior, usually with the annexation of auxiliary structures alongside the original structure or at a right angle. The yard is, thus, transformed into a flower garden, having lost its integral role for the household, manifested by the demolition of the yard walls. These longhouses, though, unlike their rural counterparts in Messenia, conform to the "through-passage" arrangement, with a narrow central corridor flanked by two rooms. The inhabitants could, unfortunately, not confirm whether one of the rooms was ever used for stabling of household animals or solely for storage. Nevertheless, the similarity of these examples to longhouses from rural Messenia and Boiotia demonstrates that the commercial activities of the town were throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries counterbalanced by a thriving agricultural economy.

Contemporary to the longhouses are 24 one-storey houses (*Figure 223*). Unlike the one-storey houses of Livadeia, they do not demonstrate considerable differences in arrangement from the longhouses. Dating to the late 19th and 20th centuries, they coincide with the demographic and economic expansion of Pylos. In fact, the majority of these houses were built by migrant populations from the surrounding rural areas, who moved to Pylos to work in commerce, the services or as agricultural labourers for the local landowners. These houses may be compared functionally to the *kalyvia* of the early 19th century mentioned above, but the neighbours, since most houses lie abandoned, confirmed their later date. The majority of these structures consisted of one undivided room. There were no indications of particular preferences in the organisation of the house interior. In most cases though the houses are flanked by a small open yard and garden.

Beside these simple one-storey houses, though, during the Post World War I era some more elaborate houses were built, usually built on higher foundations (*Figure 224*). These are considerably larger and often have an almost square outline. Internally, they comprise a broad corridor flanked by symmetrically arranged rooms at either side. Each room has a specific function, either as a kitchen and sitting room, main reception room or bedroom. Every space can be isolated according to the occasion, demonstrating an increasing notion of privacy and spatial specialisation. As we shall see below in two-storey houses with equivalent plans, the rooms are hierarchically arranged, reserving the rooms along the façade for formal reception and the bedroom of the family head, while the back of the house is divided among the younger members of the family, the kitchen and the sanitary facilities. Many of these relatively late houses are heavily decorated externally with plaster mouldings imitating Neoclassical prototypes. One example may be house 4, which despite being recently renovated and extended towards the back enlarging the kitchen area, it retains both the original room hierarchy and the mouldings in the façade (*Figure 225*).

Interestingly, most variability in internal arrangement was exhibited in the 1½-storey houses, which are present also throughout a longer time span than the other types, ranging from the Late Ottoman to the Post World War I eras. Thus, the oldest houses possibly dating to the 18th century were a few houses with two rooms or a "through-passage" arrangement at the precipitous slope towards the east of the main square. The most characteristic ones are houses 52, 54 and 53. The former two comprise two rooms on the upper storey and a smaller storage space at the ground floor, whilst the latter has a "through-passage" arrangement upstairs and a sizeable barrel-vaulted storage room downstairs. All three structures are well built of fieldstones and roughly cut quoins set in lime-mortar. In the case of house 52, the original and nowadays ruined longhouse was replaced by the 1½-storey structure built at right angle to the former (*Figure 226*). The 1½-storey structure is relatively small, and the two rooms upstairs were used for everyday activities and formal reception. The windows and the door at the side of the road were new additions, possibly opened in the late 19th century when the houses seem to become less inward looking, as initiated with the introduction of rural Neoclassicism. House 54 shows a similar development, even though it seems that the house itself was originally a simple one-storey structure extended with the addition of the upper storey (*Figure 227*). It presents similar structural characteristics to house 52, but due to the lesser degree of slope, the house was supplied with a *hagiati* supported on stonewalls along the façade. Furthermore, the house was further extended with the addition of an extra wing used as a kitchen with a small toilet in the far corner.

As already mentioned house 53 was slightly different with a "through-passage" arrangement of spaces (*Figure 228*). Moreover, it presented less alteration of the original external appearance of the house, with only one small window opening up into the side of the main approach street. The upper storey was built on top of a long dark barrel-vaulted basement partly dug into the bedrock that most certainly belonged to an earlier, possibly Venetian or Ottoman structure (some buildings were noted on the late 17th and early 18th century Venetian maps in this area, *see reproductions in* Andrews 1953: 244). The original purpose of this construction is not known, but it seems plausible that until recently wine was stored in this cool basement, as the wider region was producing large quantities of grapes and alcoholic beverages (e.g. wine, cognac, *raki*). The upper floor was entered through an open yard equipped with a washing basin

and a high bench used as a working surface. At the back end of this narrow yard was an extension of the main domestic area with low niches, possibly used as an animal shed. The actual house comprised two rooms flanking a corridor with doors at either side. Both rooms seem to have been divided with thin walls, made of plastered thin wooden planks (*tsatmas*). The back used to be a bedroom and possibly a kitchen, but no fireplace was recorded, suggesting the use of braziers or metal trays used for both cooking and warming up the house. A built-in wooden shelf high up in one of the corners of the room was probably used for placing the icons and the wedding wreaths of the inhabitants. The front room, built over the basement, was at a slightly higher level than the rest of the house and thus accessed by a few steps next to its doorway. Like the rest of the house the floor was covered with broad wooden planks. Internally, the walls were also plastered, but unlike the burgundy paint originally chosen for the corridor and the back room, the front room was painted white, making the space brighter and exhibiting its cleanliness. The roof structure seems to have been originally concealed with a wooden ceiling, only the main features of the framework having survived. Noteworthy is the absence of niches. These seem to have been substituted for by the furniture that would have filled the rooms or the spaces above the openings created by the internal arches supporting the substantial stone superstructure (*Figure 229*).

The location of these three at the edges of the town and their construction suggest a rather agricultural nature comparable to the villages in the vicinity of Pylos and the houses at the fringes of Livadeia in Boiotia. Interestingly, though, all three demonstrate distinct construction from the other houses of Pylos emphasised by the plain stone exterior revealing the masonry. Besides, this particular part of the town is less regularly planned and seems to follow a more natural development of the settlement texture, possibly indicative of an early stage of development prior to planning introduced by the French in the late 1820s.

Below and towards the north of these few scattered houses at the eastern edge of Pylos, is the main concentration of 1½-storey houses, taking advantage of the steep slope. The majority of these houses were built after the 1850s, possibly by a migrant group originating in the Mani, giving their name to the neighbourhood known as Maniatika. Many of these houses comply with the trends mentioned for the villages of Messenia and Boiotia. Thus, only a few have a sole undivided room on the first floor, the majority presenting a hierarchical differentiation between the everyday room, the *cheimoniatiko*, and the formal reception room, the *saloni*, crystallised in internal wall divisions. Beside the two-partite division, the distance between these two spaces, whether perceived as functional or social, is emphasised by the introduction of an intermediate entrance hall, the extension of which added a further

tiny room, the *kamari*, used as a kitchen, store or bedroom. An additional feature characteristic of this particular area of Pylos is the high number of yard walls distancing the house from the street. These are entered from a single broad gate with well-cut jambs and lintels (*Figure 230*), comparable to the very few rural yard walls and gates noted in the Messenian and Boiotian villages. The houses in the Maniatika neighbourhood are rarely adjacent to the street, ensuring the highest possible degree of security and privacy to the yard and house interior.

Along the main commercial street running parallel to and to the east of the main square, three 1½-storey houses were recorded. These seem to date to the earliest mid 19th century and may be contemporary to the French planning of the town. House 60 is located at the corner of presumably one of the earliest building blocks of Pylos (*Figure 231*). It is almost square and comprised a corridor flanked by symmetrically arranged rooms, a plan that seems to have been a later development. The upper floor of the house is directly accessed from the street, a feature that is scarcely noted in rural settlements. The ground floor too, partly built into the bedrock was entered from the steep side road, as well as a steep internal staircase. In fact, the two windows immediately next to the doorway at the ground floor and the proximity to the commercial area of Pylos suggest that the ground floor was mainly used as a shop. Whereas the other two structures do not demonstrate a similar commercial function, they do suggest a more urbanised character, underlined by their double-pitched roofs that were intended to provide a continuous pattern with the neighbouring terraced houses (*Figure 232*).

Unlike the 1½-storey houses, the two storey structures are more widely distributed within Pylos, and are more related to the rural vernacular style at the eastern fringes of the town (*Figure 233*), or the commercially oriented terraced structures of the central areas, closely following the characteristics and distribution of the 1½-storey houses (*Figure 234*). Towards the south and west of the square, though, the two storey houses seem to belong to a different category. They are in general freestanding within relatively large walled gardens and flanking the streets. In this strictly planned area the houses are relatively larger and more elaborate in design and decoration. Beside the clearly Neoclassical examples conforming to the rules of their counterparts in major urban centres in Greece and the Ionian islands (*Figure 235*), the vast majority of the domestic architecture in the wider area could be regarded as an amalgam of vernacular tradition and Neoclassical style.

Thus, whereas the building techniques have not drastically altered – the use of roughly cut stone lined with lime-mortar – both the plan and the features on the façade are symmetrically arranged with reference to a central horizontal or vertical axis, respectively. It has already been mentioned in the case of some one-storey houses that the axis of symmetry comprised a

long relatively broad corridor (e.g. house 4). The organisation of the interior is similar in the case of the two and three storey houses found in this area. In fact, the corridor may be relatively narrow and in some cases quite long running across the entire length of the structure in order to provide access to the rooms flanking it (e.g. houses 10, 31, 32, 44, 47). Interestingly, the symmetrical organisation of the interior was not restricted to the upper floors (*Figure 236*). The ground floor too was planned symmetrically and, unlike preceding periods and the examples we have examined up to now, was used for everyday activities and was often fully incorporated into the life of the household. Thus, the office of the merchant, or the local doctor and the everyday reception room would be found on ground floor level. Further towards the back of the house a kitchen may have been found, a bathroom and an internal staircase leading to the upper floor. In some houses the rooms were arranged symmetrically around a central big reception hall, instead of a corridor, reminiscent of rural villas of the Venetian period on the Ionian Islands and Crete, indicating proximity and close contact with the islands (*Figure 237*; Dimakopoulos 1977, Kalligas 1966, Zivas 1974). The ground floor with a similar plan provided ample space for storage, as well as a sizeable kitchen and everyday room.

While these developments did not necessarily reflect the local development of an individualistic and rational social consciousness, reflected in the symmetrical organisation and specialisation of the house interior, and comparable to the equivalent notions of 17th and 18th century Central and Western Europe, they clearly indicate a struggle of the local population to rise up to the standards of the urbanised life-style of the neighbouring commercial centres, architecture being the most readily available manifestation. These trends are often regarded as imitative of the prototypes seen elsewhere (Zivas 1974). It seems, though, that beyond imitation they reflected and served economic and social developments of late 19th and early 20th century rural Greece. The rising agricultural and commercial elite during the period of economic advance in the late 19th century, channelling local agricultural and manufacture produce into the Mediterranean and European markets, manifested its success with these Neoclassicising structures. The economic advance, though, proved to be temporary, leading to the collapse of the local economy based on peripheral commercial capitalism and simultaneously marked the end of Rural Neoclassicism in Pylos and throughout all the small coastal commercial towns of the 19th and early 20th century.

Before concluding it would be an omission not to mention the rock-cut structures along the two streams of the town (*Figure 238*). These consist of small chambers cut into the limestone and concealed by the dense vegetation at the walls of the ravine. The caves seem to have been inhabited at least since the

early 19th century after the destruction of the *varosi* and the walled town within the castle during the War of Independence (Baltas 1997: 13). They do not present any clearly datable features as to their original construction, but it may be assumed that they predate the 19th century, as the refugees seem to have returned to these caverns after the end of the Revolution (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000: 355).

Some further considerations

The majority of the rural settlements in Messenia seem to comply with the notions and tendencies mentioned above. Thus, the village Petritsi, formerly known by the name of the *çiftlik* owner Arnaoutali, presents many similarities in the settlement layout and the architectural characteristics with Kynigou. Iklaina and Platanos already known from the Late Byzantine/Frankish era did not present any interesting architectural features, due to the replacement of most structures with relatively modern houses as the result of a destructive earthquake in 1947 (Bon 1969, Hodgetts and Lock 1996: 82, Topping 1972). The former, though, should be the subject of a detailed survey, as substantial remains of the sizeable Frankish period castle are still visible at the southern edge of the village. The fortification wall stands up to 8 meters high now, incorporated in the yard wall of the church above. From an opening in the *enceinte* a series of chambers with Gothic vaults were noted (the lack of evidence for a mortared interior prevented us from regarding them as cisterns). Furthermore, towards the north eastern side of the village there was an Ottoman spring in relation to a complex of baths that was pulled down recently, indicating a considerable development during Ottoman times.

Coastal settlements seem to have been relatively rare, due to the general fear of piracy. Nevertheless, estates in the coastal plains did exist already from Frankish times at least at Romanou, north of Navarino bay, and Glyki, in the plain below Pyla already mentioned above. During Ottoman times many of these settlements seem to have been replaced by *çiftliks* at the edges of Navarino bay (Bennet, Davis, and Zarinebaf-Shahr 2000), in the plains west and north of Arkadiá/Kyparissia and the plain north of Messeni belonging to Androussa (Leake 1830: 73, 353 respectively). However, only the reports of the 19th century travellers provide us with information about the settlements, Leake noting that "the towers [of the *çiftliks*] in the Moréa are, in general, better constructed than those of Albania" and that they were entered over a draw-bridge reached by a high flight of steps (Leake 1830: 50). The village of Petrochori in the vicinity of Frankish Romanou, known as a hamlet with 18 inhabitants in 1700 (Panagiotopoulos 1985: 262), seems to have been totally reconstructed in Early Modern times, concealing its former Late Ottoman period organisation.

Beyond the rural settlements small coastal towns comparable to Pylos were developed in the 19th and early 20th century outside the old fortification walls at Methoni, Koroni and Arkadiá/Kyparissia. All three settlements were major fortified sites at least since Late Byzantine/Frankish times, subsequently continuously inhabited until today. Whereas all three were thriving towns throughout this long era, beside the well preserved fortifications, mosques, bathhouses and fountains (*Figure 239*), often providing a clear record of the repairs they underwent through time, only in Kyparissia is there some physical evidence surviving about the nature of the domestic architecture. Along the main approach-road towards the castle and keep a few terraced houses survive in derelict condition (*Figure 240*). These present clear characteristics of their 18th century date, founded on a one-storey high stone-built substructure supporting a light timber-framed construction hanging by means of *sahnisi* over the street, reminiscent of the town houses of Western and Northern Greece, described in detail previously. Similar structures have been noted in the case of the 19th century engraving of the castle and varosi of Koroni where the houses seem to have been even grander (*Figure 241*). Unfortunately, consecutive governments of newly found Greece already from the late 1820s had ordered the demolition of all Orientalising and Ottoman period constructions and their replacement by contemporary Westernised Neoclassical buildings (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001). Consequently, all three towns conform to the architectural developments presented in the case of Pylos, with varying degrees of elaboration according to the economic possibilities, their precise chronology and contacts providing the prototypes in each case.

Similar were the developments in Kalamata, the capital of the province. The Byzantine and Frankish castle crowning the city and a few chapels below seem to be the only remains of the Medieval era of Kalamata. Ottoman period domestic structures have not survived either, at least in their original form, but have been heavily modified throughout the 19th century. During the early modern period, domestic architecture followed a more formalised path, according to the unpublished study of the architect Theodorou. Thus, whereas the majority of Messenian towns follow a more rural interpretation of Neoclassicism, in Kalamata we may find pure examples built by early disciples of the trend in Greece. In fact she notes, that beside the Classicising buildings and their vernacular interpretations, Eclectic, Neogothic, Arabesque, Rustique and Art Noveau houses were constructed, representing the entire sequence of pre-World War II influences discernible in the large urban centres of Greece (Theodorou 1986). Thus, Kalamata rose out of the ashes of the War of Independence as an important centre for the entire southern Peloponnese, with a flourishing middle class of merchants and manufacturers involved in local, but mainly international, trade, as reflected in the structure

of the city (regular street plan) and the architectural choices of the inhabitants.

Conclusion

It would not be an exaggeration to suggest that the general trends and norms noted in the development of settlement and housing in both Messenia and Boiotia present clear similarities. The differences between the two provinces lie mainly in the date and degree of integration into wider social and economic developments, whether in the Frankish, Ottoman or Early Modern periods. It has been demonstrated that architectural changes, whether seen independently or in relation to other processes, reached most provinces irrespective of previously assumed geographical and economic isolation. Thus, the agricultural nature of the rural settlements until today as noted and examined in both regions, is characterised by an original core of longhouses, or *monospita*, often arranged in long parallel chains, revealing possible kin relations between the members of the aligned households. The economic and demographic expansion during the 16th century, despite not being detectable in the settlement organisation and domestic architecture, may be comparable to the mid-19th and early 20th century rural flourishing. The latter was mainly reflected in the original infill of the landscape with the habitation of deserted villages, the influx of population into already existing settlements and the creation of new hamlets covering the niches left open by migrant groups after the establishment of the Greek Kingdom. Consolidation of a number of settlements as agricultural and administrational centres established them as attractors of population during the late 19th century, causing the desertion of a large number of hamlets and smaller villages, often ravaged by bandit groups. The desertion of the villages Radhon and CN4/Sta Dendra in Boiotia and Douvraiika in Messenia after the 1890s, clearly demonstrate this trend. The still surviving rural settlements rapidly expanded during the 19th century usually around the new square (*plateia*) designed at the edge of the old village core.

Similar seems to have been the picture during the 16th century. Albanian tribes were already from the Late Frankish period invited to settle in areas of southern Greece and the Peloponnese ravaged by feudal warfare, a practice adopted by the Ottomans too, promoting the increase of cultivated land and consequently tax revenues. The Ottoman advantage was the creation of a vast stable empire ensuring security and low taxation, at least throughout the second half of the 15th and the first half of the 16th centuries. The so-called Pax Ottomanica provided, therefore, the background for the demographic and economic boom of the 16th century, otherwise known as the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire. Unfortunately, besides the settlement of

VM4/Palaiopanagia in Boiotia no other settlement has provided sufficient architectural information to supplement our glimpse into 16th century rural settlement organisation and lifestyle.

Architecturally, the 16th and 17th century rural settlements have provided us with little evidence. The architectural development of the 19th century, though, is better documented both in Boiotia and Messenia. It was marked by the construction of more 1½- and two-storey houses in the rural settlements, often adjacent to the older longhouses. The emphasis on the separation of the humans from the animals, by placing the former hierarchically above the latter, and the more elaborate division of the house interior indicate a dynamically changing society with clear tendencies towards individualism in full sway during the mid-20th century, marking the changeover from commercial to industrial capitalism in Greece. As far as the structural features of the houses are concerned, the 19th century presented a further change. The isolation of the embryonic Greek State from the rest of the Balkan Peninsula, which remained under Ottoman control, prevented the travelling building parties from Epeiros and Macedonia from assisting in the reconstruction programme initiated by the early governments. Instead, local builders, mainly from northeast Arkadia were given the opportunity to extend their building activity throughout the Peloponnese and often into Central Greece and Boiotia (*Figure 242*). The Langadianoi builders, as they are historically known, remained active until the early 20th century, when the introduction of new techniques and materials and economic conditions forced them to immigrate to the United States (Konstantinopoulos 1983: 94-96).

The database of recorded houses from Pylos too provided an interesting comparison to the case of Livadeia, despite being considerably smaller than the latter. The differential development of the two towns, chronologically and qualitatively, partly reflect the changing role of the two towns from Ottoman to Early Modern times, the degree of integration and adaptation to wider economic systems, external influences and social transformations. Thus, both were organised round the notion of the neighbourhood, or the Ottoman *machalas*, but whereas in Livadeia these were originally inward looking, in Pylos they were more open, both due to the later foundation of the town and the regular 19th century street plan. This is further supported by the choice of foci between the two. In 19th century Pylos the centre of social, commercial and

political activity is located centrally around the main square and the commercial street to the east. In contrast, Livadeia is organised around religious foci and the axes joining them together. The 19th century square to the north of the city did not develop as a central activity node until the early and mid 20th century, mainly due to the rapid expansion of the urban tissue towards the plain lying towards the north and east.

Domestic architecture too demonstrates different developments. Whereas examples of Ottoman period houses are scarce in Pylos, since throughout the 18th century the main settlement was confined within the fortification walls of the castle and has long been demolished, in Livadeia, despite the existence of a castle, the city had already from Middle Byzantine times expanded beyond the fortifications, allowing the survival of a more substantial number of Ottoman structures. An equivalent picture has only been provided in Kyparissia, which was unfortunately not included into the detailed architectural survey presented above. The fact that Livadeia was a major commercial and agricultural centre in Ottoman times may also account for the survival of more 18th century structures, Pylos being considerably smaller and more exposed to invasion and pirate attacks preventing its development. However, the expansion of the Early Modern town and the widespread adoption of Rural Neoclassicism in Pylos were noted to a lesser degree in Livadeia, where more rural vernacular forms dominate the city. Livadeia, located at the heart of Boiotia, was commercially inaccessible due to the deteriorating and insufficient road network throughout the entire 19th century. Coastal Pylos, though, became an important local node in the sea transport network that substituted for the deficient inland road system. The early incorporation of the town into the peripheral commercial capitalism of Early Modern Greece triggered the development of a middle class eager to expand its activities within Greece as well as abroad, and adapt to the accompanying changing lifestyles. Rural Neoclassicism was the appropriate symbol marking this change as well as the reorientation of the economy and mentality from the Orient to the West. Similar developments were introduced in Livadeia gradually from the late 1860s at the dawn of the short-lived cotton industrialisation. It did not spread, though, as rapidly and extensively as in Pylos, possibly due to the later integration of Livadeia into the wider commercial network of the Greek state.

Continuity and change

It has been established that house architecture has been central in Greece in the discussion of continuity of Classical and Roman traditions into the Middle Ages, usually in order to verify national and racial survival, often ignoring discontinuities in the archaeological record. As a matter of fact, the bridging of the two or three century long gap between the Late Roman and the Middle Byzantine period has not yet been archaeologically or historically achieved, even though many of the problems have been addressed repeatedly (Dunn 2001). Targeted detailed research into the period, often known as the Dark Ages, so as to reveal the archaeology itself, still needs to commence, before any hypotheses on continuities and changes may be proposed. At present we are familiar solely with the final stages of the so-called Antique world during the 6th and 7th centuries and the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish, end product of the little known formative period between the 8th and 10th centuries.

A similar gap in the archaeological data and vernacular architecture seems to exist in the era subsequent to the Late Byzantine/Frankish period. In this case, though, the cause is not the lack of identifiable data and the dissolution of the settlement life, possibly experienced during the Early Byzantine period, but the very few studies aiming at the analysis of the ample evidence littered throughout the Greek landscape. Thus, whereas the Byzantine and Frankish periods have recently attracted some attention, in the Early and Middle Ottoman times we seem to enter an archaeological *terra incognita*, only to gain some insights into the 18th and 19th centuries as part of the regeneration of the Greek *ethnos*. Fortunately, archaeological survey and archival research during the last two decades have begun to shed some light on the first centuries of Ottoman domination in the geographical region of modern Greece. Nevertheless, housing traditions are very little known throughout the particular period. The Boiotian evidence, though, has provided a glimpse into the domestic architecture of the Early and Middle Ottoman era (e.g. VM4/Palaiopanagia and Harmena).

Thus, having summarised and assessed all complete excavated and surveyed vernacular houses from the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish period, it was possible to discern two broad categories of houses, the one arranged along an axis (linear) and those around a courtyard. It has been claimed that these two general forms reflected different social groups with different economic functions, whether agricultural, manufacturing or commercial. These classifications are not watertight, but do present a possible hypothesis explaining the architectural diversity in association with the nature of the settlement, the location within it, the socio-economic structures and the archaeological and textual evidence at our disposal.

Whereas the majority of the Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish domestic structures mentioned were recovered in excavations within the context of urban or semi-urban settlements and castle sites, the evidence for housing in the subsequent Early and Middle Ottoman periods comes mainly from surface surveys, that primarily concentrate on the collection of ceramic remains in the countryside, the aim being to fill in the formerly empty hinterland of the urban centres and reconstruct the rural settlement organisation. Thus, the lack of archaeological evidence for an urban recovery during the Early Ottoman period comes in clear contrast to the rapid development of rural settlement as demonstrated by archaeological survey. This seems to be the result of selective study of standing and excavated structures within urban contexts, beside the renewal of structures due to periodical rebuilding, dramatically changing the urban centres especially after the mid 19th century, and destruction caused by warfare, urban fires and earthquakes. The task to establish continuities seems, therefore, almost impossible, since the differing methodologies and agendas do not provide for the collection of a dataset based on common principles to allow comparisons to be made.

However, the semi-agricultural nature of the urban centres from the Middle Ages until the late 19th century suggests that parallels may be drawn, since at the fringes of these towns the inhabitants were in most cases involved in agriculture (e.g. 19th and early 20th century longhouses in Livadeia and Pylos). Thus, while courtyard houses were mainly found near the commercial centres of the towns of Athens, Corinth and Sparta, houses with linear arrangements were found throughout the settlements from the 11th to the 15th centuries. The latter were either associated with manufacture or small-scale commercial activity in the heart of the towns or possibly with agriculture at the edges (Palaiochora near Maroneia, Oisymi, possibly Chalkis; Doukata-Demertzi 1992, Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990, Georgopoulou-

Meladini 1973-1974). Similar structures were excavated within the bounds of the fortified tower site at Boiotian Panakton, which was a Frankish estate settlement (Gerstel 1995). It may be assumed, therefore, that the slightly larger longhouses at VM4/Palaiopanagia in Boiotia may be comparable, guiding us well into the Early Ottoman period. The longhouse seems to be the most characteristic structure for rural settlements and at the fringes of urban centres and castles throughout the Medieval and Post-Medieval eras. Justifiably, it may be advocated that a hypothesis of continuity in rural vernacular architecture is plausible, leading us into the Ottoman and Early Modern periods in Boiotia (Central Greece) as well as in Messenia (South West Peloponnese) and throughout Greece, as has been shown in previous chapters.

These continuities, though, should not be regarded as suggestive of a national continuity too. Archival data of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period and the tax registers dating to the first years of the Ottoman conquest illustrate a very different picture. The Greek landscape was, in fact, filled in with tiny hamlets of Albanian settlers invited to cultivate a countryside devastated by warfare and plague (Topping 1972, 1975, Kiel 1987, 1997). In Attika these formerly semi-migratory groups located nearby pre-existing villages engaged in agriculture and soon adapted to the new life-ways (Kiel 1987, Bintliff 1995). The simple linear house arrangement sufficed for the needs of these small families, striving for self-subsistence, and seems indistinguishable from the structures of the neighbouring Greek farming villages. Thus, it may be argued that rural vernacular architecture did not reflect the ethnic differences of the inhabitants, but was mainly influenced by the *modes de vie* of the inhabitants in the wider social and economic context.

Despite this seemingly homogeneous picture of vernacular architecture in the medieval rural landscape, within larger towns and settlements architectural developments did take place indicating not only an economically thriving community of landowners and Constantinopolitan aristocrats, but also a world open to innovation and influences originating from the east and west. The most elaborate surviving example is Late Byzantine Mistra, demonstrating introduction of gothic and Venetian decorative and structural features into the architecture of the larger houses on the site. The economic penetration of the Venetians and the merchants of other major Italian city-states brought Late Byzantine society into close contact with the West. Travels to Italy were very common in these later stages of the Byzantine state and beside the economic resources from exports provided the architectural prototypes for the Byzantine elite. Thus, despite competition over domination in the Peloponnese between the Venetian colonies and the Byzantine Despots of Mistra, the close contact and exchange of ideas is clear in the organisation and architecture of Mistra, often reminiscent of Venetian forms (e.g. the palace of the Despots of Mistra and the Doge's Palace in Venice).

Whereas Medieval Mistra was influenced from the West, 17th and 18th century urban centres fully adopted architectural forms of the East developed within the bounds of the Ottoman Empire. The gradual introduction of the Ottoman economy into the periphery of the European market allowed the development of a class of merchants and manufacturers established in towns and urban centres throughout the Empire. This class of people adopted the already developed urban International Ottoman style and spread it throughout the Balkan Peninsula. These houses rather than the long reception hall of the later Middle Ages were based on the centralised arrangement of independent square rooms, or *onda*, along or around a semi-open or enclosed *hagiati*. Emulation of the Ottoman elite and *fashion*, in the way the sociologist Entwistle interprets the term as a means of the emerging proto-capitalist class "to challenge aristocratic power and status ... in an attempt to maintain status and distinction" (Entwistle 2000: 44), were the main notions following the dynamic spread and development of the Ottoman style in the Balkans from the 18th century onwards. This is further supported by the introduction of decorative designs and features, such as stained glass windows and elaborately carved wooden ceilings from Central Europe (e.g. Ambelakia, Diamantopoulou 1987, Moutsopoulos 1993), as well as pictorial themes derived from Greek Mythology reintroduced and revived within the context of the European and Early Modern Greek Enlightenment.

Whereas archaeological and architectural data from the 16th in urban settings are virtually non-existent, it may be assumed that similar developments had taken place. Archival data for a demographic and economic boom, the survival of monasteries built or renovated during that era and the recovery of the countryside clearly point towards equivalent architectural elaboration within the cities and towns of the period. Beside the lack of archaeological and architectural investigations aiming at the discovery of the era within the urban context, it should be noted that the perishable building materials, the frequent fires, as well as the changing architectural trends and fashions replaced by newer styles, have contributed to the limited survival of domestic forms dating to the Golden Age of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the notions of *fashion* and *emulation* were further developed throughout the later parts of the 19th century with the introduction of Neoclassicism, originally in the main urban centres of Greece and gradually in the towns and villages in the countryside. The reorientation from East to West, that is from the International Ottoman style to Neoclassicism, during the 19th century has already been explained within the context of the nation building practices initiated already before the official recognition of the Greek state by the temporary prime minister Kapodistrias (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001: 62, Sigalos 2001). These tendencies are to develop further with the adoption of Art Nouveau, Eclecticism and Modernism, in Athens, Thessaloniki and Patras, as well as in lesser urban centres such as Kalamata in Messenia (Theodorou 1986).

Furthermore, we have seen that the economic developments of the countryside and the influence of commercial capitalism started to affect it already from the 17th century onwards with the establishment of the large estate farms and settlements, also known as *çiftliks*, that still existed in the first decades of the 19th century in Southern Greece and until the early 20th century elsewhere in the Balkans. These *çiftliks*, very much like the earlier Frankish estates, were dominated by a tower house of the landowner, usually seasonally inhabited, and the low single-storey *monospita* of the peasants. Peasant vernacular architecture, though, does not seem to follow the changes initiated by the introduction of the Ottoman economy into the European economic periphery. These economic developments, mainly due to increasing demand in the European markets of the cheap raw materials produced in the Ottoman *çiftliks*, were not accompanied by agricultural innovation. In contrast, the Ottoman landowners struggled to increase production by raising the number of peasant labourers and increasing pressure upon them, causing a decline in the quality of life of peasant communities. Thus, despite the developments in urban architecture, rural architectural forms remained virtually unchanged from the Middle Byzantine to the Late Ottoman periods.

From the 19th century onwards, though, and with the abolishing of the *çiftlik* regime within the bounds of the Greek state, commercial capitalism caused a rapid channelling of wealth into the villages and rural settlements. The change was demonstrated by the increase in the height of the structures. Two and three storey houses build in the later 19th and early 20th centuries were found in all villages in Boiotia, Messenia and elsewhere in Greece, indicating the changes in the economic infrastructure. Moreover, internal differentiation and physical separation of activity zones within the houses in the context of the rural settlements also dates to this period, initially suggested by the transfer of the household animals to adjacent auxiliary structures, the separation of the formal reception room from the everyday room, and finally the introduction of the intermediate entrance hall and bedrooms further distancing the *saloni/sala* from the *cheimoniatiko*.

Another interesting aspect within the framework of architectural continuity and change is the chronological variation in the introduction of innovations and the differing ratios of types between different regions. Despite all architectural types being present for instance in both Boiotia and Messenia, it seems that the two storey houses were introduced slightly earlier in the villages of Messenia. This seems to be the case also with the spread of Neoclassicism within the urban and semi-urban settlements of both provinces. Thus, Pylos and Kalamata present a widespread and almost total adoption of Neoclassicism already from the last decades of the 19th century, while in Livadeia Neoclassical and Neoclassicising houses are mainly located along the main commercial axes of the town. These differences have been attributed to the differing dates of introduction of the two regions into the emerging economic system of the Greek state. Messenia being situated at the South West corner of the Peloponnese and surrounded by sea, was located on the main sea route between East and West allowing direct channelling of agricultural and manufacturing produce into the European markets. Boiotia, though, and its main urban distribution centres lay inland and were not until the construction of the main land route towards the north of Athens in the late 19th century fully integrated into the national economy. It was, therefore, only after these developments had taken place and the industrial exploitation of the locally produced cotton in Livadeia had taken off that architecture could follow the changes of noted in urban centres elsewhere in Greece.

Housing in Greece within a wider context

It has become clear that throughout the almost 11 centuries of housing traditions presented, there have been five approximately century long periods of demographic, economic, settlement and consequently, one would think, architectural development and expansion. These are clearly associated with extensive church and monastery construction and renovation, as shown in the case of Messenia, as well as expansion of rural settlement and population size. In the urban centres the development of characteristic domestic architecture has been noted, following the contemporary stylistic trends and influences. The courtyard house of the Middle Byzantine period, the rectangular house with the large reception hall in the mid 13th to mid-14th centuries, the 16th century urban architecture remains still obscure, the Ottoman style tower house with the *ondades* around an interior *hagiati* in the 18th century and the Neoclassical or Neoclassicising houses of the mid 19th and early 20th centuries, may be regarded as characteristic of their respective eras.

Furthermore, it has been possible to identify to a certain extent social classes within the urban centres. The houses of the middle class of merchants of the 12th century were mainly located in proximity to the market areas close to the centre of the urban centres, with the manufacturers, labourers and small-scale farming communities at the fringes of the cities. The *archontes*, or landed elite, also seem to have preferred to built their houses at the heart of the Medieval towns, either within the inner citadel and keep or in the immediate surroundings. Similar was the situation during the Late

Byzantine/Frankish period. The same principles were followed in Ottoman times, the difference, though, being mainly of religious nature, resulting in the creation of *machalades*, or neighbourhoods, of Muslims, Christians or Jews. However, these *machalades* were internally organised according to social status and prestige, and were located within the urban tissue according to the predominant occupations and the wealth of their inhabitants.

Within the villages and the rural settlements the situation was markedly different. Similar architectural differentiation and change through time has not been noted, whether in the studies presented or from the data collected in the field. In fact, the predominance and persistence of the longhouse presents us with a curious homogeneity in rural architectural form on the mainland through space and time. The notable demographic, settlement and economic expansion of the Middle Byzantine period, the mid-13th to mid-14th centuries, the Early and Late Ottoman times, is reflected in the aforementioned church and monastery construction and renovation and in the material culture. Especially the ceramics retrieved from archaeological survey, in the case of Boiotia represented by the abundance of fine ceramics, imports from Italy and Anatolia (present day Turkey) and elaborate local imitations (Vroom 1998), demonstrate that the peasant communities were in close contact with the outside world and could afford the slightly more expensive fine ceramics at least throughout the periods of economic flourishing. Domestic architecture, however, seems to have remained unchanged. The peasants show a consistent preference for the multifunctional and in most cases undivided longhouse.

During the 15th and 16th centuries, for instance, growth elsewhere in Western Europe, and in England in particular, led to the emergence of the so-called 'middling sort of people' within peasant communities. This middling group of wealthy peasants or yeoman farmers may be regarded as the key to understanding the British Age of transition towards a capitalist agricultural system. It was the creation of larger and more efficient units of production from the fragmented village owned plots of land by lesser gentry and wealthy peasants, in association with a general demographic growth, that allowed for the middling class to develop. As noted by the British historian Christopher Dyer the precondition of the emergence of this market based capitalist agricultural system was the commercial growth and the extension of trading networks, the increase in monetary flow, the direct involvement of peasants in small-scale trade and their part-time participation as labourers in rural industries during the 13th century (Dyer 1997). The development of a market economy, consequently, required to be sustained by an efficient surplus agriculture supplying the ever-growing demand especially in urban centres. Increasing demand allowed the accumulation of some wealth to peasants that managed to trade their surplus

production. In turn, the accumulated wealth was invested in fixed assets, such as land, to further increase surplus, and houses. This process, though, had its drawbacks affecting the rural communities and leading to displacement of peasants and enclosure of large estates expelling the previous small-scale farming communities. The peasantry moved to impoverished estate farming settlements in the countryside or to urban centres as industrial workers. Nevertheless, the rise of this middling sort of people, comprising wealthy peasants and lesser gentry, allowed the development of a new social group between the peasants and the landed elite and represented by the numerous 15th and 16th century larger vernacular houses in the British countryside.

The 17th century allowed for a further growth of the middling rural classes that gradually through their wealth became more distinct from the peasants and architecturally, as Matthew Johnson has argued, is represented by more elaborate structures, termed 'supra-vernacular', between the elite and middling levels of preceding eras (Johnson 1997). This relatively linear development of transformation of small agricultural plots into large estates led gradually to the 18th and 19th century 'agricultural revolution', when the capitalist organisation of agriculture is fully embedded into a general capitalist infrastructure in economic, commercial and industrial terms (Dyer 1997: 2). Similar was the case in Flanders, where an even earlier development of capitalist agriculture has been noted, the pattern only to be closely followed in succeeding centuries in France, the Iberian Peninsula and Northern Italy (Le Roy Ladurie and Goy 1982).

Back in the case of Greece, the 11th to 13th centuries were marked by economic and demographic growth both in rural and urban contexts. Phenomena, such as the emergence of *archontes* and *dynasts* within the Middle Byzantine towns, guarding the interests of their cities against the central imperial administration and the uprising of the *zealots* in Thessaloniki, suggest a strong development of a middle class in urban centres with major trading and manufacturing interests and capabilities. Similarly, farmers and agricultural and manufacturing labourers lived at the fringes of urban centres, as I have already shown elsewhere. The expropriation of small land holdings by the wealthy was also part of the rural realities already from the 10th century. Nevertheless, all these features did not lead to the development of agricultural capitalism. It seems that warfare during the succeeding 14th and 15th centuries between feudal states and general instability did not allow for such developments to commence, even though similar conditions pulled back capitalist development elsewhere in Europe too (Le Roy Ladurie and Goy 1982). However it seems that the large landowners were more interested in extracting rents and services from their tenants in a feudal manner, rather than producing tradable surplus and capital for further investment.

The situation was comparable during the 15th and 16th centuries. Tax registers paint a picture of rapid demographic growth as result of an unprecedented economic recovery of both urban and rural population (Kiel 1987, Kiel 1990, Kiel 1997, Kiel 1998). The construction of monasteries during this era reached a climax, which can only be explained if we allow for community donations. The urban centres grew two and threefold and provided ample opportunity for the development of a market economy. However, the first large estates, directed towards the creation of surplus, or *çiftliks*, emerged in the 17th century and were directly related to the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire in the economic periphery of the North West European core. The development of estate farming in the Ottoman context has been shown to be related to the breakdown of the 16th century political and socio-economic structure of the Empire (Inalcik 1984). The *çiftlik* system aimed at the provision of cheap raw material for the manufactures and industries of the West and its fortune was therefore directly linked to the success or failure of the latter. Furthermore, the owners of these estates were local elites, that did not invest in the improvement of their holdings or their estate labourers to increase productivity. Instead when additional produce was required, they seem to have increased the number of labourers and extended their land, by expropriating neighbouring holdings.

It seems that a similar organisation of agro-economy developed in Scotland, which in one sense was part of the European economic periphery too. The deserted settlements at Glenochar, in Southern Scotland, and at Airigh Mhiullin on South Uist, the Outer Hebrides, have provided evidence of one-storey long house sheltering both humans and animals within a virtually undivided space (Symonds 2001, Ward 1998). A two-storey fortified farmhouse, also known as *bastle* in South Scotland and North England, dominated these peasant structures, demonstrating a clear parallel to the *çiftlik* estates of Middle and Late Ottoman Greece. The urge of the estate owners to increase productivity and to find new economic basis during the 19th century to maintain their holdings has been demonstrated in the case of Airigh Mhiullin by the ash from burnt seaweed necessary for the manufacture of glass, suggesting a shift towards new industries to ensure survival of the peasant community (Symonds 2001). Similar changes in production and manufacture have been noted in the context of the Ottoman *çiftliks*, whose owners encouraged or enforced the production of solely marketable goods. Desertion of these settlements seems to have been enforced by the landowners during the mid 19th century as result of overcrowding, the population being deported to Canada in the case of South Uist and Airigh Mhiullin, in particular. It is therefore not surprising that the 19th century revolutions in the Balkans and the development of nationalism in Scotland under in the light of European Enlightenment have often been regarded as comparable, being based

on the reaction to oppression of the peasants by landowning local elite (Kitromilides 1994).

Furthermore, according to current historical and archaeological evidence in Greece, it seems that the lack of investment in agriculture and the limited interest of the central government both in Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman times to develop local manufacture of goods, that would extend beyond the needs of the administration, were the main causes of the cyclical developments throughout the periods in question (*see further* on rise and fall of agro-economy Le Roy Ladurie and Goy 1982). Peripheralisation of the economy commenced with the increasing number of *chrysobuls* issued by the Byzantine Emperors, providing trading privileges to the Venetians and the other Italian city-states during the Middle Byzantine period, or in Ottoman times the *capitulations*, or privileges, to European traders and states, giving out shares of local and international trade of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires.

In this environment of 'second serfdom' in Late Ottoman times a number of pockets, especially small relatively isolated towns, throughout the Balkans developed a proto-industrial manufacturing activity, producing mainly dyed textiles, carpets, furs, and high decorative metalwork. It was in these centres that the first steps of a type of middling class developed during the 18th century, supplying the Mediterranean and Central Europe with their products. Within these centres elaborate architectural forms emerged emulating Ottoman elite forms and allowing the spread of the Ottoman International Style throughout the Late Ottoman Greek countryside. Nevertheless, these embryonic capitalist organisations especially those manufacturing textiles were doomed, due to the introduction of steam in British textile industries in the early 19th century, the slow investment and modernisation, and the lack of state support.

The real change in vernacular architecture in the Greek countryside emerges with the establishment of the modern Greek State in the 1830s. Despite the long term problems of the redistribution of the public lands to landless peasants and the lack of financial resources and administrative infrastructure, the conscious reorientation towards the West and the opening up of the economy to capitalistic infrastructures allowed a rapid development of the rural settlements and the adoption of new vernacular forms. The simple two storey houses replacing the longhouses, which are in turn converted into stores or stables, and the increasing need to separate activity areas, clearly demonstrate these developments.

This does not mean that the Modern Greek State created its own niche in the core of northern European capitalist states. In contrast, it remained in the European economic periphery, gaining profits through commercial capitalism. This is evident from a series of expansions and collapses throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. The repeated migration waves already from the late 19th century initially to the United States and

later to Australia, Germany and Europe, are indicative of these economic bubbles that were not sustainable by the Greek economic infrastructure. Nevertheless, the results of these expansions can be clearly traced in architectural terms throughout the 19th and 20th centuries with the first stages of rebuilding in the 1860s seen in Messenia, at the turn of the century with Neoclassicism in Livadeia, and in the 1920s the Eclectic wave in urban centres such as Kalamata.

Towards a sense of home?

It has already been noted that anthropological and archival work on Greek housing traditions have demonstrated that the house as a structure does not feature as a major economic asset of the family until at least the early 19th century, even within centres such as Athens (Sant Cassia and Bada 1992: 34). It has been suggested that this lack of importance of the house may have contributed to the limited survival of pre 18th century structures in rural and even in urban settings. Older houses seem to have been replaced frequently by new structures, covering contemporary needs of every age without any hesitation. The house in Greece, therefore, does not seem to bear the same importance as a familial reference point as seems to be the case elsewhere. It was constructed and used so as to satisfy the needs of the nuclear family, however basic or complex these may have been.

The undeveloped interior of the house especially in the rural areas seems to further support this hypothesis. "In Greek anonymous architecture, the people create and shape outdoor 'places', not buildings; since their sense of place does not involve interior spaces" (Thakurdesai 1972). The yard and the semi-public spaces, i.e. the adjacent street, played a more important for the organisation of the household activities as well as the social interactions (Photiadis 1987, Beopoulou 1992: 196-197, Vionis 2001). The house interior, and the *cheimoniatiko* in particular, was only used during the winter months always in association, though, with the semi-open space of the *hagiati*. The *sala* or *saloni*, whenever available, was even more scarcely used. Being reserved for special celebrations and formal reception, it remained more or less disused throughout the year, isolated from the rest of the structure. The more elaborate multi-storey houses, mainly found in the northern regions of Greece, conforming to the International Ottoman Style also follow these general principles, isolating the reception rooms of the second floor from the more frequently used *cheimoniatiko* on the *mesopatoma* (middle or first floor) during the winter months. Here too the majority of the household activities are arranged around the walled yard or along the *hagiati*, in the more densely built conditions of the urban centres.

The house seems to become more integrated into the family life and tradition at the dawn of proto-industrialisation in geographical pockets, especially in Northern Greece. In the case of Ambelakia, where a flourishing cooperative of purple dye and cotton manufacturers developed in the 18th and 19th centuries, large mansions still survive bearing the names of their original owners. Such was the connection of the domestic space with the family lineage that, despite the often derelict condition of many, due to outward migration of the population and consequent abandonment, the descendants have recently made huge efforts to restore and preserve them as part of their family heritage. Nevertheless, the development of an urban class of merchants and industrialists followed by the widespread introduction of Neoclassicism after the establishment of the independent Greek State did not radically change the attitudes towards the house. Whereas the majority of the urban centres, especially in Southern Greece, were dominated by Neoclassical houses, mansions and public buildings until the 1930s, the weak link between family and house, the temporality of fashion and the urban explosion following World War II had as a result the demolition of the majority of both Ottoman and Neoclassical examples once again in favour of modernity. Current attempts towards the rescue of the so-called Traditional Architecture, encompassing rural, Ottoman and Neoclassical forms seems to be orientated towards preserving historic façades, yet deprived of the link between house and family and relying mainly on new uses by public and private institutions.

Thus, it is not surprising that the distinction between house and home, however vague and ambiguous it may be both in anthropological and archaeological terms (Rapoport 1995), cannot be translated in one word in modern Greek. Contrary to Medieval Greek, where the term *oikos* may have referred to both the structure and the family lineage, at least in an aristocratic context (Inoue 1989, Magdalino 1984), the modern Greek *spiti*, deriving through Medieval Greek from the Latin *hospitium*, does not characterise more than the actual physical structure. Thus, it seems that the notion of "home" is not necessarily applicable for the understanding of the Greek *spiti*, which is more a shelter, a boundary and often a symbol of wealth and fashion for the Greek *oikogeneia*, or family.

10   CONCLUDING NOTE AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

I have attempted in this study to examine the Medieval and Post-Medieval Greek house as a container of material culture, and of functional and social activity, within the context of a changing socio-economic environment. In the first three introductory chapters I have briefly reviewed a series of previous vernacular studies mainly from the Late Ottoman and early Modern eras, covering a relatively broad methodological spectrum, and presented concisely socio-economic developments during Ottoman and Early Modern times. I then provided an in-depth assessment of the methodologies and objectives of the authors in relation to contemporary developments and preconceptions. Most importantly, however, it became possible to attempt a quantitative and qualitative reinterpretation of the data provided by the previous studies in relation to the socio-economic changes briefly summarised.

Five different levels of interpretation were chosen, that when interrelated provided a more complete picture of the processes that affected the housing patterns in Greece during the Middle and Late Ottoman, as well as the Early Modern eras. Chronological distributions and different settlement patterns were discussed in association with the general domestic types and internal arrangements. The stylistic considerations within the rural and urban context provided a further narrative closely related to social identities, fashions and nation-building processes. The houses were set into a dynamic chronological, settlement and social environment. Within this context the domestic structures were reclassified according to the use of space within them and their immediate surroundings. The latter, or the immediate exterior of the house, seems to have played a crucial role in the organisation and actual social function of the house. It seems in fact that especially in littoral areas the exterior was far more specialised than the multi-functional interior, verifying an early observation that "the house is the place where the Greeks did not go" (Hooper 1968).

The lack of adequate evidence for the preceding Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish periods was thus supplemented by an elaborate discussion of the better surviving and more abundant Late Ottoman and Early Modern structures. The two-dimensional excavation plans seem to have been brought into life through links drawn between the Medieval and Post-Medieval periods. Thus, the deterioration of the Late Roman reality in Early Byzantine times, illustrated by the scant data collected from around the Mediterranean, clearly points towards a new era that seems more related to its 'gloomy' future than to its 'glorious' past. The comparative abundance of Middle and Late Byzantine/Frankish architectural remains is only supplemented by historical sources and links to the later periods, rather than the actual material culture. However, depth analysis and application of visual fields have proved useful tools in the understanding of the house plans. Settlement organisation, the arrangement of rooms, indirect textual sources and parallels between excavation results have offered some insights into the use of space, the notion of privacy in Medieval times, gender relations, social organisation and external stylistic influences.

Moving from the analysis of evidence from published source material, the primary data collected through ceramic, topographic and architectural survey from Boiotia have filled in some gaps in the hypotheses made previously. The data, stretching from the Late Byzantine to the Early Modern periods, provide a chronological bridge between the Medieval and Late Ottoman eras. However, evidence is still relatively thin and further investigation into the Early and Middle Ottoman periods is required to strengthen the current hypotheses. Nevertheless, it has been possible to narrate the architectural history of a number of settlement groups and the town of Livadeia in relation to socio-historical processes.

Within their settlement context the houses demonstrate particular patterns of organisation, which are closely related to the nature of the settlement and its function. Thus, the longhouses numerically dominate the rural settlements and from the mid 17th century onwards seem to be arranged in rows, possibly after being forcibly converted into *çiftliks*. The result is a settlement with series of parallel rows of houses, developed over generations of continuous building along the directions set by the first inhabitants. The majority of architectural changes are noted in the structures of the landowners, whose houses often dominated the rural settlements. Whereas their purpose does not seem to have changed, retaining primarily a storage nature, stylistically the robust Frankish towers differ from the Ottoman style tower houses dominating *çiftliks*. Other two-storey and multi-storey houses were

rare within rural settlements before the 1880s. Their development is in direct association with the economic advancements in the region during the late 19th and mainly the early 20th centuries. Social distinction and increasing wealth coming from commercial agricultural production caused the urge for the people to move from the humble earth to a higher storey, demonstrating their social difference and advancement within the village community. External decoration roughly imitating Neoclassical prototypes with fine cut masonry is a characteristic of the era in rural Boiotia. The development of the *sala* as a separate room exclusively used for formal reception and social exhibition may be the ultimate sign of the most radical changes in the perception of domestic space since Early Medieval times.

Similar trends have been noted in the case of Messenia too. Here too the longhouse is the predominant pre-industrial and pre-capitalist domestic form. However, more attention has been paid to the masonry from at least Late Ottoman times, possibly in relation to more wealth being channelled into the countryside, the fertility of the land and the higher yields, as well as the closer contacts with the developments in the West. Furthermore, the first signs of the 19th century change come at least two decades earlier than in Boiotia. The early development of trade along the sea routs finds Messenia more directed towards the sea than Boiotia, allowing an early introduction of the province into the network of commercial capitalism developed after the establishment of the Modern Greek State.

Within the urban centres the situation is different in both provinces. Whereas we cannot refer to an urban middle class during the Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman times, there seems to be a three-partite social division within the towns. Beside the majority of labourers, small-scale manufacturers and peasants living mainly on longhouses and hovels at the fringes of the cities, and the administrative elite and the large landowners, a group of wealthy merchants and manufacturers existed floating somewhere between the two extremes. Their power was never officially recognised until the 19th century, but their influence often surpassed that of the landowners and the administrative elite (cf. Giannakis Logothetis in Livadeia and Oikonomopoulos in Pylos). Ottoman elite houses have not been firmly recognised within the context of any of the towns we have been examining, even though travellers and records refer to them. The majority of the structures within towns seem to have belonged to the trading and manufacturing groups. They are two or three-storied with semi-open *hagiatia* and surrounded by sizeable gardens, in accordance to the Ottoman Architectural Style. Along the commercial roads, tightly packed houses were the norm, their ground floor reserved for commercial purposes and the upper domestic area jetting over the streets to maximise visibility and space.

The wide spread of the aforementioned Ottoman style in Greece seems to be the result of development of the particular social group emulating the architectural forms adopted by the Ottoman elite. Despite close contacts with the West and the early stages of Neoclassicism, these commercially orientated groups were housed in Ottoman style houses until the early 19th century. Modern architecture critics have often blamed the lack of skilled builders, masons and architects for the late spread of formal Neoclassicism throughout Greece, but it should be noted that European styles were not regarded as allowing the social distinction sought within the local communities achieved by the Ottoman style tower houses of the preceding periods, which were more familiar to the majority of the population.

The introduction of Neoclassicism, described elsewhere as violent, with the establishment of the Greek state, was followed by a complete introduction of the Greek economy and production into the periphery of the European economic sphere. Nevertheless, it was not until the late 19th century that the Greek realities were firmly reoriented from East to West. The widespread acceptance of Neoclassicism and the development of a rural local interpretation, indicates the success of the West over the East and the eventual adoption of European symbols and signs for the expression of social identity and individuality within the new capitalist economic reality. The sea routes allowed Messenia to develop these symbols and signs with a slight advantage to Boiotia, as hellenisation reached Greece from abroad, whether by the romanticising views of Classical Greece held by the European intelligencia or by the need of the up-coming merchant classes to relate at least visually with the Classical past and the future with the classicising West. Colours and forms were introduced to that purpose often disguising the otherwise Ottoman style structures. The external austerity and interior lavishness of the Ottoman style was rapid replaced by the smooth stuccoed surfaces and lighter designs of Neoclassicism, reflecting an almost enforced maturing of the ideals of the Greek society. The sweeping nature of Neoclassicism as a symbol of social success, but mainly as part of a broader nation-building practice providing a legitimate link between the ruins of the Classical past and the present reality, left only a few towns unaffected. Greece had to become part of the West again and images of 19th and early 20th century Greek towns had and do successfully manage to propagate that reorientation of ideals.

Throughout the preceding discussion, I have been drawing upon medium-term processes over a large geographical region. The multiplicity and variety of the houses in the Greek context has often been noted, but possibly did not receive the attention they deserve. As I stated in the introduction, this was a deliberate choice aiming at the establishment of housing and vernacular architecture studies as a viable sub-discipline of archaeology in the Greek Medieval and Post-Medieval context. It was my wish to challenge existing authorities within the fields of Greek archaeology, architecture and history and to allow for a broad multi-disciplinary discussion to commence.

The generalisations made have been the result of copious efforts to reduce the irregularities to the minimum, while allowing for the data to 'speak for themselves'. Since a holistic approach was not adopted, many possibilities have been opened up for further research, whether based on the data and results of this study or evidence collected with more targeted and elaborate methodologies. Some of the possibilities, such as privacy, identity, gender relations, the rise of capitalism and individuality, and nation-building processes, have already been referred to in the preceding chapters, but are far from exhausted. These new fields in housing studies in Greece deserve special attention. Studies targeted to particular aspects of the house form, organisation and decoration, revealing regional diversities in the perception of the domestic space need to be taken up, furthering interpretations beyond environmental, structural and economic considerations. It is hoped that these advanced studies will assist in revealing and interpreting some of the secrets hidden in the spirals of the domestic *shell* in Medieval and Post-Medieval Greece, an initial attempt having been presented in the preceding study.

GLOSSARY

A

aderfomoiri (plural aderfomoiria): House or property divided between the heirs of the original single owner. In some instances it may refer to an identical domestic structure built as a continuation of the original to house the second child of the family.

anogi (or anoi): The upper floor of a house.

anogokatogo: A house comprising of an upper and lower storey, a two-storey house.

apokrevatos: The area below the *sofas* in Aegean houses used for storage or as a kitchen and divided by the rest of the room by an often elaborately decorated wall, the *boulme*.

archon (plural archontes): Member of provincial aristocracy in Middle and Late Byzantine times. The term survived throughout the Ottoman period in many regions in Greece.

archontiko: Larger houses, and urban or rural mansions.

armaria (or toicharmaria): Niches in the walls that may have been used as cupboards and wardrobes, or for basins, fireplaces and domestic shrines.

Arvanites: Albanian populations that settled in Greece throughout the Middle Byzantine, Frankish and Ottoman periods.

Asiatic Mode of Production: A strong state established over a largely rural economy. The bureaucracy in the seat of central authority is the class that receives the entire surplus in the form of taxes. Peasantry in villages is largely isolated from the market, cultivating lands belonging to the state.

auli: Yard.

avariz: Ottoman poll tax

ayan: Local agents, landowners and men of wealth that collected the income and state revenue during the Ottoman period, especially after the 17th century.

B

bakalika: small neighbourhood shops and grocers.

baoulo (plural baoula): trousseau trunk.

basi: large broad bench.

bastle: Fortified farmhouse in South Scotland and North England.

berats: Patents issued to West European ambassadors and consuls by the Ottoman administration that allowed them to administer commercial, personal and legal affairs of the religious community they represented.

bey: Ottoman landlord

bothros, koprodocheio or limni: Sewage in Byzantine and Frankish times.

boulme: Elaborately decorated wall separating the *apokrevatos* from the main room in Aegean houses.

C

capitulations: Agreements signed by Ottoman authorities that gave Europeans privileges and tax exemptions for exports and imports.

celali: Bandit groups ravaging the countryside during the 17th century.

chamogea: One storey houses.

cheimoniatiko or cheimoniatikos: Everyday room usually used during the winter months. Derives from the noun *cheimonas* that mean winter in Greek.

chotzares (or kalokairino): Room reserved for formal reception. The former term is mainly used in Epeiros, whereas the latter has been noted throughout Greece.

chrysobuls: Offocial documents often granting priviledges bearing the golden seal of the Byzantine Emperors.

çift: Land allocated to a household.

çiftlik: Land allocated to a household initially, but by the late 17th and 18th century the term described large estates and tax-farms belonging to landowning local elite. In many cases they incorporated entire villages, the population of which would be working at the estate.

cubiculum (latin word; kouvouklion greek corruption): Room flanking the reception room, or *triklino*, in Late Roman and Byzantine/Frankish times.

D

dam: Hut in the Pomak regions.

devsirme: The levy of youths to be trained for Ottoman posts.

diabatikon (also parodos, dimosia kamara): Tunnel-like streets underneath vaults supporting room extensions of the houses that flank them.

diliakos: An internal gallery overlooking the ground floor of an *archontiko* (local version of *iliakos* in Siatista).

dipato: In Byzantine times the term refered to two storey houses (also *anogeokatoga, anogokatoga, anogea katogea*). However, in Ottoman times it was a screened off space above cupboards, or *mousandres*, used by women in the presence of men not belonging to the household (throughout Northern Greece at least). Also known as *gynaikonytis*.

diplo (plural dopla): Double house, i.e. two identical attached structures belonging to the families of the offsprings of the original owner.

divani: Bed for guests, usually in the *sala*, that is also used as a sofa.

divetiko: Double house, i.e. two identical attached structures belonging to the families of the offsprings of the original owner (term mainly used in Aitoloakarnania; elsewhere also known as *diplo*).

doma: Flat roofed structure built against the facade of a house, its roof being used as a veranda (mainly found on the Aegean islands).

domatiron: Floor made of mortar with ceramic or stone inclusions (Middle and Late Byzantine term).

dromika: Rectangular houses with linear arrangement of rooms (Middle and Late Byzantine).

dynast: Ruler of cities from the 12th century until the end of the Late Byzantine/Frankish period, drawn from the body of the *archontes*.

E

ego: I.

embadon (or embati): Small entrance hall.

emeis: Us.

embati. See embadon.

estia: Fireplace.

ethnos: Nation.

exedra (or oikiskos): Small cubilcle used as a toilet found in the houses of Mistra.

exostis: A roofed semi-open wooden construction along the entrance facade, comprising a staircase leading to the entrance and providing shelter to it (also *iliakos, exopetaston, tavloton, tavloma, tavlaton, sanidoton, solarion, kremaston*).

F

feggitis (plural feggites): Fanlight.

firchania: Term deriving from the German word *Vorhänge* meaning curtain and introduced in areas with commercial contact with Austria and Germany such as Siatista in the 18th century.

firmans: Laws issued by the Ottoman Sultan.

fysi: Nature.

G

galario: Ewe. The two-storey part of the 1½-storey house, especially in Aitolia.

geitonia: Neighbourhood.

gioukos: Pile with beddings.

gonaio: Fireplace.

gonia: Fireplace.

gynaecium. See dipato

gynaikonytis. See dipato.

H

hagiati (plural hagiatia): Derives from the Persian word hayat, and refers to the roofed, semi-open and usually wooden gallery-like construction along the facade of a house providing a sheltered space in front of the house entrance. In more advance Ottoman architectural forms its meaning has been extended to comprise all intermediate accessing spaces between the autonomous rooms.

hamam: Ottoman bath house.

haremlik. See dipato.

hospitium: Hospice, inn.

I

iconostasi: Icon stand.

idjmal: A synoptic Ottoman tax register mentioning village name, total number of households and the tax revenue only.

iliakos (plural iliakoi): In Mistra it is a narrow stone balcony supported by small decorative arches. In some instances it may be a roofed semi-open wooden construction along the entrance facade, comprising a staircase leading to the entrance and providing shelter to it (also *exostis, exopetaston, tavloton, tavloma, tavlaton, sanidoton,*

solarion, kremaston). An internal gallery overlooking the ground floor of an *archontiko* (in Ottoman times).

Isnafi (plural isnafia, deriving from Trukish word esnaf or isnaf): Labour cooperative.

J

Janissaries: Ottoman elite miliraty forces.

K

kafeneion: Coffeeshop.

kalamoti: Wall constructed by means of a woven reed framework and covered with a mixture of mud, dung and straw, and plastered over.

kalderimi: Narrow cobbled path.

kalokairino: Room or top floor reserved for formal reception.

kalyvi (plural kalyvia): Small seasonally occupied houses.

kamara (plural kamares): Vault.

kamari: A tiny room at the extension of the entrance hall, or the *embadon/embati.*

kanalos: A channel dug along the back of the house, directing the rainwater away from the structure and into the yard

Kanun: Ottoman state laws were issued by the Sultan.

kastro (plural kastra): Castle or fortified settlement.

katapakti, 273

katharevousa: An artificial language combining ancient and modern Greek linguistic forms.

katoi: The ground floor of a house, which in *archontika* may often comprise an internal yard flanked by storage spaces and the cellar.

katoikia (plural katoikies): A farmhouses built in the countryside and used for storage and habitation during the agricultural period.

kaza: Ottoman administrative unit.

kebe: Thin felt.

kefalochori: A powerful regional settlement with its own local administrators.

kisterna: Cistern.

koinotita: The smallest administrative unit in the modern Greek state.

kolimba: Room for everyday activities in the Pomak house.

konak: Tower often belonging to an Ottoman period *bey.*

kosta: Pomak term for house.

kouchni: Term deriving from the German word *küche* meaning kitchen and introduced in areas with commercial contacts with Austria and Germany such as Siatista in the 18th century.

koukoulospito (plural koukoulospita): houses with specially constructed rooms for rearing silkworms and household production of silk.

koula (or kula): Ottoman period tower type or tower-house.

krevata (plural krevates): The sleeping area being at the far end of the room with built beds in Aegean houses. In Ottoman Style houses the *krevata* is a converted sitting area taking up part of the *hagiati.*

L

laïka: Non-elite houses.

levend: Independent mercenary groups with handguns.

liakoto. See iliakos and hagiati.

lychnari: Oil lamp.

M

machalas (plural machalades): Neighbourhood.

maeireios: The winter kitchen.

makrynari (plural makrynaria): Longhouse or continuous line of longhouses.

malikane: Deserted agricultural land, that, under certain circumstances, becomes available for exploitation to local nobility that is eager to extend their property.

medre: Ottoman unit for measurement of wine.

megaron: Rectangular house with entrance and porch on one of the lesser sides found in Prehistoric and Classical Greece.

menderia: Broad benches .

mesopatoma (or metzopatoma): Middle floor of an Ottoman Style house, where most daily activities took place and was the main living space of the household during the winter months.

metochi (plural metochia): Estates with associated settlements that belonged to and were exploited by churches and monasteries to supplementing their income.

millet: Religious community.

miri: Land owned by the state, or plot of land.

monospito: Single-unit one-storey house.

mosaïko: Finely polished coloured concrete with larger colourful stones (Early Modern and possibly comparable to Byzantine *domatiron*).

mousandra (also mousandara; plural mousandres): Wooden built-in cupboards.

mufassal: Detailed Ottoman tax register containing every name.

mukata'a: Deserted agricultural land, that, under certain circumstances, becomes available for exploitation to local nobility that is eager to extend their property. Tax farming leases.

O

oikiskos. See exedra.

oikodomitoi: Built domestic sanitation facilities.

oikogeneia: Family, usually nuclear but also extended.

oikos: House.

ondagie (see kolimba): Room for everyday activities in the Pomak house.

ondas (also ondar; plural ondades): Turkish word for room. They are usually almost rectangular.

  bas-ondas: Guest room.

  kafe-ondas: Coffee room.

  kalos ondas: Reception room.

  mousafir ondas: Guest room.

oruktoi or limnes: Dug domestic anitation facilities.

P

paidomazoma see devsirme

palat: Formal room reserved for reception in the Pomak house.

patitiri (or patitirio): Wine press.

paton: Floor laid with wooden planks.

periaulon (or periaulion): Yard surrounding house.

pezoula: High plastered mud-brick bench in houses of Messenia.

pithoi: Large ceramic or mortar-built storage jars/containers.

plakes: Roof stone slabs.

plateia: Village or settlement square.

Pomak: Muslim communities speaking a language that is based on Turkish, with Bulgarian and Greek admixtures, and living in villages on the mountains of the Rodopi range in Northern Thrace.

proaulon: Yard in front of a house.

pronoiai: Privileges in Middle and Late Byzantine times.

proskynitarion: Niche in the wall used as icon stand.

Dimosia Ktimata: Previously Turkish owned lands that were transferred to the new Modern Greek state after Independence. These public lands were used as guarantee for the issue of loans from Great Britain, France and Russia.

pyrgos: Tower.

pyrgospito: Tower house.

R

raki: Alcoholic drink.

re'aya: peasantry and non-Muslim tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

rouga or souda: The lower third of an *ondas*, where the shoes would be taken off so as not to pollute the interior of the room.

S

sahnisi (plural sahnisia): Jetties. Overhanging closed extensions at the higher floors of houses.

sala or saloni: Main reception or formal room.

Sarakatsanoi: Semi-nomadic populations in Greece.

sardeloto: Scraped plaster pattern in Late Byzantine/Frankish house interiors.

seraï: A centrally located space, being the first space reached when entering or visiting and Ottoman Style house.

Shari'a: Islamic Law.

sipahi: Cavalry man and holder of the *timar.*

skala: Landing stage.

sofas: Part of the Aegean house that is on a raised level. Usually reserved for sleeping. In some instances it substantially raised providing sufficient space for a room to be formed underneath it (*apokretatos*).

solarion: A roofed semi-open wooden construction along the entrance facade, comprising a staircase leading to the entrance and providing shelter to it (also *iliakos, exostis, exopetaston, tavloton, tavloma, tavlaton, sanidoton, kremaston*). The word derives from the Latin word *solarium.*

spiti: House. The term derives from the Latin word *hospitium.*

sterfi: Ram. The one-storey side of a 1½-storey house, especially in Aitolia.

sterfogalaro: A 1½-storey house. The word derives from the words *sterfi* and *galario.*

sygkolla: Semi-detatched houses in Byzantine and Frankish times.

T

Tahrir: Ottoman poll tax.

tavloton: A roofed semi-open wooden construction along the entrance facade, comprising a staircase leading to the entrance and providing shelter to it (also *iliakos, exostis, exopetaston, tavloma, tavlaton, sanidoton, solarion, kremaston*).

thema (plural themata): Major Byzantine administrative units.

thrami: Local name for a brown schist characteristic to the bedrock in the town of Livadeia, Boiotia.

timar: A small number of family landholdings that supported an Ottoman *sipahi*, and constituted a tax area, rigidly controlled by the state.

triklinos, triklinos or triklinarin (plural triklina): A rectangular long hall in a Byzantine or Frankish house. It seems to have housed the everyday activities of the family. In Ancient Greece and Rome the word referred to a dining room.

tsatmas: Wall made of thin wooden planks that have been plastered over.

tzaki: Fireplace. The term derives from the Turkish *odjak.*

tzamaria: A sizeable kitchen-everyday room, named after the large windows towards the *hagiati.*

U

ulema: Islamic religious elite.

V

varosi: In Ottoman times the settlement outside the main fortification walls.

Vlach: Semi-nomadic populations in Greece with a Romanic linguistic idiom.

votresnitsa: A separate kitchen in the Pomak house.

W

wakf: Islamic religious endowments.

Y

yurt: Ottoman nomadic tent, often regarded the archetype for the *ondas* and the Ottoman house organisation.

Z

zealots: small group largely drawn from the solid middle class of Thessaloniki, who organised an attack against the *archontes* of the town in the 14th in the reign of Andronikos II.

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APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Section 1: General observations

Style versus date

Style versus type

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Style versus plan

Style versus arrangement

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Arrangement versus date

Arrangement versus type

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Arrangement versus plan

Plan versus date

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Plan versus type

Type versus date

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

settlement versus plan

Legend:
- single room
- two rooms
- hall & two rooms
- hall & three rooms
- hall & two rooms, one L-Shaped
- hall with two or more rooms at either side
- hagiati leading to linearly arranged rooms
- enclosed hagiati
- multi rooms
- other
- diplo (double)

Categories: nucleated, loose, countryside, ciftlik, urban

settlement versus style

Legend:
- Aegean
- Agricultural (simple mainland house)
- Ottoman
- Neoclassical
- Rural Neoclassical
- Venetian
- Tower
- Medieval
- Ottoman Neoclassicising
- Mansion

Categories: nucleated, loose, countryside, ciftlik, urban

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

settlement versus date

settlement versus arrangement

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

settlement versus type

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Section 2: Long houses with broad façade

One storey

One and a half storey

Two storey

Three storey

Multi storey

One storey long house with broad facade
House types
- One room
- Two rooms
- Hall with two rooms
- Hall with three rooms
- Rooms along a Hagiati
- Multi room
- Diplo (double)

One and one half storeys long houses with broad facade
House types
- One room
- Two rooms
- Hall and two rooms
- Hall and three rooms
- Multi room

Two storey long houses with broad facade
House types
- One room
- Two rooms
- Hall with two rooms
- Hall with three rooms
- Hall with two or more rooms at either side
- Rooms along Hagiati
- Multiroom
- Diplo

Three storey long houses with broad facade
House types
- Two Rooms
- Hall with two rooms
- Hall with two rooms at either side
- Rooms along a Hagiati
- Enclosed Hagiati
- Other
- Diplo

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

plan versus arrangement

plan versus settlement

plan versus style

chronology versus arrangement

style versus chronology

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

storeys versus arrangement

style versus storeys

settlement versus arrangement

house styles versus arrangement

house style versus settlement

Section 3: Long houses with narrow façade
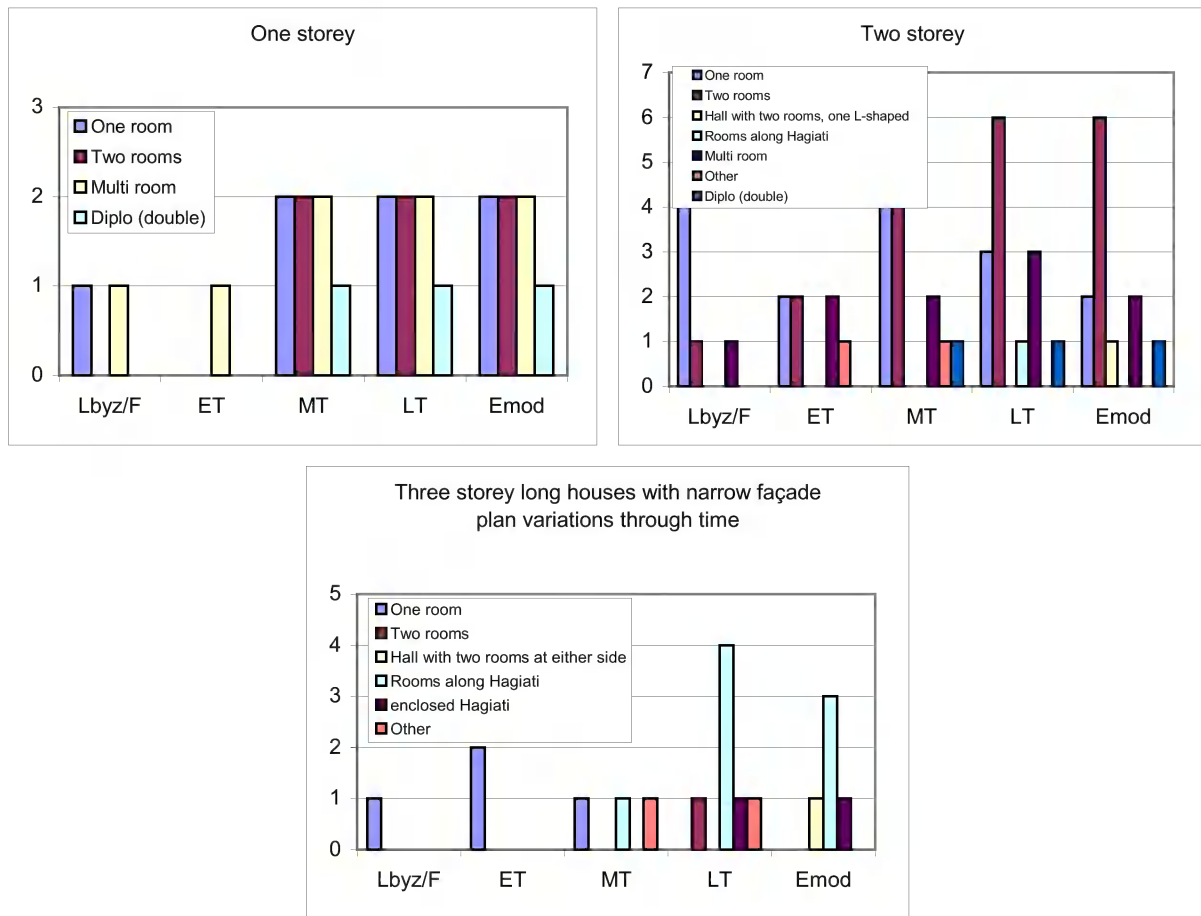
One storey

Two storey

Three storey long houses with narrow façade
plan variations through time

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

One storey long houses with narrow facade
House types

One room
Two rooms
Multi room
Diplo (double)

Two storey long houses with narrow facade
House types

One room
Two rooms
Hall with two rooms, one L-shaped
Rooms along Hagiati
Multi room
Other
Diplo (double)

Three storey long houses with narrow facade
House types

One room
Two rooms
Hall with two rooms at either side
Rooms along Hagiati
Enclosed Hagiati
Other

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

plan versus arrangement

plan versus settlement

plan versus style

arrangement versus date

style versus chronology

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

number of storeys vs arrangement

style versus storeys

settlement versus arrangement

house style versus arrangement

house style versus settlement
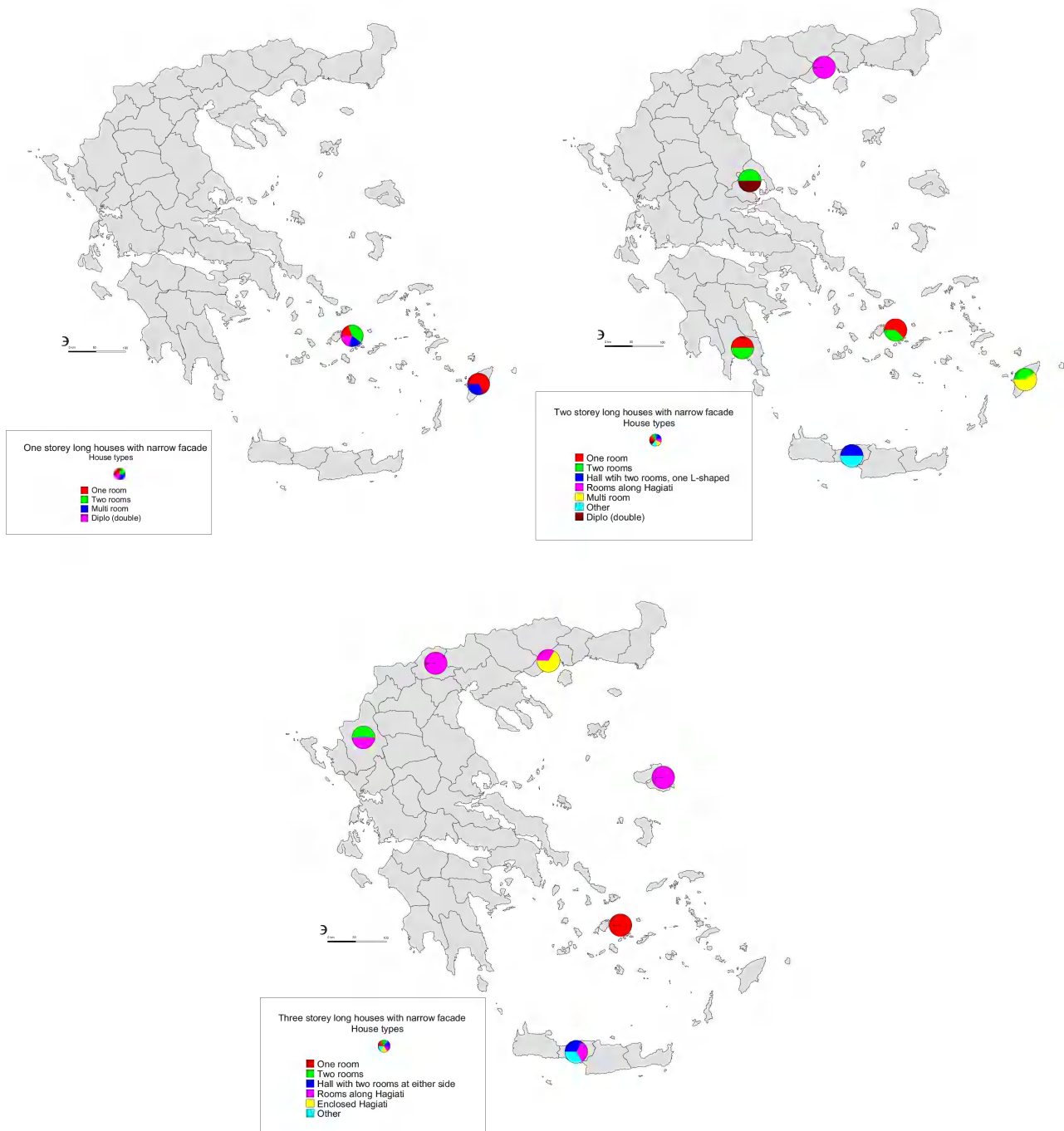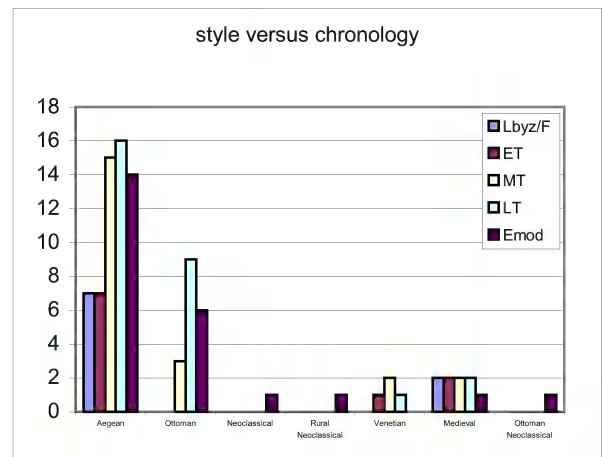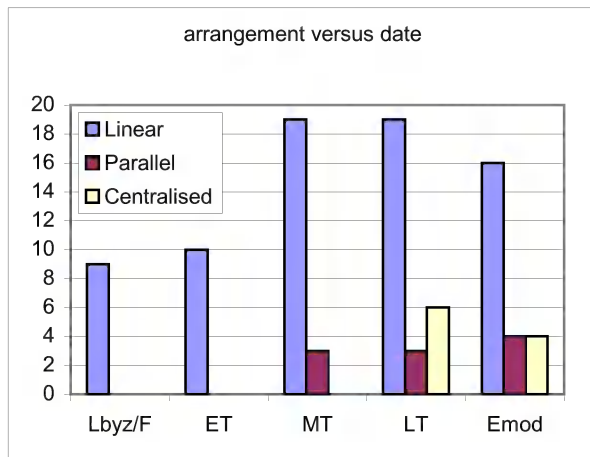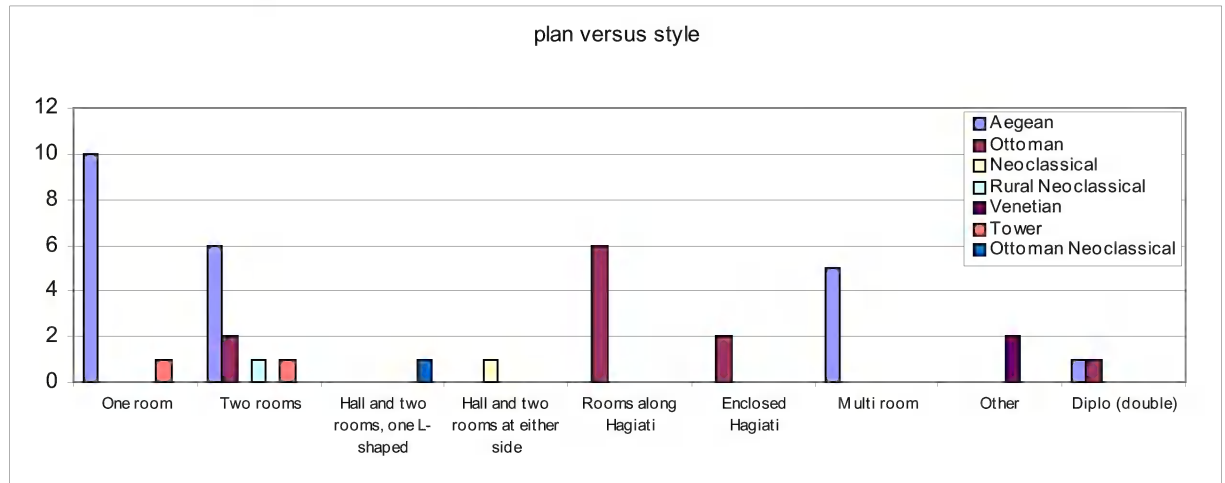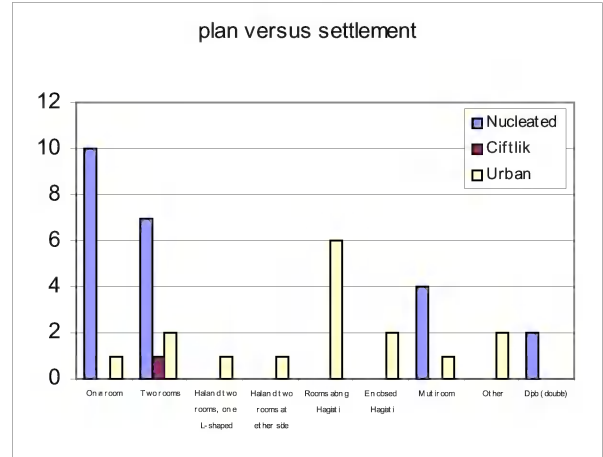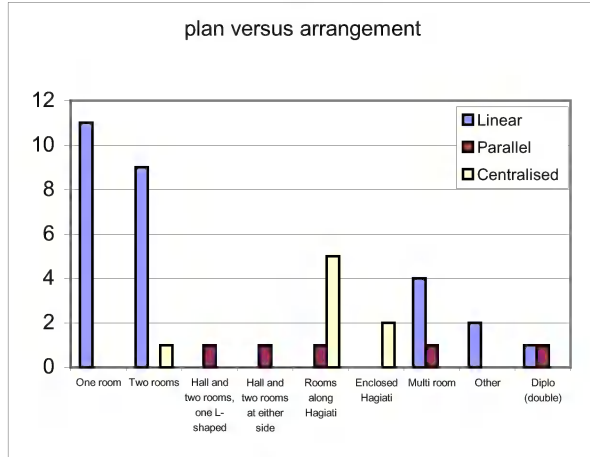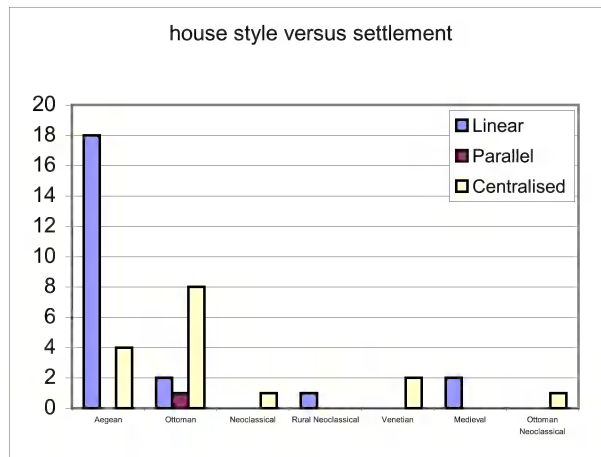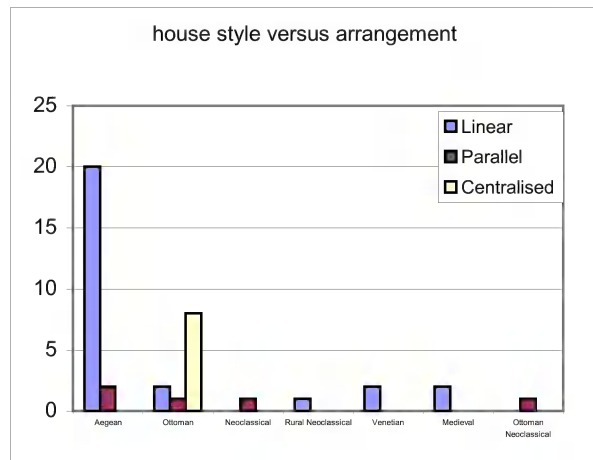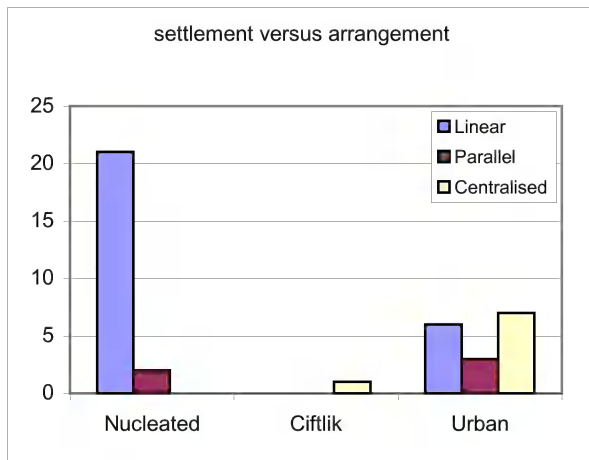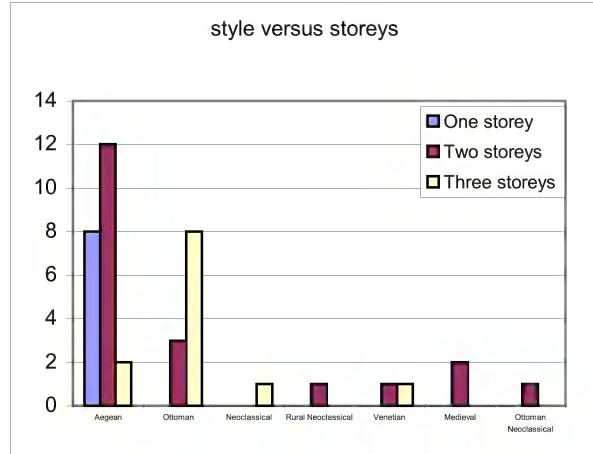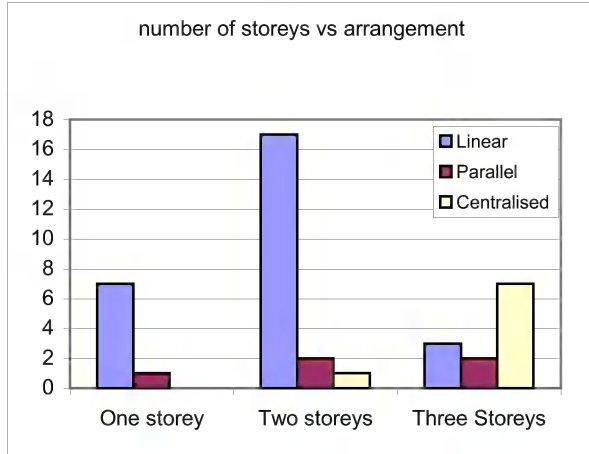
Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Section 4: L- and U-shaped houses
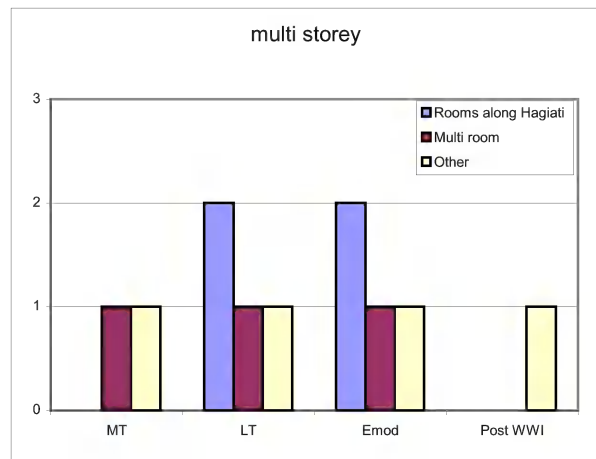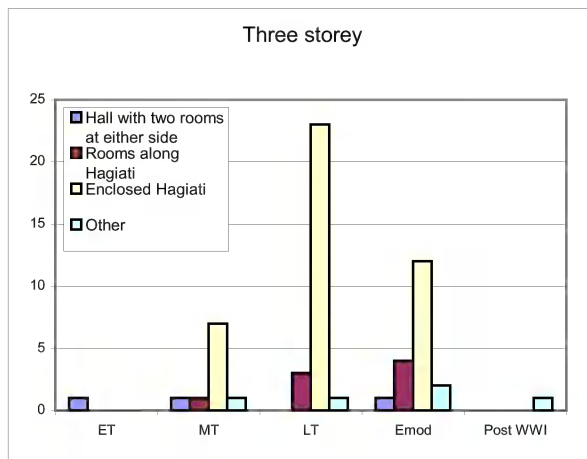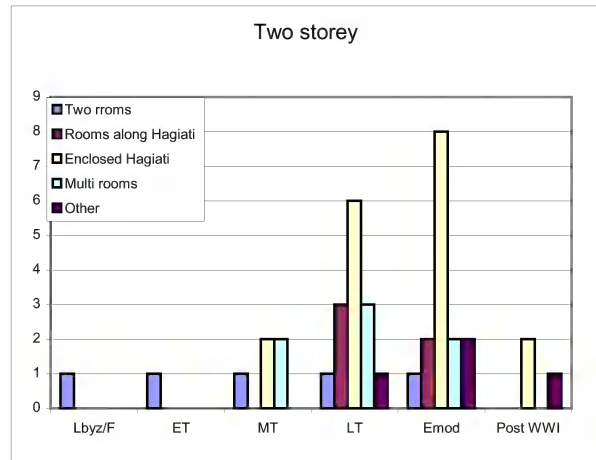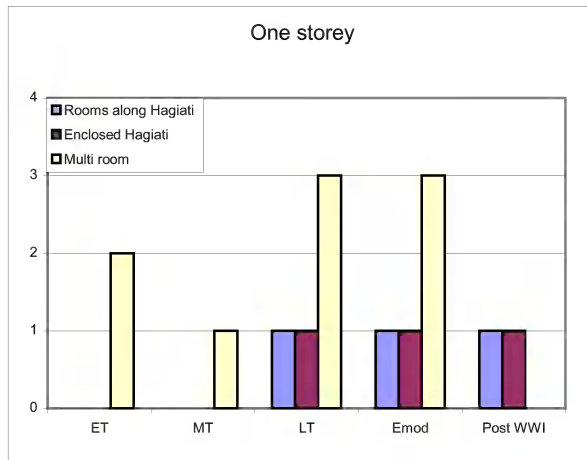
One storey

Two storey

Three storey

multi storey

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

One storey L- and U-shaped houses
House types
- Rooms along Hagiati
- Enclosed Hagiati
- Multi room

Two storey L- and U-shaped houses
House Types
- Two rooms
- Rooms along Hagiati
- Enclosed Hagiati
- Multi room
- Other

Three storey L- and U-shaped houses
House types
- Hall and two rooms at either side
- Rooms along Hagiati
- Enclosed Hagiati
- Other

Multi storey L- and U-shaped houses
House types
- Rooms along Hagiati
- Multi room
- Other

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

plan versus arrangement

plan versus site

plan versus style

period versus arrangement

style versus date

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

storey versus arrangement

storey versus style

site versus arrangement

style versus arrangement

style versus site

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

Section 5: Square houses
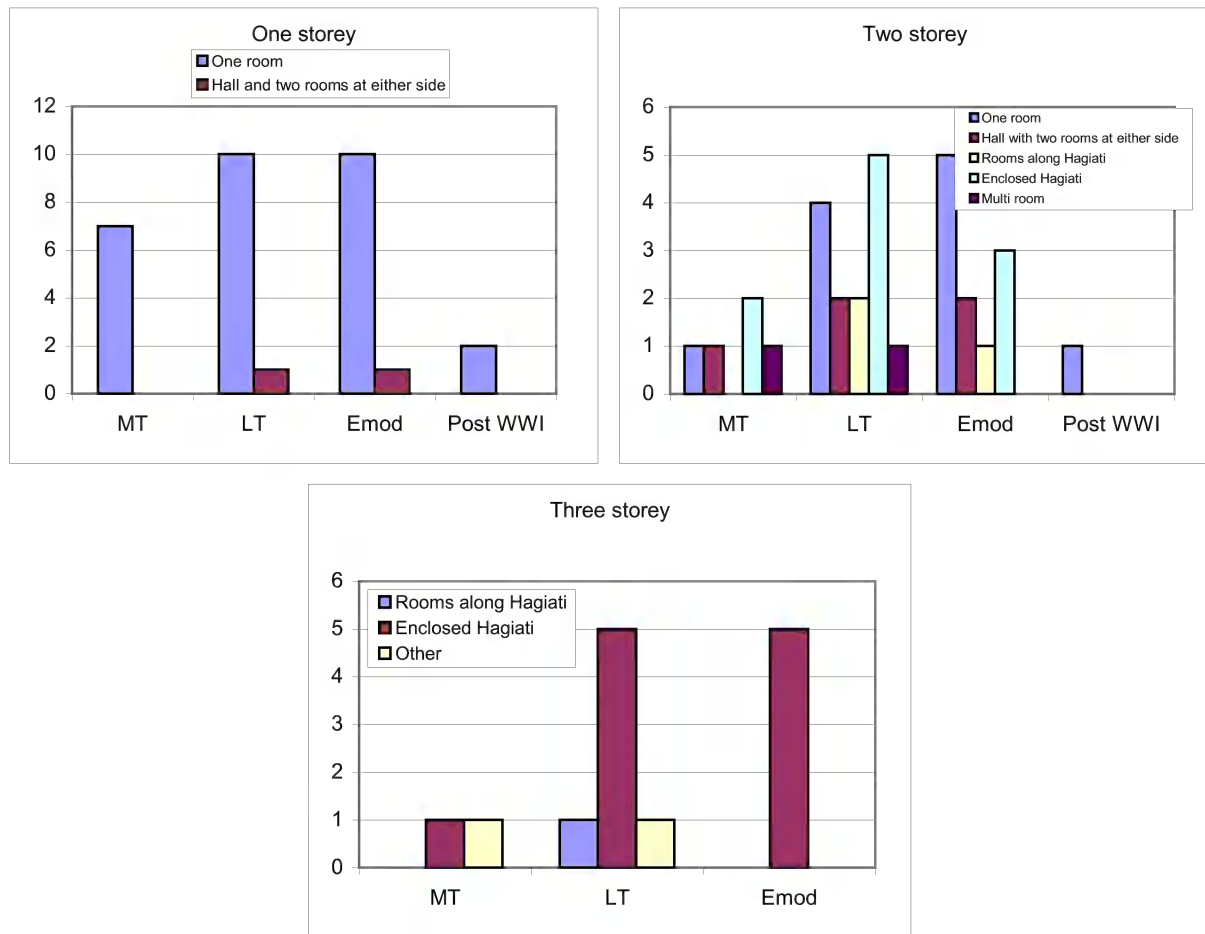
APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

One storey square houses
House types

■ One room
■ Hall with two rooms at either side

Two storey square houses
House types

■ One room
■ Hall with two rooms at either side
■ Rooms along Hagiati
■ Enclosed Hagiati
■ Multi room

Three storey square houses
House types

■ Rooms along Hagiati
■ Enclosed Hagiati
■ Other

190

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

plan versus arrangement

plan versus site

plan versus style

arrangement versus date

style versus date

APPENDIX A

Distribution charts and graphs based upon previous vernacular architecture studies

storey versus arrangement

storey versus style

site versus arrangement

style versus arrangement

style versus site
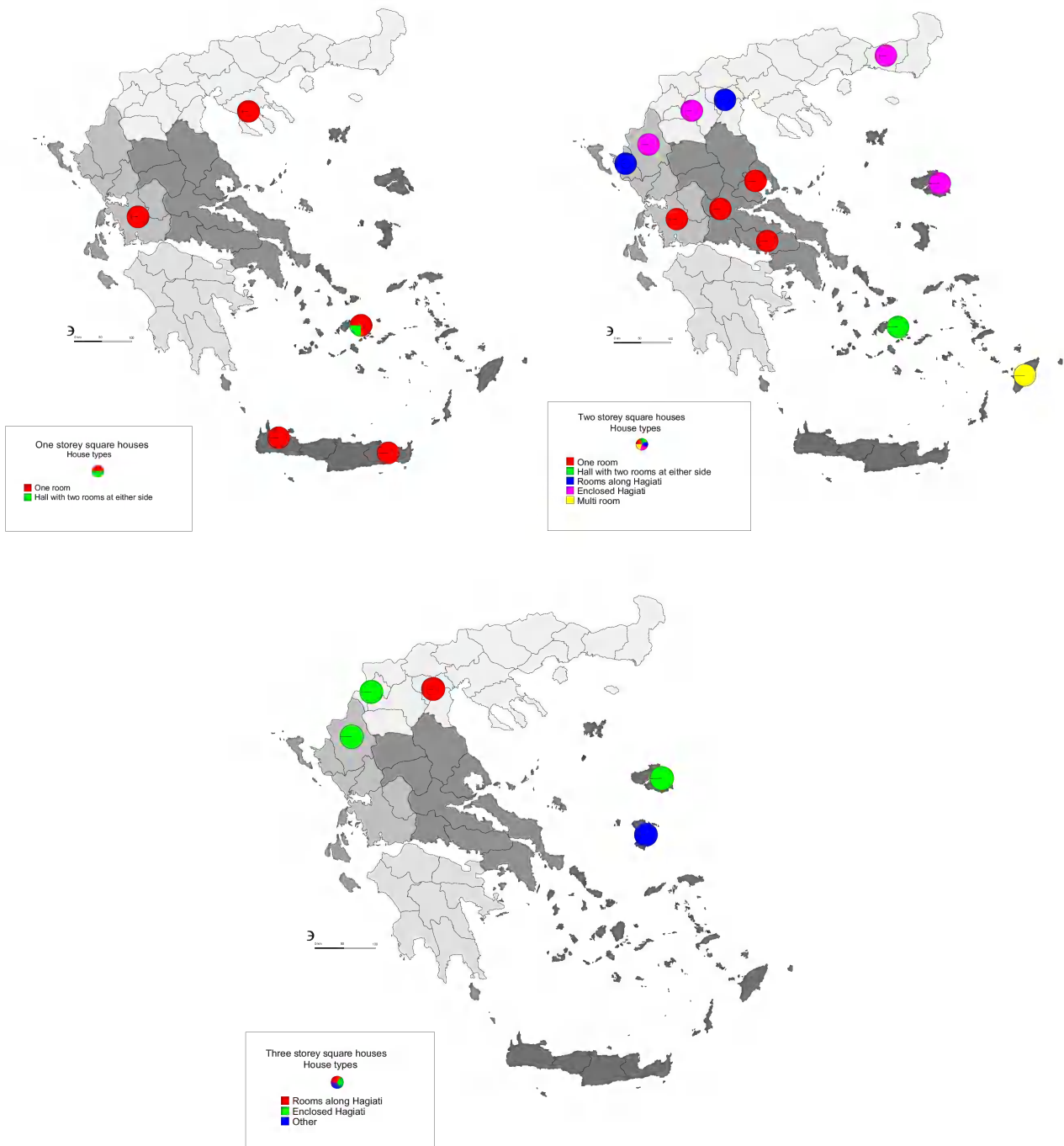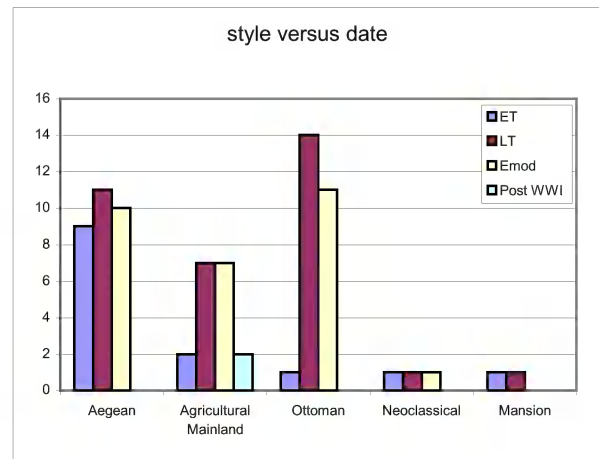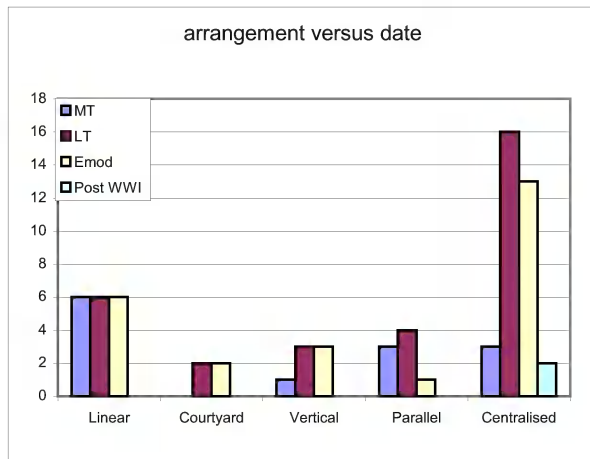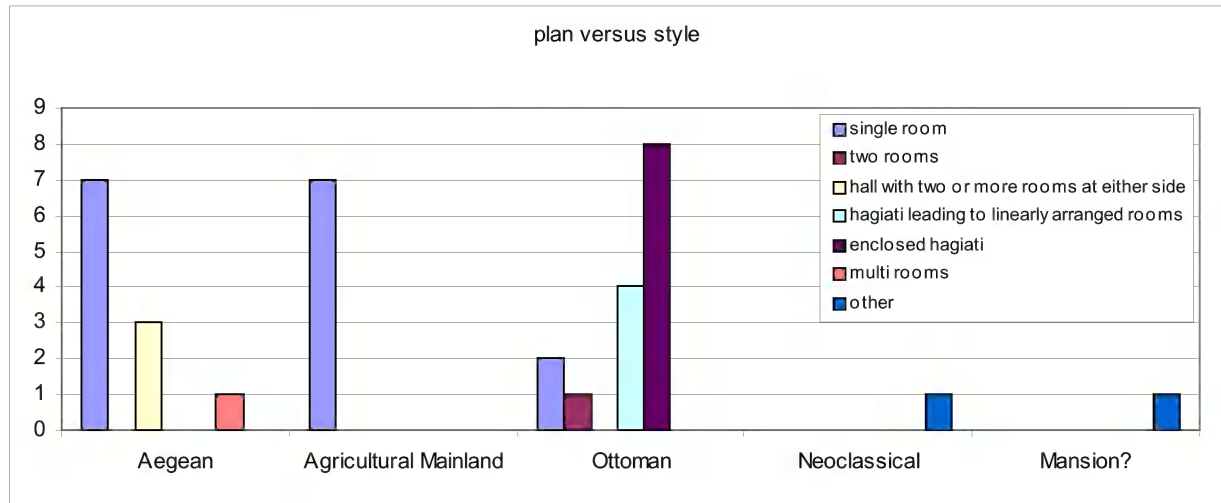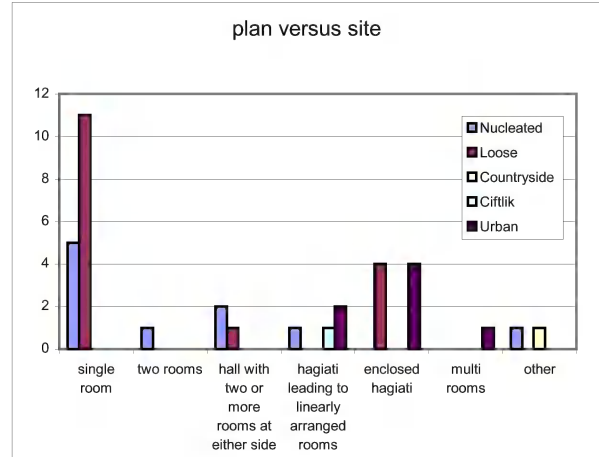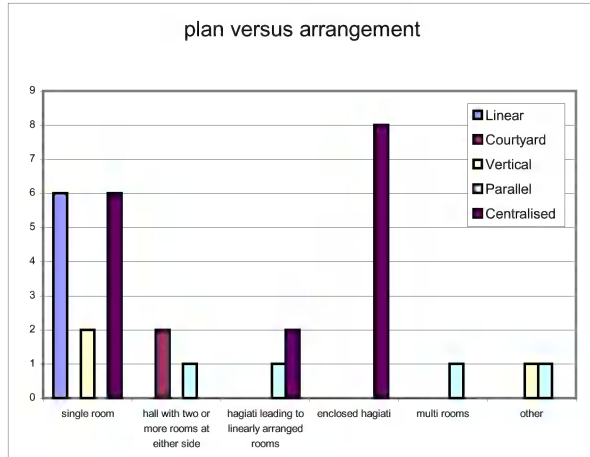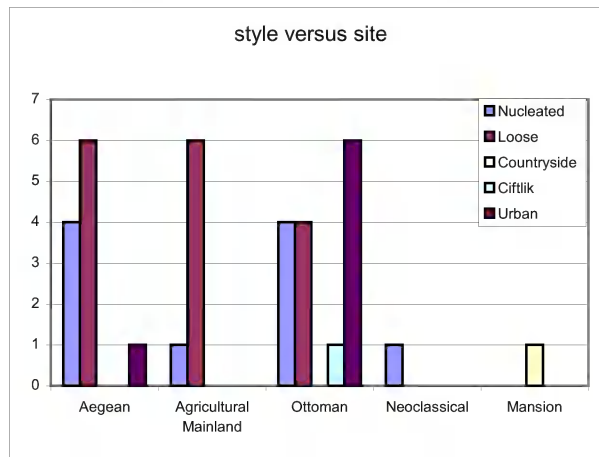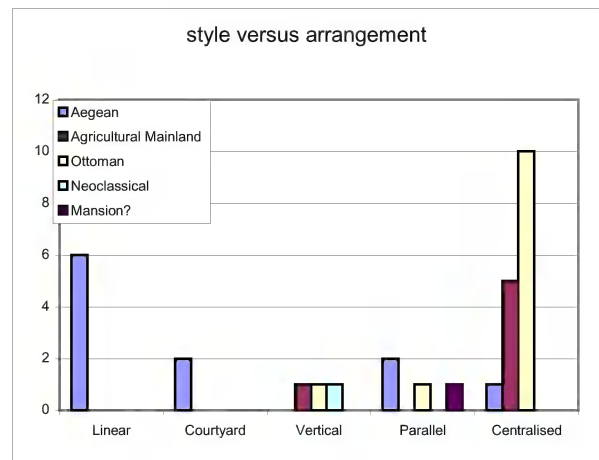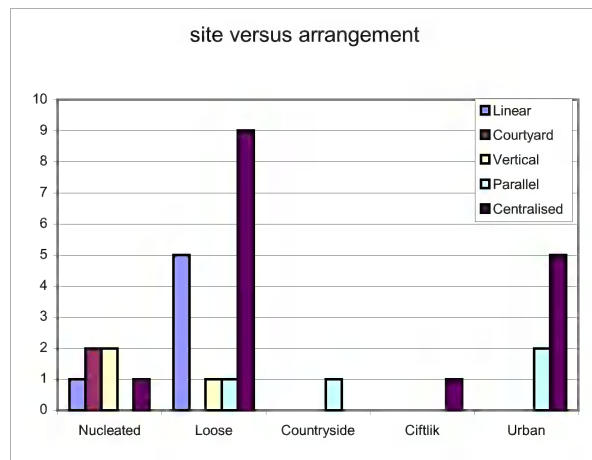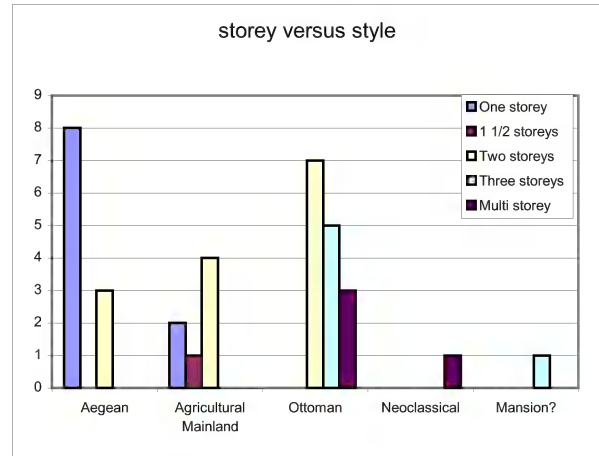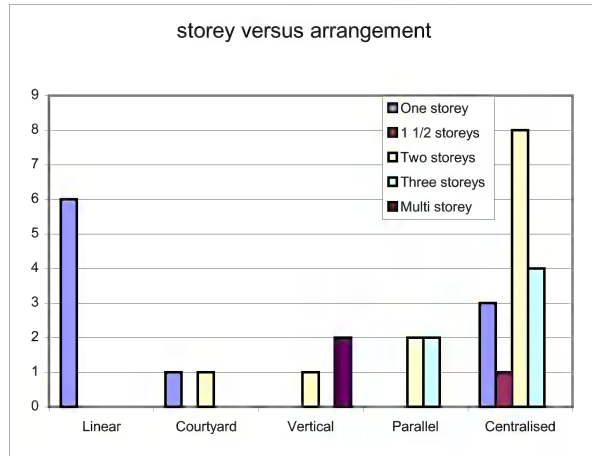
Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

Corinth

After the disruption caused in Corinth during the Slav invasions a phase of gradual recovery is reconstructed from the archaeological record (802-1058). The area that used to be occupied by the Agora is now being occupied by structures attesting a flourishing industrial and commercial city. From these structures only one structure may be associated with domestic activities (House I).

The period following (1059-1210) is representative of the full development of the city enjoying commercial contacts with the Italian West. The community reached its full development after the mid 12th c and it survived basically unchanged throughout the 13th and 14th c. The, so-called, *plateia* area was surrounded by shops, a public building and an inn. To the W of the *plateia* the monastic site of St. John Theologos developed. The area around Temple E was used as a cemetery. Ceramic factories were established in the W South-central quarter. Two bathhouses were erected in the S and N of the excavation area. Two taverns were identified one towards the E and the other to the W of the *plateia*. Only two houses, though, could securely be identified (House II and III). There were three other structures that could be houses, but the excavator explains that this is only a pure speculation. All three are very large and therefore are characterised as the house of the archbishop (Scranton 1957: 67), the headquarters of a principal dignitary of the community (p. 75) and the house of the tavern owner (p. 76).

The general plan of the town remained unchanged and only repair and remodelling of buildings occurred during the 13th c. Only the arcade along the two South most shops along the W side of the Lechaion Road are significantly different influenced by the Islamic onion-shaped rather than semicircular arches (Scranton 1957).

E of the Peirene

1. HOUSE I (pp. 39-41) was founded exclusively on Classical and Roman walls. According to the author, little of the structure belongs to a period later than the Early Christian, but the remodelling and the new arrangements produced a new functional entity. The complex comprised of 4 different spaces. The main room was at the E side of the complex (internal: 10.8x4.74, wall thickness 0.64). It was domed and two thirds of its length to the N, it had two smooth columns with Ionic capitals supporting three arches (triple arcade or "*tribelon*"; Bouras 1982-1983: 6). It was accessed via a staircase through the N wall and from the NW via another staircase connecting it with a small triangular yard. Both doors had arches lined with brickwork. This room was most probably the main hall of the house as its elaborate design and the

traces of fine plaster with trowelled grooves, imitating ashlar masonry, suggest. The triangular courtyard (internal: 2.5x4.6) provided access to another smaller vaulted room (internal: 4.35x3.5, wall thickness 0.6). That in turn was connected with a third room the W wall of which was following the semicircular shape of the Peirene (internal: 3.6x4.5, wall thickness 0.65). This room seems to have had a flat ceiling and a staircase leading to an upper storey. It should be noted that this house is typical as far as the reuse of pre-existing features and the irregularity of the house plan is concerned, but it is too elaborate to be representative of the average houses of the period. It was probably built/renovated in the **10th century** and used perhaps until the **12th century** (Scranton 1957).

APPENDIX B

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

Corinth Central Area

yard

0   0.01   0.02
Kilometers

No. 2
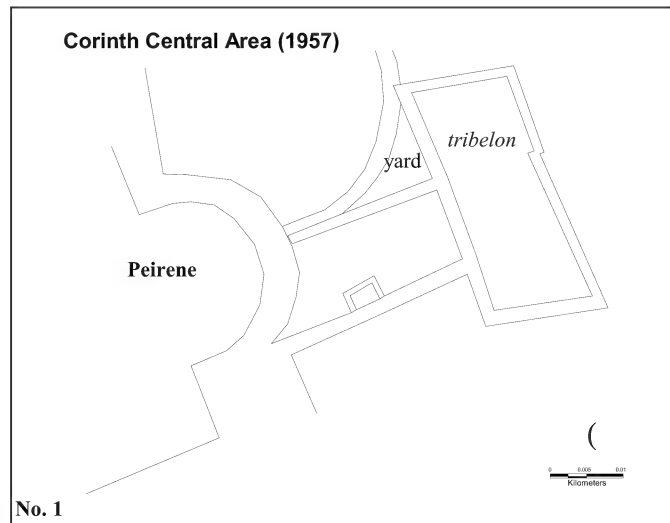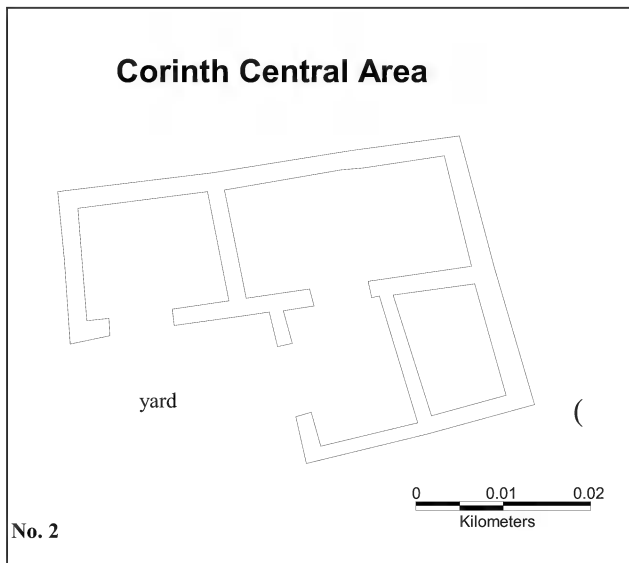
2. *HOUSE II* (pp. 66-67) had at least four rooms and a courtyard on the ground floor. They lie on two sides of the open area. The room to the N of the courtyard (internal: 5.66x4.33, wall thickness 0.73) might have been a storage space, as it does not communicate with the other rooms. It was entered from the S. To the E of the courtyard there was another room entered from the W (internal: 5.33x4.53, wall thickness 0.66) that provided access to the largest room of the complex (internal: 9.33x4.33, wall thickness 0.73). This had two sections separated by two columns, one against the N and the other against the S wall, right to the E side of the doorway. To the S of the entrance room and the S of the hall was another small room that had no doorway surviving, but was definitely associated with the rest of the house complex (internal: 4.66x3.66, wall thickness 0.8). The rooms to the S of the courtyard may have been part of this complex, but were not completely excavated to provide more secure information. It should be dated to the **mid 12th century** (Scranton 1957).

3. HOUSE III (p. 82) has a large enclosed courtyard. It is lined at both N and S sides by long and narrow rooms that were probably used for storage (internal: 18.66x2.8, wall thickness 0.66; 17.66x3, wall thickness 0.53, respectively). In the NW corner of the courtyard there is a small room (internal: 3.33x3.66, wall thickness 0.6). All the spaces described above have no surviving doors. Two spaces to the E of the courtyard have clear doorways in the W walls. Their arrangement and the width of the doorways may suggest that they were used as animal sheds. The living areas of the house might have been on the 1st floor, even though no traces of a staircase survive. This too was dated to the **mid 12th century** (Scranton 1957).

SE corner of the Agora

Corinth Central Area (1957)

courtyard

0   0.01   0.02
Kilometers

No. 3
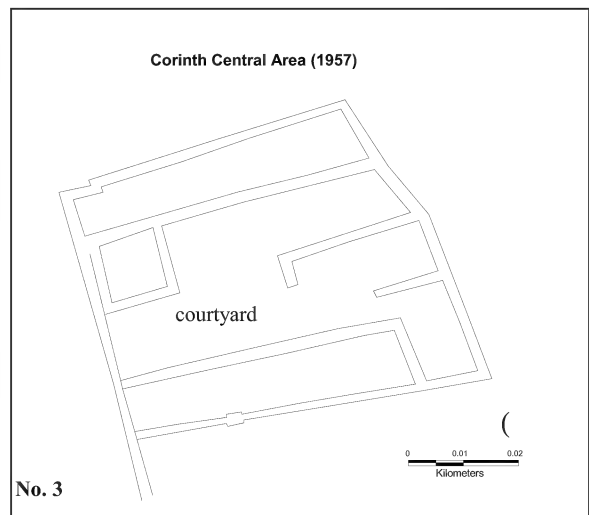
4. HOUSE IV: NW structure consists of rooms 15 and 17 to 19. It could be dated to the **12th century**. Area 15 (internal: S wall 11.36, E wall 5.18, N wall 6.81, E wall 7.5, wall thickness 0.59) was either a courtyard or a stable yard. It had a trapezoidal shape and was entered from the communal court by a doorway 1.26 m wide with a single leaf door swinging inwards in its NE wall. Room 17 (internal: 2.09x4.54, wall thickness 0.59) was probably a small stable (for one donkey and a couple of goats) in the NW corner of area 15. Room 18 (internal: N1=5.14, E=3.86, S=9.36, W=6.59, N2=4.5, wall thickness 0.59) was L-shaped and used as living quarters together with room 19 (internal: 6.73x3.95, wall thickness 0.64). Room 18 was entered from the E and room 19 from the N. Against the N wall of room 18 there was a semicircular built construction that was probably used for storage (?). *Room 16 (internal:*

Corinth: Area South and South-East of Temple E

16

15
17   courtyard   No. 4
18
19
21   20
26   No. 5?
24   22
23
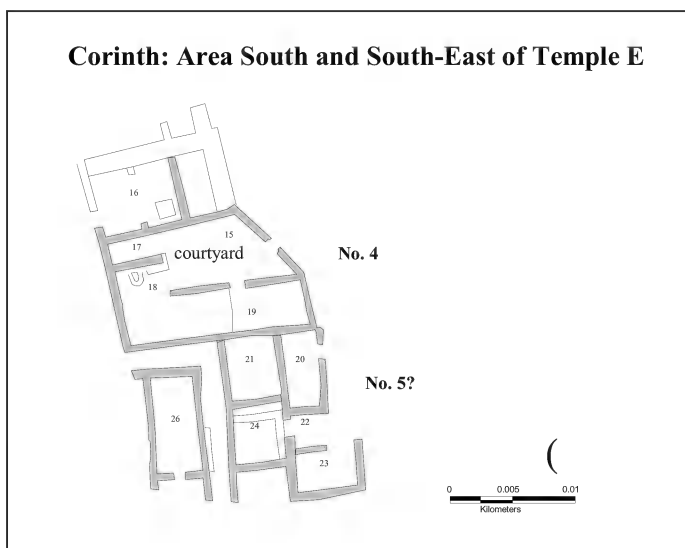
0   0.005   0.01
Kilometers

7.09x5.68, wall thickness 0.68) does not seem to have been connected to the courtyard 15. Thus it might have been a house in its own right or with adjacent structure that were not excavated yet (Robinson 1962: 95-113, Robinson 1962: 83-85).

5. HOUSE V: S of House IV is a series of rooms that belong to the **12th century** too, but it is difficult to make some sense out of them. *Room 20* (internal: 6.91x2.95, wall thickness 0.64) was entered from the main 12th c court. The terracotta threshold still survives in the E wall. Next to room 20 is a series of interconnected spaces (22, 23, 24 and probably 21 initially). *Space 22* (internal: 2.64x2.86, wall thickness 0.59) was open to the court or road to the E and was probably a small yard. *Room 23* (internal: 5.27x3.41, wall thickness 0.59) had a wide opening towards the court on the N side. Space 22 provided access to *room 24* (internal: 5.14x4.41, wall thickness 0.7), which might have been joined with *room 21* (internal: 4.32x5.32, wall thickness 0.64) initially. These structure must have been used for domestic activities since the were not rich in industrial remains as the E side on the court, even though their function has not been determined by the excavator (Robinson 1962b: 95-113, Robinson 1962a: 83-85).

Space 25 must have been an alley (1.6 m wide) along the N and E side of *room 26. Room 26* (internal: 3.95x8.73, wall thickness 0.73) was accessed through another room to the S.

NW of Temple E

6. HOUSE VI: In the NW of Temple E a **13th century** large house was excavated. It had a *courtyard* (paved with large irregular flagstones) with 3 uncovered rooms to the south and west. The court was completely enclosed and probably roofed over with "laconian" tiles (internal: S=5.03, part of E=3.77, wall thickness 0.63). *SE room (no. IV)* (internal: 4x2.5, wall thickness 0.55) had a packed earth floor and a hearth in the south of broken thin marble slabs. It had access to room III through a doorway at the SW corner. Another doorway probably led to courtyard.

NW room (no. I) was not fully excavated (internal: 4x3, wall thickness 0.63). It had a large, rectangular, stone platform in NW corner probably to support heavy furniture or machinery. The walls of the house were rubble packed with mud mortar and floors were of earth except the courtyard. Outside the SE corner of the courtyard there was a pit (1.4m diameter) that had sunk from the contemporary to the house floor level to a depth of 0.86m. It was packed with large rubble stones set in mud mortar and may have served to support a millstone or olive press. SE of the "mill" was another pit (1.5m diameter, 0.25m deep) that might have been used for the slaking of lime (Anderson 1967: 1-12).
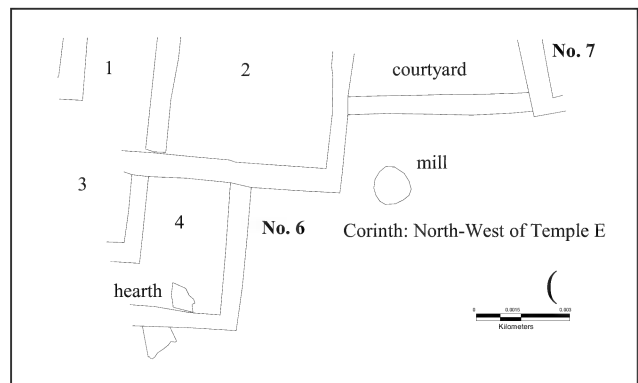
7. HOUSE VII: In the NE corner of the trench another house corner was recovered of the **13th century**. Between walls 1 of House IV and wall 8 of the courtyard was a foundation wall of a light construction (wall 2) overlying a pit with 13th c pottery (Anderson 1967: 1-12).

S and SE of the site museum area

Mid 12th century
Unit 7

In the mid 12th c level under Frankish Unit 7 there is evidence of Late Byzantine occupation. To the east side of Unit 7 there was a roadway with a NW to SE direction flanked by structures at either side. Towards the E of the road and within the space of the S structure was a well (1997-1) with a wellhead hollowed from a Doric column.

No. 8
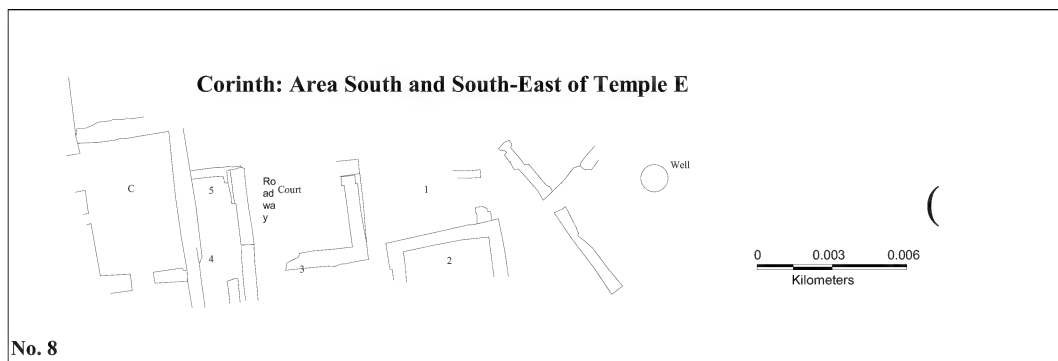
8. HOUSE VIII: At the west side of the road there is a partly excavated Byzantine *house* with a series of 5? rooms arranged around a courtyard. The N wall of Room 1 did not survive well and the E wall slightly changed orientation from the former construction. The only doorway seems to have been in the SW corner of the room leading to Room 3. The W doorjamb still survives *in situ*. The room had an earth floor below, which was a hard packed gravel floor. Stew pots and cooking ware were found in this room. Room 2 is directly to the S of Room 1 and shares a wall with it. It is not fully excavated. Is clear though that the E wall was rebuilt in the mid-12th c 0.57m towards the E. The doorway leading to Room 3 is at the NW corner of the room (the door jamb is missing but the pit where it stood is clear). Room 3 seems to have been an activity area since stew pots, cooking ware, whorls and spindle whorls were found in its context. The S part of the room has not been excavated yet. Room 4 is a long and narrow (1.70) room with rough stone floor, suggesting heavy use. Parallel to the E wall and at a distance of 0.22 m another wall was built probably supporting a wooden staircase. This staircase is in most cases external to the house, but it suggests the probability of a second storey. Room 5 is also long and narrow (1.60-1.65) and has a heavy surface of white-green marl. Its N wall was removed in previous excavations. The Court had two periods of construction; the upper (clay floor) was of the mid 12th c and the lower (rough paving) of early 12th c date. Stew pots and cooking ware were recovered here too. The pottery from the whole structure is of domestic quality. The number of stew pots, even though they are common during the 12th and early 13th c, may suggest some sort of domestic industry. Room C seem to belong to another structure immediately adjacent to Room 5 (Williams II et al. 1998: 223-264).

Later 13th century
Unit 6:
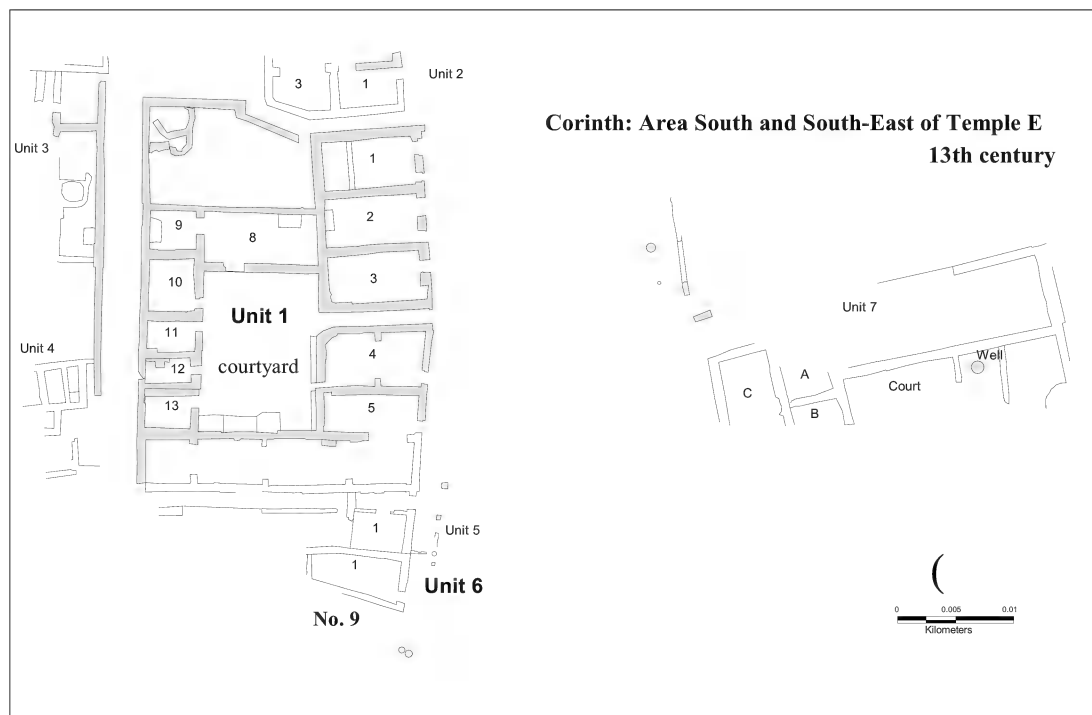
9. HOUSE IX: Room 1 (N wall is 6.8, E wall 3.75, S wall ~7.55, W wall 2.5) had two rows of postholes to give post-construction support to the roof of the original structure. The door (0.97 m) was on the E wall close to the SE corner and the S jamb was made of two well cut squared blocks. It was first destroyed by an earthquake in 1300 and then reconstructed, only to be totally destroyed by another earthquake after 1312 (Catalan sack of the town) that resulted the vast tile debris within the house. Room 2 was a small room W of Room 1. The dividing wall with Room 1 was heavily robbed and it is therefore very difficult to determine the size and function of this small room. Immediately to the W of the partition wall, though, 38 blown glass cups, few glass lamps, 7 lamp handles and 1 Zeuxippus plate were recovered (Williams II et al. 1998: 223-264).

Unit 1:
The structures around the sizeable courtyard of Unit 1 have been described as having mainly an industrial character concentrating on bronze production. The small single roomed units could have acted as workshops and small shops at ground floor level. Above these structures though, domestic spaces could have been located resulting into a domestic courtyard complex possibly comparable to the courtyard house in Constantinople mentioned in Attaleiatis' will (Williams II et al. 1998; Miklosich and Muller 1968 (1887)-a: 297-298).

S of the S Stoa

10. HOUSE X was dated to the **late 12th and 13th centuries** (external 17.5x14.5). It consisted of a large courtyard (internal 7x9) surrounded by small rooms, one of which might have been for fuel. The courtyard had a well and at the NW corner there was a circular oven, probably suggesting the operation of a bakery, as other private houses have only little hearths. The entrance was at the W side of the house (Robinson 1964).

11. HOUSE XI was another house arranged around a courtyard belonging to the **late 12th and 13th centuries** (external 21x14.5). The courtyard was small (internal 4.8x5) and seems to have had 11 rooms surrounding it, most of which are directly accessed from it. The house was entered from the E. The assemblage of Near Eastern pottery may suggest that the house belonged to a merchant with contact to the area, since the presence of such ceramics was rare elsewhere in the excavation (Robinson 1964).

Corinth: South of the South Stoa (1964)

No. 11

courtyard

courtyard

No. 10

Corinth 1964: Turkish House

veranda

No. 12
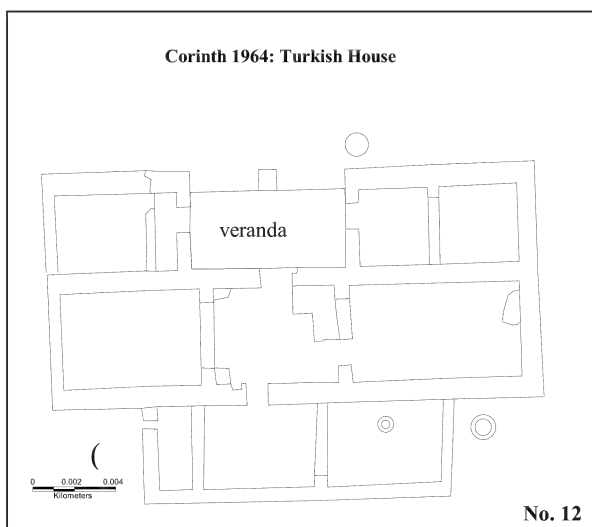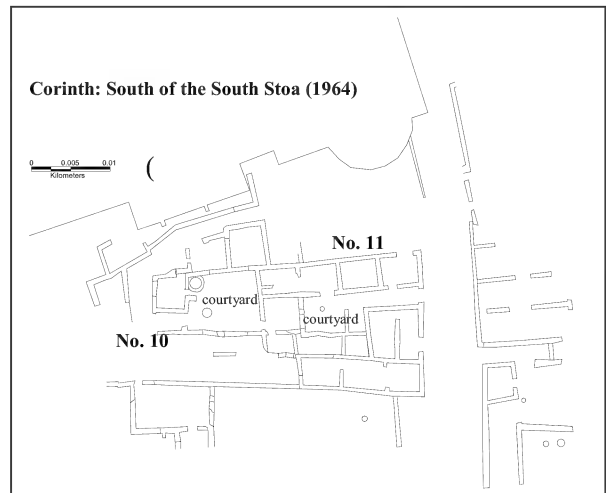
12. HOUSE XII belongs to the Ottoman period (**17th century**). It was a large rectangular house (external 26x11.5,wall thickness 0.75-1) with a spacious veranda set back into the long N facade, which was entered through two archways. The floor of the veranda was made of wood. From the veranda one can access all the other rooms of the house most of them opening one into the other by broad archways. The house underwent through some modifications. A long room with an arch was added at the S side (external 15x4.5, wall thickness 0.6). There is a possibility that a second floor was added to the original structure (Robinson 1964).

Forum SW

13. *HOUSE XIII:* This house was built to the E of a road. Entrance from the road is at the SW corner of the building, giving access to a long corridor. Towards the N of the corridor there were two square rooms, almost equal in size (internal 5x5.5, wall thickness 0.5-0.6). The W room seems to have been a court opening at its W side to the road with a drain along its S wall (originating from the E room probably). A large built *pithos* and a platform were found in the E room. This room gave access to the L-shaped room to the N, which may have been subdivided but no evidence of partition walls was found. Evidence of burning in large areas may suggest that it was used for cooking or some other domestic industrial activity. The room with the *pithos* gave access to three rooms lined to the E of the building. Their use could not be determined due to disturbances. The two N ones were together of almost equal size with the S one (internal 6.4x3.6). The house seems to have been built in the **late 10th century** and was partly dismantled after the mid 11th century (Williams II 1977).

Corinth: Area South and South-East of Temple E

No. 13
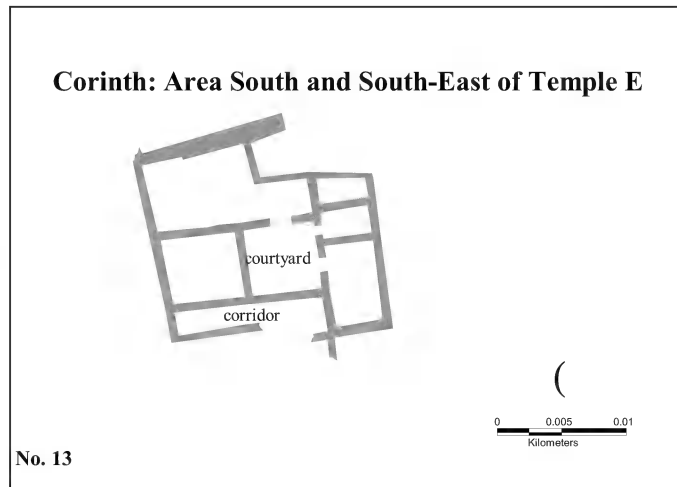
Sparta

14. *HOUSE I* was probably single-spaced (internal 6.53x~2.65, wall thickness 0.8). It might have had a second storey as the wall thickness suggests. It seems to have had a E-W alignment. It was not fully excavated and the N part of the structure was not uncovered. The author gives a general **Byzantine** date for the structure (Bakourou 1980).

15. *HOUSE II* comprised probably of one room too (internal ~3.8x3.28, wall thickness 0.58), it was, though, aligned N-S, vertically to *House 1*. The spolia in the wall structure were plentiful. It was dated to the **Late Byzantine** period (Bakourou 1980).
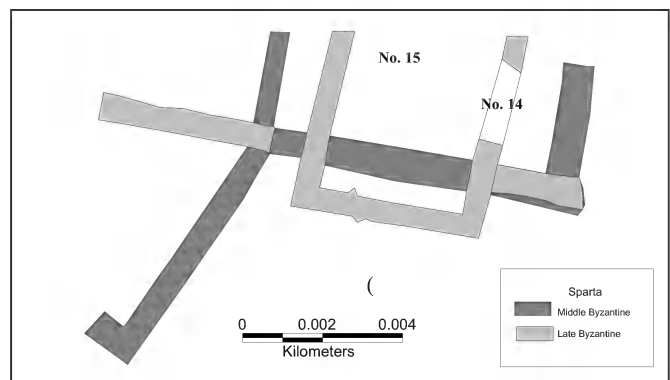
Elean Pylos

16. The *House* is located in area D and can be dated to the **12th century**. It was located on a low mount. It had three rooms and a shelter on the facade, the latter may have been a lean-to, that could have been used as a kitchen, as the fragmentary pots and the peculiar spouted vessel found in the are suggest. Room 2 (internal, 4.1x3.65, wall thickness 0.6) had a floor of lime plaster laid over a packing of stone and evidence of clay benches at the edges against N, S and W walls, which do not survive. Its walls may have been plastered as is suggested from plaster remains at the joints of the wall with the benches. The eastern side of the house was badly destroyed and it was not possible to tell whether it had a similar arrangement. It was accessed by Room 2 through the W wall and may have had a doorway on the N side too. Room 3 (internal 3.7x2, wall thickness 0.58) had blocked doorways on the N and W sides, and a tile covered Byzantine burial was discovered underneath its floor. Room 1 (internal

Elean Pylos (Area D)

No. 16

6.75x2.95, wall thickness 0.6) was entered from the W. It had a packed earth floor. A triangular stone towards the S of the room was probably the support of a wooden post. Against the N wall traces of the foundations of a possible staircase were retrieved. The function of the stone platform between the main entrance and the doorway to room 2 was not determined. Tiles from the roof, glass vessels and two coins, one of the **Byzantine** and one of the **early Frankish** periods, were among the finds from the house (Coleman 1969, Coleman 1986).
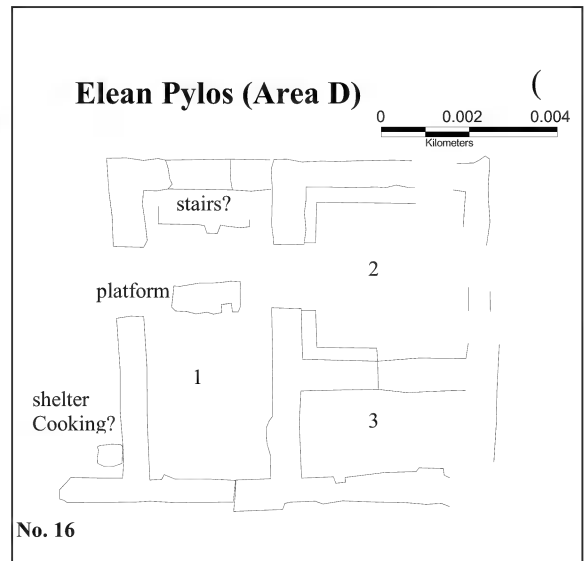
Longanikos

17. The *House* is a long two-storey house, probably, with a tower, built at a later phase (internal 5x11.5, wall thickness 0.7). It seems to have been entered from the N small wall, an arched door that was later closed up with rubble stones. When the N door was blocked it was entered from the N side of the W wall. It had two rooms, one small towards the N with a corbelled roof and a larger one towards the S with a bench along the W wall. The two rooms were separated by a wide arched doorway. On the first storey there was an arched window in the N wall approximately above the blocked door. Towards the W of the window there were two niches at different levels one of which was blocked. The floor of the first storey, despite the corbelled ceiling of the ground floor was made of wood covering the triangles between the cylindrical dome and the E and W walls that may have been used for storage. A relieving arch was also visible on the first storey supporting the double-pitched roof or the floor of the tower above the N small room.

A small chapel was built against the SE side of the house that was entered from the W directly from the S room of the ground floor (Bouras 1982-1983).

Longanikos

No. 17
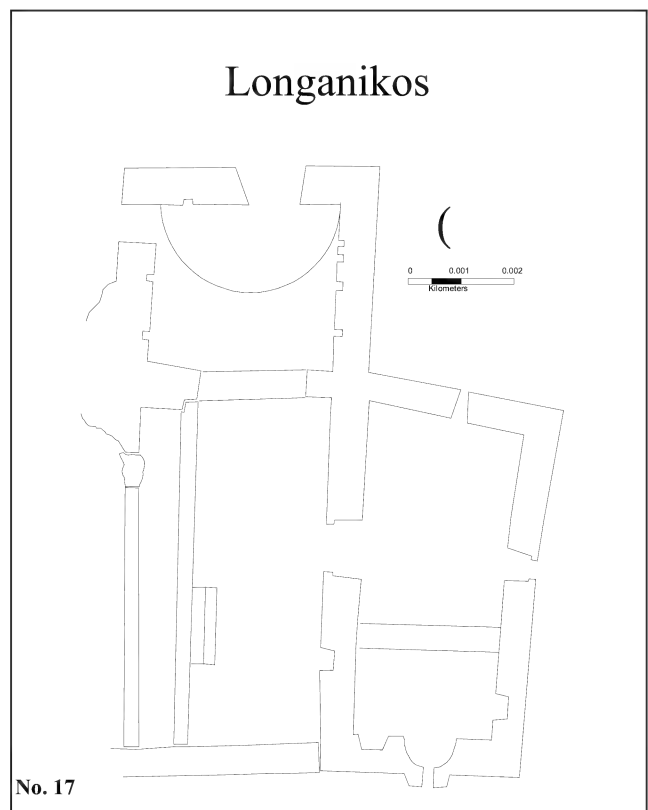
APPENDIX B

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

<u>Kythera: Palaiochora</u>

Palaiochora on Kythera was founded in the late 12th c by the Evdaiminoiannis family and was destroyed by Khayr al-Din Barbarossa in 1537. There was only need for a defensive wall on the south side of the settlement (3.1 m bottom and 2.55 m thick, 4 m high). Main defence was the large *kastro* wall marking the inner enceinte of the city (1.3 bottom and 0.7 m thick, 10.6 m high). One cistern coated with lime mortar has been located (4x3 m), but a spring has been located underneath the church of Agia Barbara. There are 22 churches (7 is 15th c, 16 of different phases but all of the 14th c, 22 of the 14th and 15th c, post-Byzantine frescoes can be seen in 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 12, 16, 17, 22) Recent cultivation, knocking down of walls and dry-stone walling built to act as goat pens have destroyed parts of the site. The bushes within the houses make surveying very difficult. Fifty houses were recorded that belong mainly to three categories. (Dimensions are internal):

a. SE section where the territory is flatter the houses follow a more regular rectangular shape.

17. *House G* is built against church 5 and has 6.5 m length, 3 m width decreasing to 2.95 m near the entrance at the southeast side.

18. *House H* has the following dimensions: N wall is 9.75, S wall 9.35, E wall 4.2 and W wall 4.35 m. The entrance is at the E wall and is 1.33 m wide.

Kythera: Palaiochora
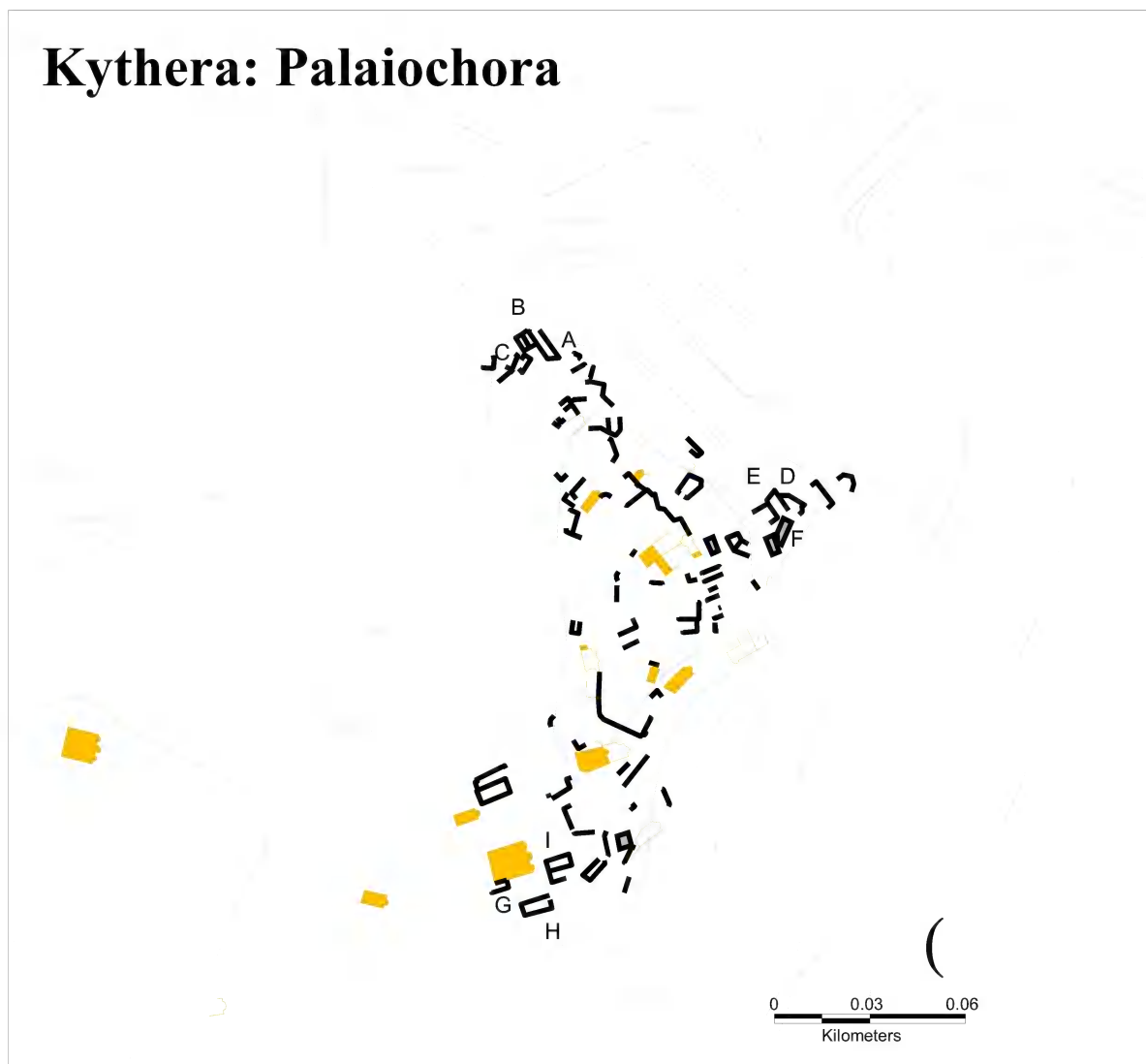
Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

b. NE section is on a rather steep slope and the houses are very irregular in shape built on platforms of rock. They are often built against the bedrock.

19. House F: E wall 7.3, W wall 7.7, N wall 2.27, S wall 2.6. Most of the SW corner of the building is taken up with natural bedrock, which protrudes into the house itself and also forms part of the W wall. Not effort seems to have been made to cut the rock face back to create a regular shape. Every piece of available space was utilised for building.

20. House D also conforms to the natural contouring of the crag producing an irregular plan too. N wall slanting 3.04, E wall 3.27.
The space between *Houses D, E and F* acted as an access area for these structures as the entrances to these dwellings open to this small space.

Features:
i. Small square holes (0.15x0.15 m) at varying heights on a number of house walls. They are very regular in the SE section must have acted as slots for scaffolding.
ii. Some houses have niches built into their interior walls (e.g. *House I* in the centre of N wall with height 0.45, width 0.38, depth 0.30). Most niches have schist plaques for shelving.
iii. Windows are less regular. *House E* has a splayed window (width 0.78, depth 0.49, height unknown) in the section of the wall, which extends beyond the north wall of House D. For most houses the only source of light and ventilation seems to have been the door.
iv. The roofs may have been flat. The major supporting members were transverse beams bedded in the rubble walls. Upon these were, at right angles, smaller rafters or continuous lines of canes the ends of which rested in the walls. Schist or flat limestone plaques were probably placed upon this grid. The structure might have supported a thick layer of beaten earth with a slight pitch towards the exterior of the house. *House G* has 4 rounded beam sockets (0.3 m diameter) about 0.2 m below the top of the extant S wall with corresponding sockets on the opposite N wall. In *House H* a joint is visible in the upper part of the E wall 2.36 m above the ground and a number of mortared holes, of the size of bamboo canes, are visible along the jointing. The wall continues above the joint 0.54 m, forming what seems to be a parapet above the roof into which a small drain of 0.20x0.15 m has been placed to rid the roof of excess water. At the NE section of the site we have noted a number of drainage channels cut into the bedrock in order to redirect water away from the roofs of the houses. Many houses of the site had a single storey.

21. House A has two storeys (E wall 10.53, W wall 7.9, S wall 2.90, N wall 2.84). Large beam sockets supporting the first floor are visible in the E and W walls. On the E wall there are 12 visible and they are 2-2.5 m off the present ground level (0.1-0.15 diameter). Two entrances on the W wall, one on the lower and one on the upper level. Four niches on E wall, two on either level, and two niched windows one on each level. There is a small slot at the ground level up to 1.44 m (visible) probably suggesting a partition. There is a fireplace on the W wall near the door at the ground level with a small niche. There is a sign of the origin of a semi-dome on the NW corner.

22. House B is less well preserved than House A (E wall 4.95, W wall 4.87, N wall 2.58, S wall 2.16). There are 3 beam sockets in the E wall (0.10x0.15 m), which correspond to three sockets on the W wall (or E wall of House A). The W wall has two niches. The door is on the S wall as is suggested by the smooth splayed side surviving at a height 1.75 above present ground and the bolt (=*mandalos*) hole in the wall.

BUILDING MATERIAL:
Roughly hewn grey limestone of various sizes. The masonry is irregular and longer stones are used for quoins at the corners of the houses. Pebbles are also mixed in the wall construction. Fragments of pottery are occasionally used in houses. A greater use of broken tiles is found in *House A*. A coarse, hard whitish lime mortar sometimes with inclusions of crushed brick is used to join the stones together. It seems that no luxury imports, such as marble, were used on the site. This may be false though because materials as marble may have fallen prey to stone robbers as has happened with many *poros* blocks (Ince, Koukoulis, and Smyth 1987, Ince et al. 1989).

Arkadia: Geraki

The Castle was built by the Franks (Guy de Nivelet?) in the 1250s together with the castles of Maina, Leuktro and Mistra that served to control the minorities occupying the surrounding areas. In 1259 the castle was given to the Byzantines in return for G. Villeardoine. The castle was important as it was on the route between Mistra and Monemvasia. The hill was abandoned in the 15th to early 18th century. The settlement is spread over two hilltops and is now called Palaio*kastro*. It has 8 churches on the N hilltop and three neighbourhoods excluding the actual fortified area. There are a few traces of fortification around the settlement area.
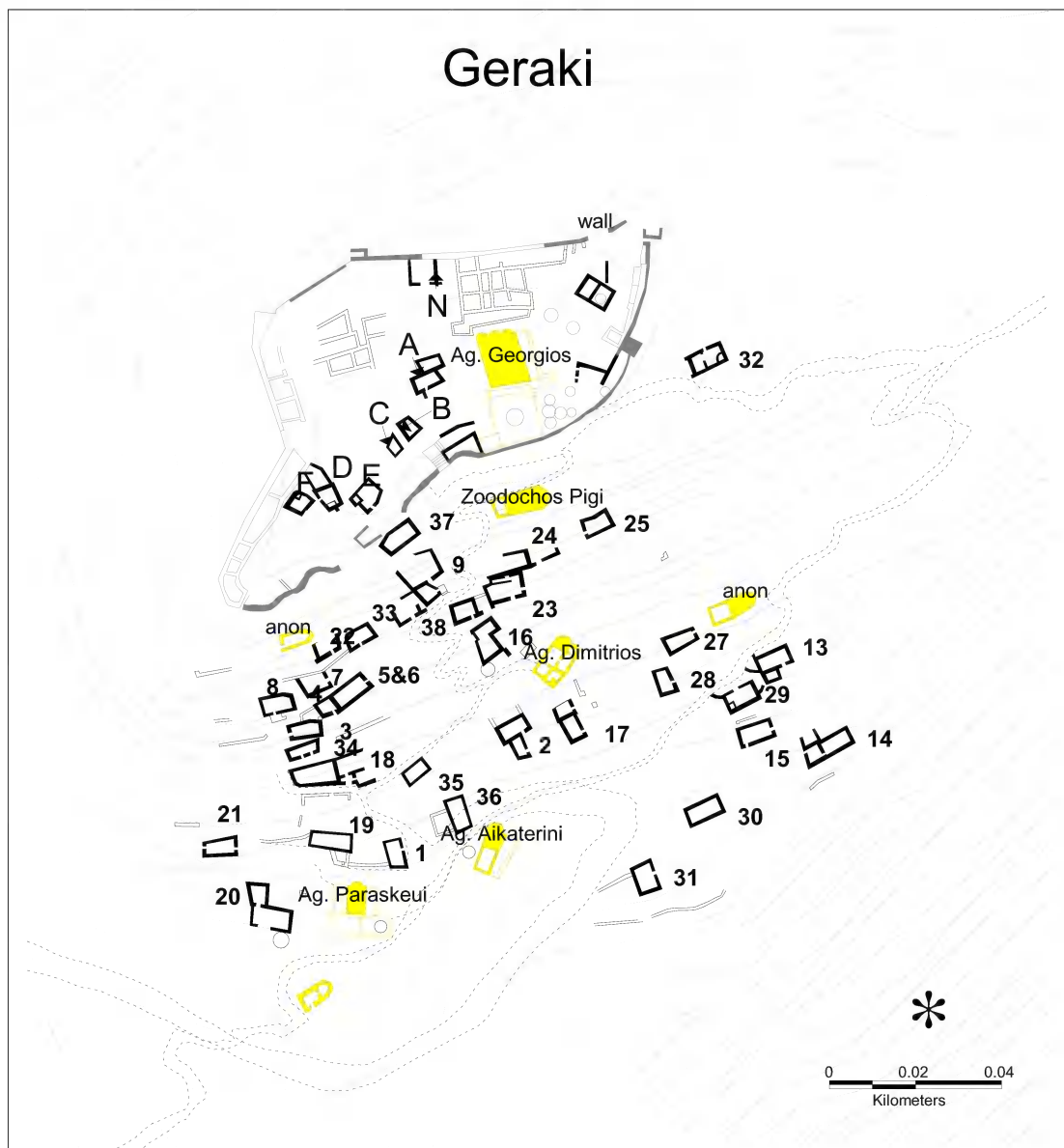
The CASTLE belongs to the group of mountain castles exploiting the naturally fortified nature of the situation. There are two phases that can be identified one of the initial construction in the 1250s and the other during the Byzantine rule after 1260 during which the S side was re-enforced. The castle is dominated by the church of Agios Georgios. There are various remains of buildings some of which form complexes, others attached to the fortification wall, and others are free-standing (houses? A, B, C, D, E, Z, I, K; the residence of the lord L and M?). There are also two large cisterns one in the courtyard of the church and the other to the S.

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

23. *Structure A* consists of two rooms. The one is overlooking the settlement being slightly behind the main gate (external: 7.52x4.34). It is accessed from the W. Diagonally behind it is the other room (external: 6.26x3.37). It is not possible to determine whether it was entered from the space adjacent to it or directly from outside as it is partly surviving.

24. *Structure B* is just in front of the gate (external: 4.34x5.4). It is possible that it served a purpose other than domestic, but no information is provided.

25. *Structure C* is just to the NW of structure B and may have had a similar purpose as is suggested by the similarity of plans (external: 3.28x4.63).

26. *Structure D* has two spaces following the direction of the contours. The main space had two storeys and was entered from the N (external: 6.55x3.66). It had a storage area separated with a wall and mortared internally in the NW corner. The back wall has collapsed. The second space is to the E side of the main surviving structure (external: 4.34x4.63). This was joined with the storage or domestic structures directly against the fortification wall of the castle. No entrance survives but it is possible that it was accessed from the N side too.

27. *Structure E* has an irregular plan but is still single-spaced and has two storeys (external: 6.94x6.17). It was entered from the SW and was located very near the W side of the fortification walls. Internally it had a square storage space that was mortared internally and was protruding from the N wall of the structure.

28. *Structure Z* was a square structure with probably two storeys (external: 5.3x5.59). Its plan was irregular. There is a possibility that it was entered from the SW. Within the room was a storage facility typical to the site, built in the E corner and mortared internally. It is suggested by the author that these storage spaces were accessed from an opening in the floor of the 1st storey.

29. *Structure I* is a very rectangular structure with two rooms (external: 7.52x5.97). It had an internal division. It was accessed from the NE side? and had a cistern? in the second room.

30. *Structure K* is very fragmentary, but is against the storage facilities of the fortification (external: 4.72x6.84). It might have been entered from the N through two doors, but the openings recorded on the plan may be collapses of the wall.

NEIGHBOURHOOD A seems to be more densely occupied being the area directly under the castle (houses 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 18, 22, 33, 34; anonymous church).
NEIGHBOURHOOD B has two churches one of which is a twin church (Agios Dimitrios). The houses are divided in two groups by the surveyors: the detached (2, 16, 17, 25) and the houses sharing walls with each other (9, 23A, 23B, 23C, 29?, 38).
NEIGHBOURHOOD C with three churches, one probably being the cemetery church, has mainly detached houses that are more dispersed in space (13, 14, 15, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31).
The S HILL TOP of the site has a few houses, merely surviving, (10, 11, 12, 26; according to Traquair's plan they should be 11 in total excluding a complex).

31. *House 1* (external: 6.07x4.82) seems to have had a single storey and consists of one room that is vertically set to the contours. The plan is not exactly rectangular, but this seems to be the case with most of the structures of the settlement. It has an entrance on the S side that is opening onto the main road and a path. At the back of the house there is a terraced area that is shared with *House 19*?

32. *House 2* has three spaces in an L-shaped arrangement. The surveyors distinguished 3 phases. Room A was the initial structure and had a single storey (internal: 6.36x3.26, wall thickness 0.52 m). This room was accessed from the SW and is parallel to the contours. There was also another doorway in the opposite wall (NE) leading to a back room that was covered by the same single pitched roof as Room A and may have been used for storage or as an animal shed. The NW wall had two niches with vaults. The SW wall had one niche and

another door that was opened when Room B was added. There was also a watching opening at the S side of the main road. The SE wall has a niche approximately in the middle of the wall (niche or fireplace?). During the second phase a second floor was added on top of Room A. The second floor had the same number of openings at approximately the same positions, the NE wall apart from the door had an additional niche towards the middle of the wall, the NW wall had only one niche and a watching opening, the SW wall apart from the two doorways (smaller) had a watching opening this time of the N side of the main door, and the SE wall has two niches and two watching openings. Once the second floor was built the back room fell out of use and the ground floor door towards it was blocked. The second floor was covered by a double-pitched roof as is shown on the plan. The third phase is characterised by the addition of Room B at a level lower than Room A due to the slop difference. This was a two-storey structure (internal: 4.64x2.81 m) that was accessed either from the S (from the outside on both floors) or Room A (from inside NE on the 1st floor). There were two watching openings on both the N and W wall on the ground floor, on the S wall apart from the doorway another watching opening and a cavity in the wall for slide a beam blocking the door. On the 1st floor there were two niches in the N wall, a watching opening and a window in the W wall and a watching opening in the S wall apart from the door, which was accessed by a wooden bridge-balcony supported by a series of extruding stones. This structure was roofed with a single hipped roof.

33. Nivelet group
The arrangement of these rooms, the fortified nature, and its location underneath the castle suggest that it belonged to an eponymous occupant of the castle. It has four spaces that do not communicate with each other.
Structures 5 (internal: 3.5x8.24, wall thickness 0.52) and 6 (internal: 3.16x3.05, wall thickness 0.53) must have been built at the same time. It is possible that structure 3 (internal: 2.28x6.14, wall thickness 0.46) pre-existed and it is definite that structure 4 (internal: 1.75x4.07, wall thickness 0.40) was built later.
Structure 3 has two storeys and is entered from the N and short side of the structure. The doors were the one above the other. The doorway of the 1st storey was approached by a small wooden bridge. The ground floor has no openings apart from the door. There were also two arched niches in the W wall. The 1st floor had one window in the S wall and one watching opening in the W, opened at a later period and at the level of the floor. The 1st floor could be isolated from the rest of the building and the outside attesting the fortified nature of the structure.
Structure 4 was probably used for storage as its acanonical shape suggests. The ground floor of Structure 5 was below the road level and was entered from the W wall. Since no entrance survives for the 1st floor it is suggested that that was entered internally. The beam holes in all the walls suggest a change of the floor level during its occupation. The N wall of the 1st floor has 3 niches that were covered with single schist slabs. The W wall has traces of ochre plaster in a "*sardeloto*" pattern.
Finally *structure 6* has a large two-storey hall that is entered not from the road but the short S side. The low arched doors of the two floors are diagonally arranged taking advantage of the slope of the ground. It is of a rather monumental nature as is implied by its size and the symmetrical arrangement of the windows (2) and low niches (3) in the W wall (1st floor) that almost reach the floor level. The N window is the best surviving of the settlement. It has an arched top with a decorative intruding brick frame at the outside and a plastered and incised interior imitating the external brickwork. It was closed from the inside with a wooden shutter secured by a bar. There were also two more low niches in the E wall of similar design but located at the S side of the wall.

34. House 7 (internal: 3.4x4.91, wall thickness 0.56 m) had two storeys with diagonally arranged doorways at the S shorter side of the structure. The plan was acanonical. There was a small watching opening on ground floor level and in the W wall and a window and another watching opening on the first floor.

35. House 8 (internal: 6.13x2.14, wall thickness 0.45) is single-spaced and has two storeys with a double-pitched roof. It is the only building with a built entrance structure, which is entered with stone stairs from a widening of the path approaching the W side of the house. This is a built balcony (*exostis*) with a low wall attached the main structure of the house. It is assumed by the author that this was a covered balcony (*skepastos iliakos*). This provides access though to the ground floor as the second storey seems to have been approached from the E wall near the SE corner of the building directly from the path. The SE corner is rounded in order to provide easier access for the path, as has been observed elsewhere in Geraki. The ground floor is accessed from

the yard (*auli*) through a tile-arched doorway, which internally has a higher arch resulting a slight form of tympanum (like in Mistra). Internally the ground is formed so as to allow the opening of the door. The ground floor had one watch hole in the N wall and three others in the W wall, apart from the door. The first storey had two arched niches in the E wall together with the doorway, one small niche on the W most parts of both N and S walls, and two small niches, one small window and possibly one door in the W wall. This door might have led to a balcony, even though a balcony would be contrary to the defensive nature of the structure and settlement in general. Internally there are traces of the "*sardeloto*" plastering of the walls as well as decorative incised patterns around the door and the window at the first storey. Similar decorative patterns, but in colour too, were recorded in Mistra too. Another interesting feature is that the beam holes in the back wall (E) of the house are at a higher level than those of the facade (W). It is possible therefore that the floor was either inclined or that it had two levels. The author, though, suggests that it might be intended for the construction of a balcony.

36. House 9 has two or three phases of construction. The final phase resulted to an L-shaped plan. The first phase consisted of a single-storey and single-spaced house (space A) with a single-pitched roof (internal: 7.035x4.115, wall thickness 0.48). It seems to have had one watching hole and a doorway with a beam hole for locking the door in the SW wall. The upper storey must have been added next with the same orientation. The doorway is not directly above the door of the ground floor, but diagonally to the S. There were also three niches in the same wall of different sizes and not symmetrically arranged, with a possibility of a fourth one that was later closed (probably even a window). The last addition to the structure was a rectangular two-storey extension (internal 3.61x3.32, wall thickness 0.56). The ground floor (*katoi*) had no openings apart from the door in the SE wall. This was reached by a square space with a retaining wall at the NE and SE sides that was also supporting a wooden bridge allowing access to the door of the first storey. This provided shelter to the square space in front of the ground floor door. This is also noted in examples of Mistra. The door of the first storey was above the one of the ground floor (SE wall). Both doors had masoned stone jambs encased by brickwork that are also mentioned in churches both in Geraki and Mistra.

37. House 13 is a characteristic two-spaced and L-shaped structure with two-storeys built in two phases. The initial structure was rectangular with two-storeys (internal: 7.17x2.97, wall thickness 0.61). It was entered at ground floor level from the W side. The doorway had a beam slot for the locking of the door. The first storey was entered from the E that was accessed from the adjacent path. The author mentions the possibility that the first floor was entered from the W as is suggested by a doorway leading to the extension. This would be approached by a hagiati type construction (*exostis*), but it seems rather contradictory to the general character of the buildings of the settlement. The N and S wall had 1 and 2 niches (arched?), respectively. In a second phase a two-storey tower construction was added to the NW corner of the main building (internal: 1.80x2.52, wall thickness on ground level 0.59, on the first floor 0.45). The *katoi* was roofed be a *tholos* (very few surviving in Geraki and only in small structure with secondary uses) and, judging from the mortared interior with *kourasani* and the internal rounded corners, it must have been initially used as a cistern. This is confirmed by the by a small opening in the N side probably for the collection of water, as has been observed in Karytena and Mouchli too. In a later period a window was opened in the W wall that was converted to a door in a phase when the cistern was used for storage or as a living area. The upper floor was entered from the S wall. It had a small window on both N and W walls, the latter having a small niche too. The windows are not symmetrical, as in structure 2, 17, 9, and contrary to Mistra. Another interesting feature is the yard that is created by the L-shaped and T-shaped houses, from which both parts of the structure are accessed. This is protected from the N side and may be included in the activity area of the house.

38. House 14 is the only example with two communicating rooms in linear arrangement. The first phase of construction consisted of a one-storey, single spaced, rectangular with a single-pitched roof house (internal: 3.24x6.72, wall thickness 0.61). It was entered from the N side. At the E side the house incorporated part of the bedrock. It did not have any other openings apart from the door. In a second phase a second storey was added to the structure and the roof became two-pitched. It was accessed from the N wall too, the door being diagonally to the E of the one at ground floor level. The W wall had one window and two niches one of which had two shelves. On the S wall too there was one niche and an arched "bow hole" (*toxothyrida*), a very rare feature in houses and similar to *House 32*. Contemporarily with the second floor the SW corner of the house was closed

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

with a wall. Internally it was mortared with hydraulic mortar (*koniama*) and was possibly used for storage of wheat. It was accessed through an opening in the floor of the first storey. Next to this space another was added at a later period (internal: 4.14x4.06, wall thickness 0.56), turning the external doors of the first two phases to internal at the final stage. The ground floor of the extension was accessed from the N wall too. A niche was also built into the N wall as well as in the W wall, which also had a pouring niche (*thyrida katopteusis*). The number of niches or cupboards and the presence of a deep carved niche within the bedrock at the SE part of the space indicate, according to the author, a kitchen area. The first storey was accessed through the E wall via a square and walled yard. A niche in the N wall and a window in the W were the only other features that were described by the author. The few openings of the house, the arched "bow hole" and the pouring hole, as well as the location of the house in relation to the settlement suggests a defensive character. It seems actually that a path was going past the W side of the complex entering the village that needed to be guarded.

39. House 15 is a single spaced rectangular house probably with one storey (external: 8.58x5.2). It has one door at the N part of the W wall and another one approximately in the middle of the S wall.

40. House 16 has at least three phases of construction. In the first phase there was only a single spaced, two storey? and pitched roof structure that was entered at both storeys from the SE side (internal: 2.92x5.23, wall thickness 0.48). It does not seem to have had any other openings or niches, even though there might have been some in the SW wall that was probably knocked down when the third phase was built. At a second phase another single storey structure was built with a pitched roof (internal: 5.1x5.3, wall thickness 0.585). It was entered from the NE wall. It had only one window in the SE wall and four watching/beam holes in the SW. In the W corner of the building there was a carved structure in the bedrock for the collection of rainwater from the roofs of both the complex. In the third phase a second storey was build over this space retaining the original inclination of the roof. The space was accessed from the ground floor of the original building. A window was built in the SW wall as well as three niches in the NW wall (one probably used as a basin due to the pipe leading from it to the outside).

41. House 17 has two spaces that are not communicating with each other. They are both entered from the SE. The furthest to the E seems to have been built against the bedrock and may have been the initial structure (external: 3.56x5.78). The structure to the SW was built against the previous building (external: 6.07x4.34). There seems to be a niche or a window in the SE wall adjacent to the door. The author does not provide any additional information, such as number of storeys, roof type and other features, rather than the rough plan on the settlement map.

42. House 18 is an interesting house that does not survive much higher than foundation level. It seems to have had three oblong spaces, two of which were accessed from a small yard at the W side of the complex.

43. House 19 is an L-shaped building. The main structure does not survive well and no conclusions can be drawn concerning openings and niches (external: 10.4x5.2, wall thickness 0.67). It might have had two storeys, though as suggested by its wall thickness. It seems to have been extended to the W adding a tower-like structure similar to that of *House 13* with symmetrical arrangements of niches and windows, though, as the author claims. No plan is provided.

44. House 20 is also L-shaped seemingly with at least two phases, but not mentioned in the text. It is possible that the initial structure was a tower-like building probably with two storeys with an entrance at the W side (external: 4.43x5.78). This was attached to an oblong structure with a wide opening at the W side too - probably a collapsed doorway - and a cistern? adjacent to the SW corner (external: 9.64x6.55, wall thickness 0.70).

45. House 21 was an oblong single spaced building with two doorways, one to the N and one to the S (external: 5.3x8.67, wall thickness 0.7?). It is not indicated whether it had two storeys or not but it seems to have had a cistern against the W wall.

46. House 22 is built against the bedrock and consist of one space (external: 5.78x3.85). It has probably one storey with a pitched roof. The door is in the SW wall.

47. House 23 is a complex of at least three spaces (A, B and C). Spaces and A and C must have had two-storeys and separate initially and probably of different phases, whereas B had possibly a single storey and was later added to join the two structures together. All spaces are accessed from the W and they do not communicate. Space A is 6.26x4.62 (external). Space C is more complex (external: 8.38x4.82/6.26). It has one door at the W and one at the S side. In front of the W door there is an enclosing wall forming a long and narrow platform. the E of space C was extended further to the E approximately 1.5 m adding a narrow corridor-like space at the back. A niche was recorded at the very back wall. This auxiliary space must have been used for some special function, but no indication of its nature is provided. Finally, the 2.89 m space between A and B was enclosed forming space B (this is only an assumption based on the general site plan provided). This might be of a similar nature as *Structure 4* of the Nivelet complex (animal shed or storage).

48. House 24 seems not to be surviving higher than one storey. It has two spaces of probably different construction phases at a slightly different angle from each other. The N and NE part of the original structure do not survive and neither does its entrance that must have been on either the N or E wall (external: ~10.34x4.83). This space is attached to the back wall of Structure 23C. The extension? is to the S of the original house. It has a doorway facing the SW (external: 6.3x4.83).

49. House 25 is a single-spaced structure that had probably two storeys in its final stage of occupation as most other buildings in Geraki (external: 4.73x7.63). It is a good example showing how a house was parallel to the contour lines of the slopes, as its back wall curves following the contour. It was entered from the N side something rare for a Geraki house.

50. House 27 is single-spaced and had probably two storeys in its final phase (external: 3.86x7.83). It is entered from the E wall.

51. House 28 is another single-spaced with two storeys structure but this one is vertical to the contours (like house 1, 31, 36, and the extensions of houses 2, 16, 17), probably exploiting the height difference to create the 1st floor (6.67x4.35). It was entered from the E, but there might have been another opening (door or window) in the N wall.

52. House 29 is a typical single-spaced with two storeys house (8.5x4.93). It was entered from the E. It had a square, mortared storage space in the NW corner of the ground floor that was accessed from the 1st floor (like houses 14 and 32).

53. House 30 is another typical Geraki house (8.98x5.89). Unfortunately, the doorway and other details are not mentions either in text or recorded on plan, but it is orientated along the contour lines from N to S.

54. House 31 is vertical to the contour lines (7.25x5.8). It is single-spaced and possibly with two storeys and is below a terrace with a terrace wall that continues at its N side.

55. House 32 is a two-roomed structure unlike all the other houses of the site (8.67x5.11). It must have been two-storey. The doorway is at the NE wall of the house, which is following the contour lines as most other structures. The partition wall was directly to the N of the main doorway, and might not have extended to the upper floor. The second space created was accessed from the E side of the partition wall. The main room had a storage basin separated from the rest by a curving wall at the SW corner of the room. It was mortared internally and probably accessed from the 1st floor through an opening. From the general site plan is seems that the house was extended to the NW, but the structure may have been pulled down by the construction of the path adjacent to the house.

56. House 33 is a typical single spaced probably two-storey structure (7.52x4.43). It was entered from the SW. Its NE corner was rounded in order to ease the passing of the animals going to house 22 and the Anonymous church nearby. It is situated on a terrace with a terrace wall extending from its SW wall towards the NW.

57. House 34 is a narrow single spaced house (7.9x3.37). It has two doorways in its SW wall facing a path, both very near the centre of the house. It is possible that they are suggestive of some sort of partition, which does not survive.

58. House 35 is a single spaced structure that does not survive very well (6.26x4.34). It is along one of the settlement paths. It might have been single-storey.

59. House 36 is T-shaped house with probably two phases of construction. The main building is a single spaced structure vertical to the contour lines and partly destroyed by the path going up to the castle (8.19x4.82). Its entrance does not survive. To the North side of this space is another square structure also in ruins (5.11x5.13).

60. House 37 is just below the castle wall and close to its entrance (8.96x3.85). The structure must have been entered either from the SW or the SE. The back wall of the house was following the fortification wall of the castle.

61. House 38 is a typical single spaced house with probably two storeys (5.97x5.40). It is along the path leading to the castle and is directly entered from it (SW; Simatou and Christodoulopoulou 1989-1990).

Arkadia: Mouchli

The town was built in the end of the 13th century dominating the valley of Achladokambos. It was destroyed in 1458-1460, providing, according to the author, a *terminus post quem* for the building activity on the site. It is not mentioned whether the site was totally abandoned or the occupation continued after the destruction. The site had three fortification walls dividing the settlement into three areas. The roads were narrow and winding following the slope. The houses were built vertically to the contours of the hill. They had long rectangular plans with occasional extensions arranged vertically to the main body of the structure. The ground floor, built exploiting the height difference due to the direction of the slope, was frequently used as a cistern or as storage space. The walls were constructed with large not masoned stone blocks with intervening smaller rocks and fragments of tile and brick. There is no mention for the use of mortar in the wall structure. The roofs were mainly two pitched, but there are some four pitched roof examples too (probably of later date?). In some cases the houses were internally bound with wooden beams to make them earthquake proof. The very few windows that survive are small, single flapped and arched. The doorways are small too. Commonly loopholes were positioned at strategic parts of the walls. The ground floors were usually semi-cylindrically corbelled. No evidence was found for fireplaces and toilets or sewerage. The average internal area of the houses was 25 sq.m, which is much small than the average of the houses studied in Mistra. It is suggested that the houses referred to here belonged to wealthier classes and that the lower classes lived in even smaller single storey structures built of rough stones joined with mud.

62. House A was built following the slope (external 13x5.5, wall thickness 0.85). It was built of large boulders with intervening smaller rocks (*sfines* or *mpolia*) and bricks joined with lime mortar. Only one doorway survives at ground floor level in the N wall. It was arched and had a loophole above it. Opposite the doorway in the S wall there was a second loophole. One window is still visible in the middle of the W small side of the building. The space is internally divided in two rooms. The W room and largest is subdivided by means of an arch and was at a

No. 62

Mouchli: House A
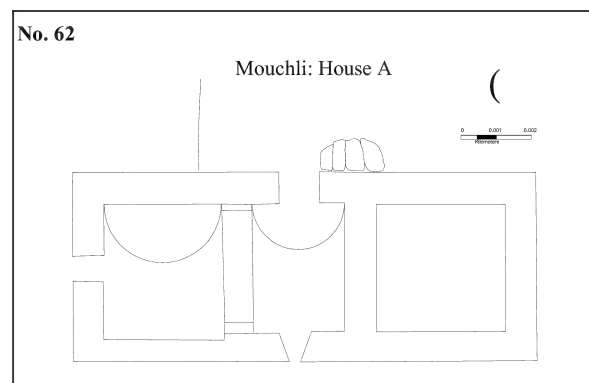
lower level than the E room, due to the slope. There was no evidence of communication between the two rooms. Both rooms were covered by semi-cylindrical corbelling vertical to the E-W direction of the house. It seems to have had a second storey covering the whole length of the surviving sub-structure and a double-pitched roof (it would be exaggerated to accept the flat roofed (1; p. 330) or the *iliakos*-veranda reconstruction (3; p. 330) of the author due to the apparent lack of evidence).

Mouchli: House B

No. 63
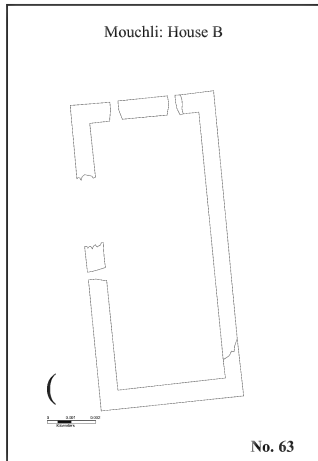
63. *House B* had a single roomed ground floor (external 13.5x5.8, wall thickness 0.85). This too was built vertically to the contours. It was entered from the W long side, the doorway being defended by a loophole to the S. Two more loopholes survived at the N wall of the house. It had a second floor with a wooden floor and staircase, as there is no evidence of corbelling at ground floor level. The roof must have been double pitched like elsewhere.

64. *House C* is a more complex structure. It was L-shaped in plan and founded on remains of an ancient building (external N side 12.2, W side 16, long W side 11.3, short W side 4.7, long S side 6.7, short S side 5.5, wall thickness 0.85). The entrance was possibly at first floor level, in the E long side of the house, where according to the plan there is a room (2) providing access to the two wings of the complex. Room 1 seems to have had a semi-cylindrical corbelled ceiling at ground floor level. The space SE of the L-shape must have been the yard of the house.
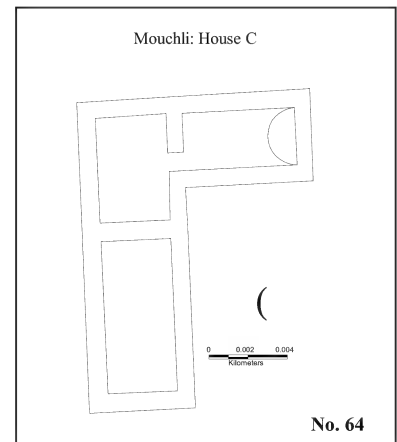
Mouchli: House C

No. 64

Mouchli: House D

No. 65
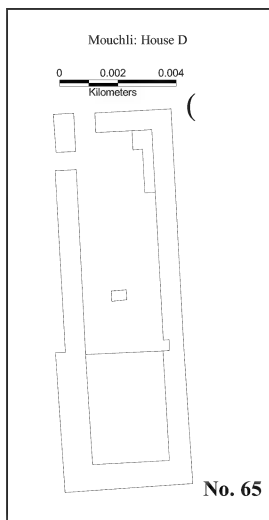
65. *House D* is a long building with two identifiable phases of construction (internal 12.1x2.75). It was built parallel to the contours and was entered through the N wall (door: width 0.83, height 1.5, two stone slabs were used as lintels). There was also a second door in the N part of the W wall that possibly led to a small balcony, according to the reconstruction of the author. The largest part of the ground floor was used as a cistern that was supplied with rainwater through two ceramic pipes. The ceiling was corbelled and had a small opening in the middle of the building providing access to the cistern from the first floor. Initially the building was two-storey with a double-pitched roof. Later, though, the N part of the roof was replaced by a tower structure adding a second storey to the building. The room that was added was accessed internally via a staircase that was built in the NE corner of the first floor (Moutsopoulos 1985).

Athens

Athenian Agora near the Eleusinion

66. The rooms of the house (external 12x12.5, wall thickness 0.7) are arranged around a courtyard (internal 4.7x3.5). The house faces the N. To the W of the courtyard there was no closed room, but a small roofed space resembling to the classical and Hellenistic *pastas* (according to Travlos), a feature to be found also in the Near East up to today. To the W of the main entrance there is a single room (1) that was probably used for storage (internal 4x3). Along the E side of the courtyard two approximately equal sized rooms (internal 3x3.5 each) were excavated, only room 3 opening to the courtyard and providing access to room 2. To the S three rooms with E to W alignment were discovered, the one providing access to the other. Rooms 4 and 5 were almost square and of the same size (internal 2.9x3.1) with a wide opening between them. Room 6 was slightly bigger (internal 4.9x3.2), accessed by the courtyard and communicating with a small door with room 5. The three latter rooms are regarded to resemble the triklinon arrangement found in Late Roman Syria. This house belongs to the **12th century** (Travlos 1960).

Agora of Athens

pastas   courtyard   3

No. 66
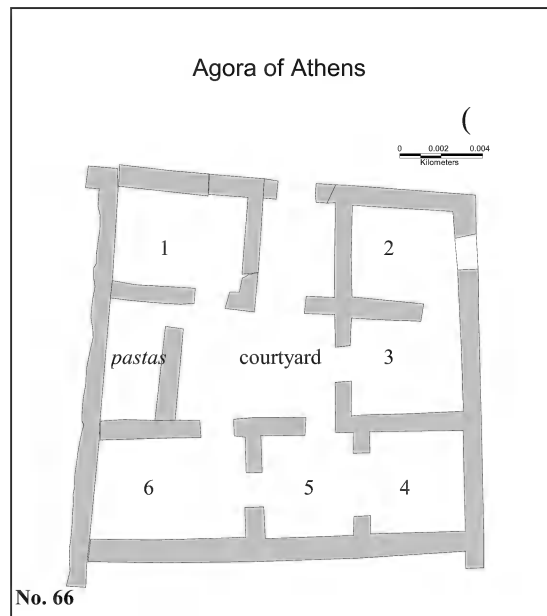
Plot on Tziraion Street 8-10

Athens: Tziraion 8-10

No. 67
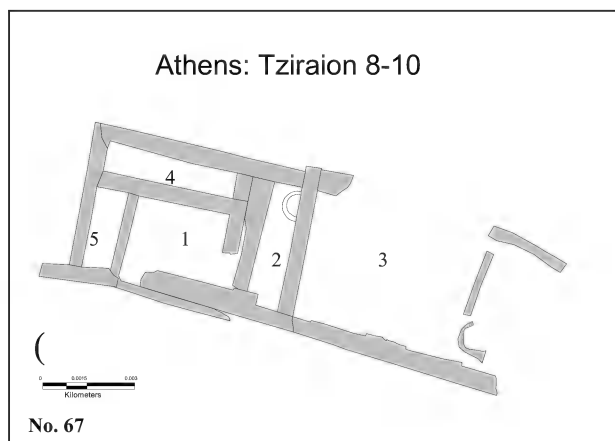
67. *House 1* belongs to the **11th** and **12th centuries**. Two phases can be identified. During phase A the house was single roomed (internal 4.8x4, wall thickness 0.5-0.7). It had an E-W alignment, its entrance probably being in the S side. Soon after, during phase B, the house was extended to the E with the addition of room 3 (internal 7.2x4.15). An additional narrow room 2 (internal width 0.95) was created between room 1 and 3, at the NE corner of which a built *pithos* was found. In addition, two new walls in room 1 divided it into three rooms. Rooms 4 and 5 were long and probably used for storage. Similarly the westernmost wall of the house was partially destroyed so as to built yet another storage *pithos* (Orfanou 1992).

Cluster SE of Herod's Theatre

68a. *House 1* is a large, probably two-storey structure (external including yard? 11.37x16.87) with at least 10 rooms dating to the **12th century**. It was built over the S side of the Eastern Roman Cistern. It would be possible to assign phases of construction to the excavated walls, but the plans provided do not permit to be conclusive for their chronological order. There is a possibility to recognise five extensions to the original structure, which may have been the central part of the house (rooms 1a, 1b and 2, external 9x5.9, wall thickness 0.5). It had initially a partition wall, approximately in the middle of the room, separating space 1a from 1b. These two spaces had one storage jar each suggesting that the ground floor was used for storage purposes and that a second floor might have existed. At a later stage room 2 was separated from space 1. The structure seems to have had a doorway in the S wall that led to space 13 (external 11.4x5.75) that might have functioned as a walled yard.
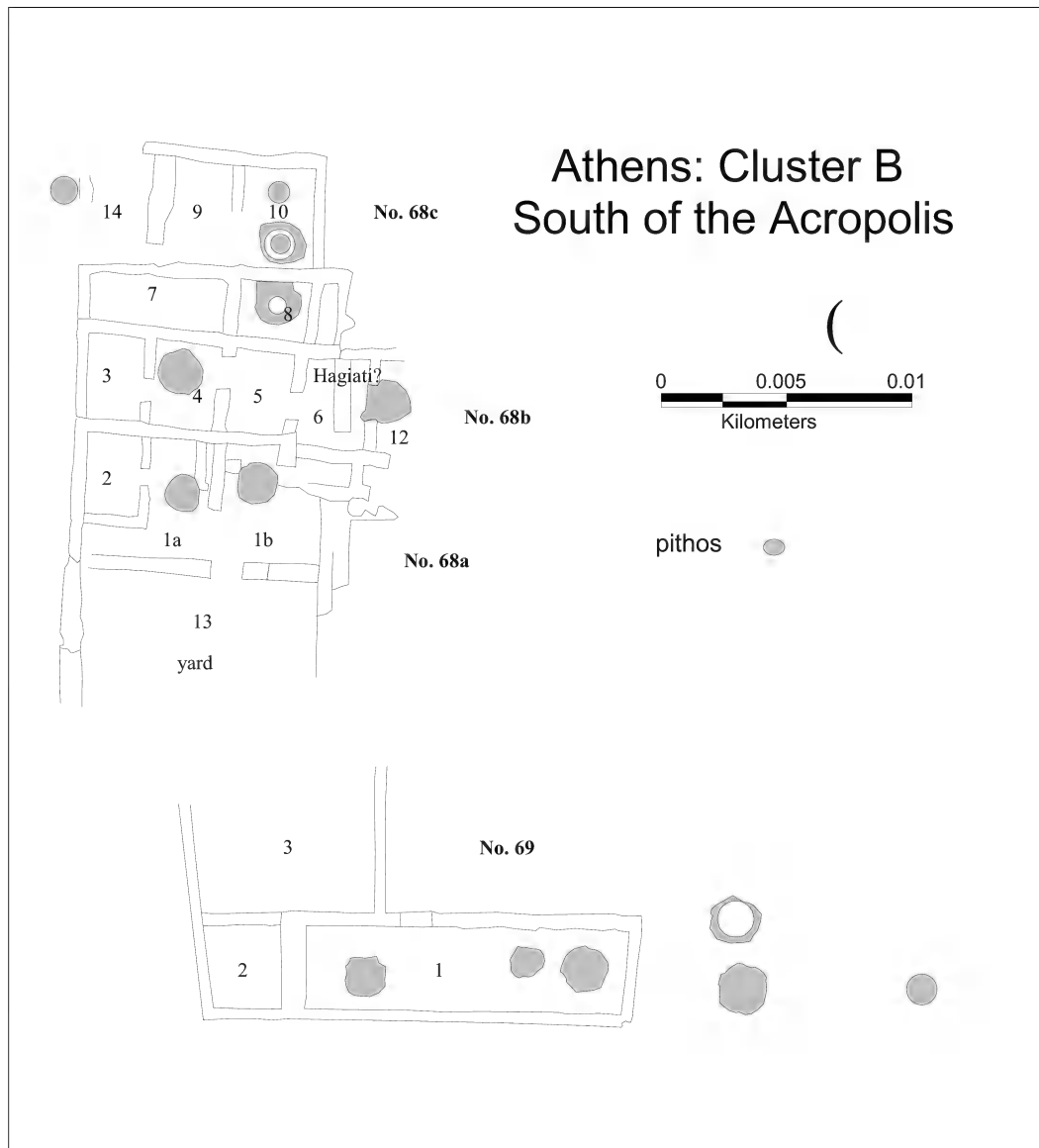
Rooms 3, 4, 5 (*68b. House 2?*, external 4.75x10.75, wall thickness 0.5) are later extensions or most probably a separate house. They were all interconnected through doors in the E side of each room. A doorway in the E wall of room 5 was probably the entrance of this structure in its initial phase. It seems that in front of room 5 there was a covered space possibly supporting a kind of hagiati/iliakos. At a later stage rooms 6 and space 12? were added to the E of room 5 with a similar orientation. Rooms 4 and 12? had two large *pithoi* indicating storage. It should again be assumed that the structure had a second storey that was used for habitation.

Rooms 7 and 8 (external 3.72x12.1, wall thickness 0.47) may have been a further extension of the house towards the N of rooms 3, 4 and 5. Room 8 had a built storage *pithos*.

Rooms 14?, 9 and 10 (*68c. House 3?*, external 5.1x10, wall thickness 0.55) were built against 7 and 8 and may have had the same orientation like house 68b (i.e. E). This too must have had a second storey. Two *pithoi* were discovered in room 10 and one storage pit to the W of room 14?. The rooms were connected with each other. It seems to have been a habit to have rooms in linear arrangement in these structures, which implies, in my mind, that we might be dealing with three different houses.

69. House 4 had at least two identifiable phases, both belonging to the **12th century**. It was L-shaped with only room 1 belonging to the original structure (external 14.4x4.4, wall thickness 0.54). Three *pithoi* were

uncovered. It was entered from the N side and had almost certainly a second floor. Room 2 and space 3 were later extensions increasing probably the storage facilities of the household.

The houses seem to have been arranged in clusters. It is possible, though, that they were actually irregular blocks as is the case in Plaka area nowadays (Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou 1982).

The Athenian Agora

A complex of small rooms sharing party walls was excavated, bordering the two sides of a N-S street that survived from the Archaic period near the Agora. Some were private dwellings with courtyards and household wells, and others were at least partly of commercial or industrial nature. A church and a small chapel were used at least for a short while throughout the period of occupation. The general impression given at the particular site is that of a crowded urban environment in medieval times. The excavation has provided two more or less complete house plans.

The two houses west of the N-S street seem to have had three phases of occupation and several sub-phases that could be clearly identified.
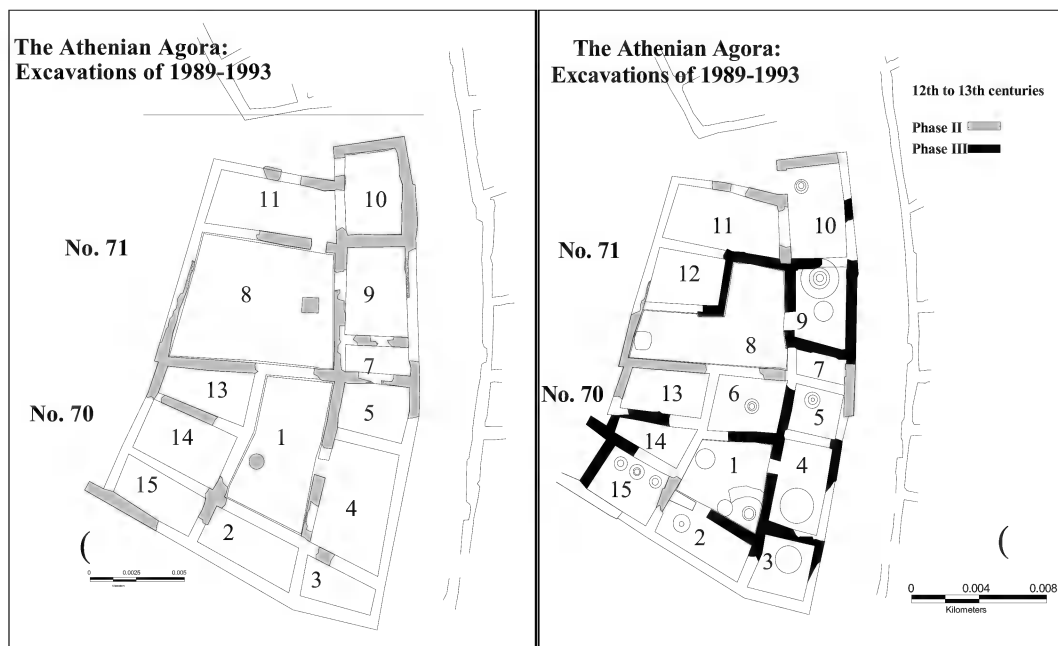
70. *The South House* (rooms 1-6, 13-15): Small rooms (3-5 by 2-3m) were arranged around a courtyard (room 1) of irregular shape. Within the rooms the floor was of packed earth or clay. The function of each room is hard to identify, but some ubiquitous *pithoi*, buried to their lips under the floors, were recovered beneath the floors of rooms and used for storage. Three such *pithoi* were found in a row in room 15. In an earlier phases *pithoi* were discovered in most rooms around the courtyard apart from rooms 13 and 14. In the courtyard a tile-lined well was also found. In the first phase (9th c) only room 13 seems to have existed as the walls and the roof-tile evidence suggests. In phase two (after mid 10th c) the house was rebuilt and most of its interior partitions were realigned. Alterations to the house also occurred during this phase (sub-phases): series of superimposed earthen floors were excavated in courtyard and in room 13, while the east wall of courtyard was shifted 1m to the east. In phase 3 (13th c) room 6 was added and some walls were realigned or rebuilt, a number of doorways blocked with rubble masonry, and the thresholds and floors were raised (1 metre) ones again.

71. *The North House* (rooms 7-12) demonstrated closely analogous phases. Despite having fewer rooms, it was focussed like its neighbouring *South House* on a courtyard. The house was entered through the NW corner of room 10, which during the second occupational phase (13th century) was supplied with a large *pithos*. During

the same period a built *pithos* probably for liquid commodities, was also constructed in room 9 too, which seems to have been the main storage room of the house. It seems that throughout the 13th century the floor level had risen by about 1 metre, in a comparable fashion to the *Southern House*, and many of the walls showed clear signs of rebuilding. Room 12 (5.5x2.6m) was also built in the NW corner of the courtyard, reducing its size and converting it into an L-shape.

The houses East of N-S street were mostly destroyed by the deep foundations of 19th century buildings (Shear 1984, 1997).

Megara

Moraitis Street 41

72. *House 1* (external 14.5x4.20, wall thickness 0.7) was based on Classical and Roman foundations. The interest is focused on phase 5 of the excavation since it belongs to the **Byzantine** era, even though the exact period is not specified. It has three rooms and seems to be the ground floor of a two-storey house. The walls were built of rough stones joined with mud. The ground floor was probably used for storage, even though no storage jars seem to have been recovered. The structure has an E-W alignment and must have been entered from the N side. The house was flat roofed as the absence of tile fragments suggests. A cistern with a circular opening was excavated adjacent to the N wall of the house (Zoridis 1987).

Megara: Moraiti 41

0   0.002   0.004
Kilometers

No. 72
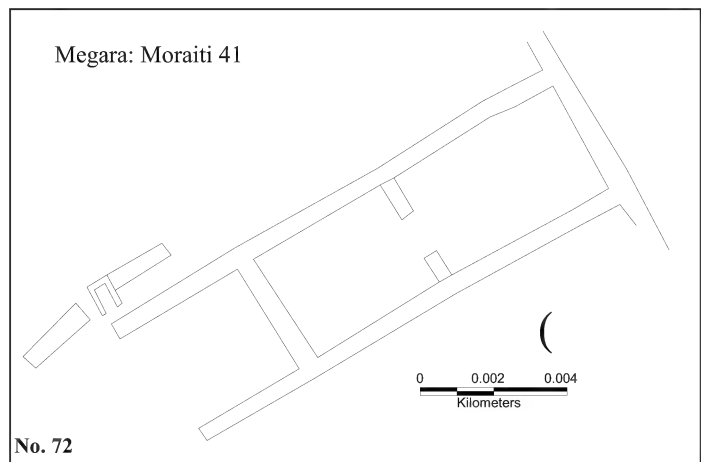
Boiotia: Panakton

The Settlement.
Panakton was a small, fortified agrarian settlement of the 14th and 15th c. The site developed around a Frankish tower and is a small hamlet not unlike other sites of the period discovered in Greece. It was short lived, probably only for two or three generations.
The Finds.
a. Coinage: Frankish denier *tournois*, Venetian *tornesello*
b. Architecture:
i) The tower was typically square at the highest point of the hill.
ii) The church is single-aisled and dominates the central plateau of the site.
iii) Three domestic structures were excavated, two of which dated to the **14th century** (coins). They consisted of 1, 2 or 3 rooms that varied in size from 6 to 20 sq m.

73. *House 1*, closest to the Classical gate, was divided into three rooms in its latest phase. The smallest was designed as a storage area (ceramics). The two other rooms could not be assigned a special function. The roof was probably pitched, with pan and cover tiles embedded in a thick layer of clay. An oval ceramic chimney cover was discovered in the corner of one of the rooms and was decorated with incised pine trees.

74. *House 2*, adjacent to the main church, had two rooms and possibly a walled in courtyard. Roof tiles survived well providing valuable information about them, as upper levels of structure had fallen almost intact. The south room overlooked the valley and was probably the living quarter. A *sondage* revealed a number of

knives, including one with a bone handle, from the 14th c stratigraphic layer. The northern room served as a storage area (barley seeds in soil deposits, the bedrock formed a "shelf" in the upper section of this room that served as a pantry for several large cooking vessels, one open bowl with a glazed interior). Glazed bowls and unglazed storage vessels, including 14th c sgraffito ware, were associated with the house.

On the plan there were four more structures that could be of domestic use and were not mentioned in the text. They might be still visible features within the castle that have been surveyed and included in the settlement plan.

75. House 3 is very near the fortifications of the keep. It is a single roomed structure, long and parallel to the contour lines (external: 10.93x4.81). It was entered from the centre of the S wall.

76. House 4 is built against the fortification wall of the castle or more accurately it was part of the external fortification wall. It was single roomed and most certainly entered from the SW side (external: 7.3x4.82).

77. House 5 (external: 15.55x4.44/7.3 including the shed) had two rooms (internal: starting from the northern most room 7.3x2.98, 5.84x3.17) and probably a shed on its SE side (external: 2.92x5.71). The rooms were connected with each other (?). This too was part of the fortification wall and therefore it must have been entered from the SW side.

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

77. House 6 is also against the fortification wall but this time not directly as it is adjacent to a square tower. It has two rooms at either sides of an irregularly shaped yard. The orientation of the house could therefore be regarded as facing the S since that is the only open side of the yard to the rest of the settlement. The structure follows the general orientation of the contour lines. The largest room, at the W of the yard, is accessed from the NE (external: 7.3x4.76) whereas the smaller rooms, to the E of the yard, were entered from the W (external: 4.44x5.08; Gerstel 1995).

Boiotia: Thebes

Plot of Secondary School (Gymnasium)

The date given is **Byzantine**.

79. House 1: There seems to be a large courtyard (internal 8x9.5, wall thickness 0.56) house with various building phases in the Byzantine period. A close look at the plan may suggest, though, that they might be different houses joined around the courtyard.

Room 1 (internal 3.34x7.67, wall thickness 0.56) seems to have been modified many times and founded on walls of various periods. Its E wall does not survive but it seems to have had an entrance in this wall at the S most side. It also provided access to Room 2 through an opening in the middle of the W wall. Room 2 (internal 6.4x3.73, wall thickness 0.52) seems to have an oven in its SE corner (probably kitchen). An opening in the S wall led to another space to the S that was not fully excavated. There is no clear evidence of a door towards the large courtyard in the W or space 4. In the N wall there was a doorway leading to space 3 (internal 3.36x~5.56, wall thickness 0.6) that

Thebes: Secondary School (Gymnasium)

No. 79

did not survive very well (function not known), but seems to have provided access to the courtyard close to the SW corner in the W wall. Space 4 seems to be open to the W, though, the excavated area might not have extended to that side. Space 5 (internal 6.57x4.82, wall thickness 0.64) was L-shaped and accessed from the E via the court and had a doorway in the W wall leading to space 7 (not fully excavated). The excavation of space 6 was not finished. It seems like a corridor-like structure showing many construction periods. The W end of the structure was not reached.

It is not possible to assign definite functions to the various parts of the complex as well as to firmly determine the access patterns of the various areas (Faraklas 1968a).

Plot of P. Leontaris

[*House 2*: One possible courtyard was excavated with the actual house rooms not surviving to the SW area excavated.

House 3: Two storage rooms with pits were recovered (I and TH) with external walls 0.57 m wide. They seem to have been accessed from the E. Room I (internal 1x1.10) was the only room surviving sufficiently. It was very small and must have been used only for storage. Room TH was slightly broader, but the E wall did not survive. The W wall of both rooms was based on a previous structure running towards the W and which was not fully excavated.

Both houses are dated in a general manner as **Byzantine** (Faraklas 1968b).]
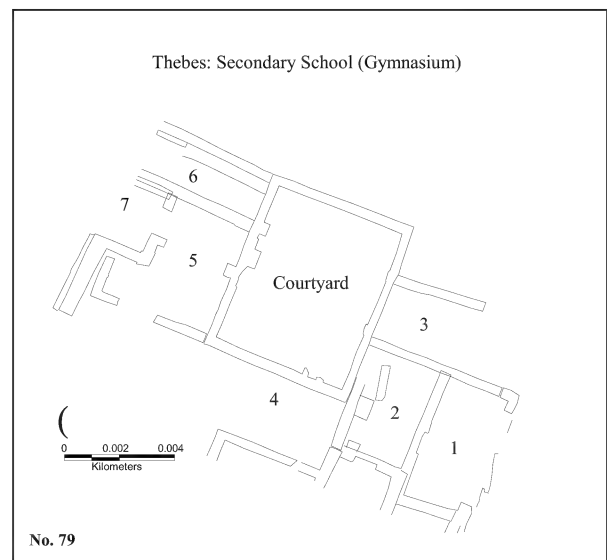
Arta

Kommenou Street, Plot of Sergianis

80. *House 1* (external 9x15, wall thickness 0.7-0.9) is built along a Byzantine road during the **early Ottoman** period. It seems to have had three rooms. Room 1 (internal ~8x3) was a long room along the full length of the house and it was the space from which the house was entered through the S wall. Room 2 was L-shaped. It had a niche in the W wall. In its NE corner room 3 (internal 3x3.9) was built that was entered from the S through room 2. The walls were constructed of spolia, rough stones and mud carelessly placed. The house was heavily burned (Papadopoulou 1989).

Arta: Kommenou Street

No. 80
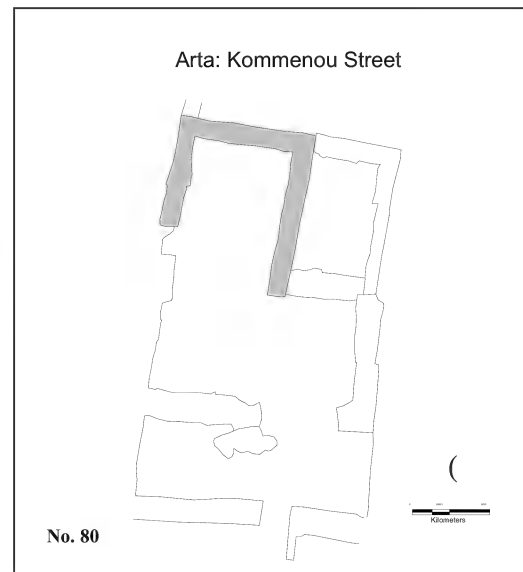
Chalkis

Agia Varvara Square

81. *House B* dates from the **9th** to the **10th centuries** (based on the ceramic evidence; Phase A), even though a few coins of the 7th century have been found in the vicinity of the structure. The construction of the walls is an irregular mixture of small rough stones and brick fragments placed in strong mortar. The house (internal 4.1x3.15, wall thickness 0.6) is a single spaced structure opening (door width 2.96) to the E. It seems that there doorway might have been leading to a second room that was destroyed by the House A of Phase B1.

82. *House A* (external 9.60x~5.6) dates to the **11th** and **12th centuries** (Phase B1) and its wall construction is regular with brickwork encasing masoned limestone. It is suggested that the structure had three rooms. Room 1 was not totally excavated (internal 3.78x4.26, wall thickness 0.78). It had a wide opening towards Room 2 (width 2.74). Room 2 was slightly bigger (internal 4.95x3.97, wall thickness 0.85) than Room 1. It could be accessed from Room 3 through a wide opening (3 m). At a later period an oven or storage *pithos* was built in the W wall. Room 3 was not excavated. Thus it is not possible to determine its function or size. The house seems to have been entered from the E non-excavated side. The wall thickness of the rooms suggests that the house was two-storey and that the ground floor was used for storage or cooking.

83. *House C* (external ~10x5.55), of the **11th** and **12th centuries**, survives in a very fragmentary form. It may have been single roomed (internal ~5.68x4.6, wall thickness 0.72) extending probably further to the E. It was probably entered from the S, but it may have had a doorway to the N too. This structure too may have been two-storey. *Structure D* consists of one room (internal 3.95x5.93, wall thickness 0.72). This structure might have been a separate room of House C, but there is a double wall between them and no evidence of a doorway between the two.

Chalkida:Agia Varvara Square
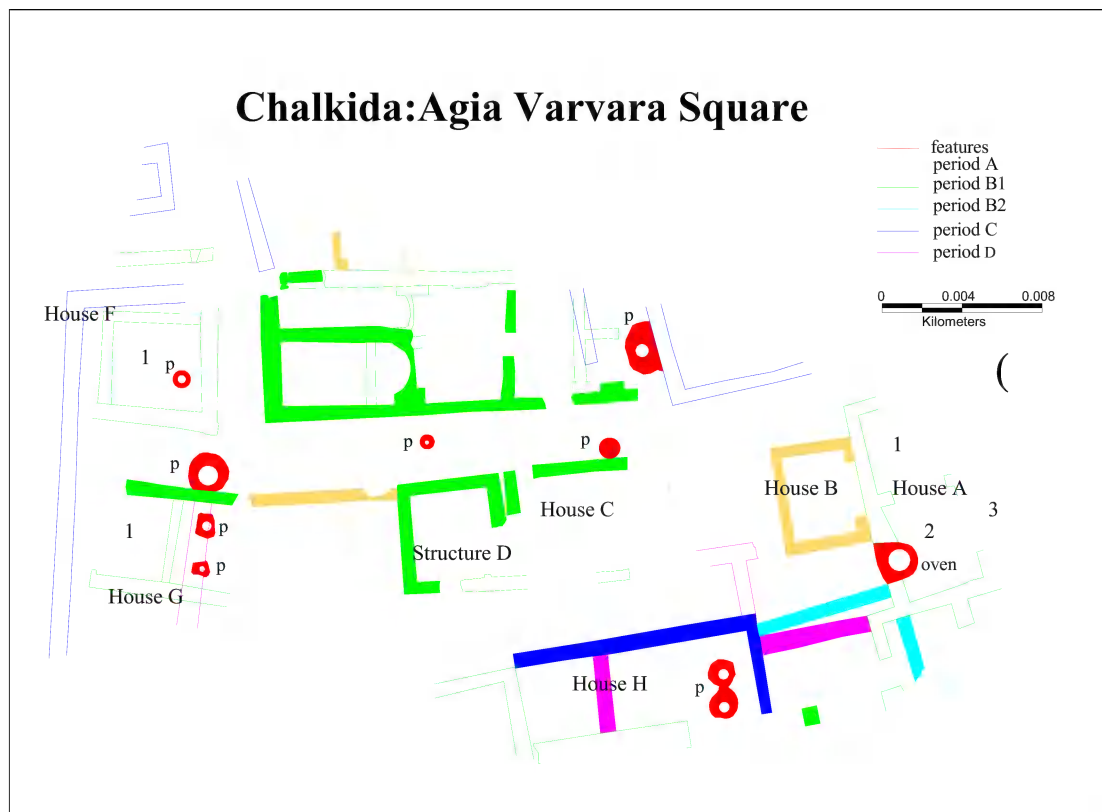
84. *House G* (external at least 7.16x5.77) is a two-roomed house. The house belongs to the **11th** to **12th century**. It does not survive well, but the two rooms were separated by a thin wall (0.4 m). Room 1 had some evidence of the back wall (internal 3.4x4.25, wall thickness 0.72). It seems to have been accessed from the road through the S wall. The E end of Room 2 was destroyed (internal at least 3.15x4.25, wall thickness 0.72).

85. *House F* (external ~9.46x6.20) has probably two rooms that are facing W. Room 1 (internal 4.6x4.67, wall thickness 0.78) is accessed from the W where the marble threshold was still in place. The author suggests that the house had another room to the W side of Room 1. Towards the N of the Room 1 was narrow Room 2 (internal 2.4x4.65). It is possible that the structure had also a second storey. The house was heavily disturbed by later construction.

86. *House H* (external 12.20x6, wall thickness 0.88) must belong to the Early Ottoman period even tough previous walls were restored and reused. It was originally single-roomed probably entered from the S. In the Later Ottoman period a dividing wall was constructed towards the W side of the room.

Most houses seem to have been constructed with an E-W alignment. They seem to follow the direction of the two streets that define them. House A interrupts this direction implying that this was not necessarily the case (Georgopoulou-Meladini 1973-1974).

Filippoi

87. The *house* of Phase 4 was founded on the previous periods of occupation of a courtyard house, which was destroyed by the earthquake of 610-620 AD. During this phase the occupation was restricted to the NW side of the Late Roman house. At the N side it had a walled yard. This yard was entered from through the N wall towards the W. Towards the W of the door was a built circular storage area (*pithos*). At the SW side of the yard was the kitchen and at the NW the toilet. S of the yard were two more rooms. This last phase of occupation lasted throughout the 7th and 8th c (Gounaris and Velenis 1989).

Filippoi 1989

8th century House

toilet

courtyard

kitchen

1   2
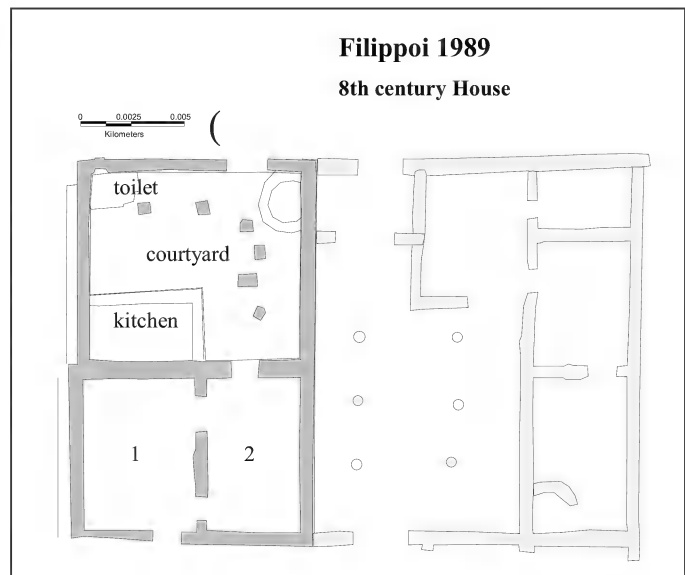
Palaiochora - Maroneia

88. *HOUSE 1*: It consisted of three spaces or rooms in an L-shaped arrangement. *Room 1* (width 3.7 m internal, wall thickness 0.64 m) is not fully excavated and the S wall has not been revealed yet. At the S end of the room though there is a basin (2.18x1.54 m). There was a doorway in the W wall of the room providing access to the alley adjacent to the house. When the basin was destroyed (late 11th to early 12th century) and was reused as a fireplace the doorway was blocked and a bench was built against it. There must have therefore been another entrance to the room in the S wall. *Room 2* (4.74x3.46 m) is towards the N of *Room 1*. Parts of its wall had been destroyed by later rubbish pits. *Room 3* (width 2.95) is towards the E of *Room 2*. Its S wall does not survive unless it was a shed adjacent to a court, towards the S (Doukata-Demertzi 1992: 695-710).

89. *HOUSE 2*: It is not fully excavated towards the S and E, but there have been three spaces revealed. *Room 1* (4.87x3.975 m, wall thickness 0.84 m) had a doorway at the side of the alley (E side). There were two storage *pithoi* and a circular stone construction adjacent to the doorway, without mortar and filled with ash. The S wall of the room has not been revealed yet. *Room 2* (2.69x3.71 m, wall thickness 0.59 m), towards the N of *Room 1* was entered from the N. W of the doorway (0.9 m) was a semi-circular wall dividing a space from the rest of the room (toilet? storage? kiln?) and next to that there was another wall that probably provided support to the roof. Next to this room and to the W was *Room 3* (width 3.59 m), which is not yet fully excavated either (Doukata-Demertzi 1992: 695-710).

Maroneia: Palaiochora

No. 89

No. 88
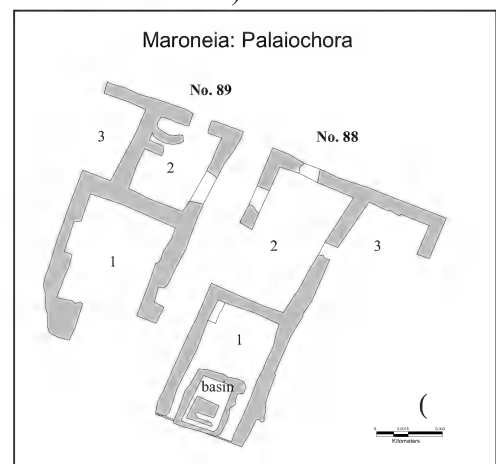
Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

Oisymi

90. One house of probably the **Late Byzantine** period was excavated in the NW area of investigation. The record was very disturbed because of the shallow nature of the site, but the particular structure could be associated with the better-dated chapel towards the SE of the excavated area. The house had two joined rooms. Its axis was NW to SE. No doorway seems to survive for *Room 1* (4x3.5 m, wall thickness 0.65 m). *Room 2* (width 3.5 m, SE wall does not survive), though, has an entrance (1 m) in the northernmost part of the SW wall. There is no analysis of the pottery finds according to room in order to establish the function of these rooms (Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and Papanikolaou 1990).

Ancient Oisymi

Chapel

No. 90

Veria Neon Syllaton

The houses have series of small rooms and were built with small stones joined with mud. The houses are very close to each other. The plots 11 and 12 revealed series of rooms (1-5) with a direction E to W. The buildings are approximately parallel to the contours of the hill. The houses had packed soil floors and tiled roofs as the evidence suggests.

Veria Neon Syllaton
11th to 12th centuries

3b

4b

1b

2b

11th-12th century

91. *Room 4b* (3.264x5.684 m internal, wall thickness 0.526 m; *House 1* or auxiliary function) may have had an opening in the N wall, which has been destroyed by a later rubbish pit. Against the E wall towards the S there is a circular kiln (diameter 1.37 m) with four stone supports for a grid.
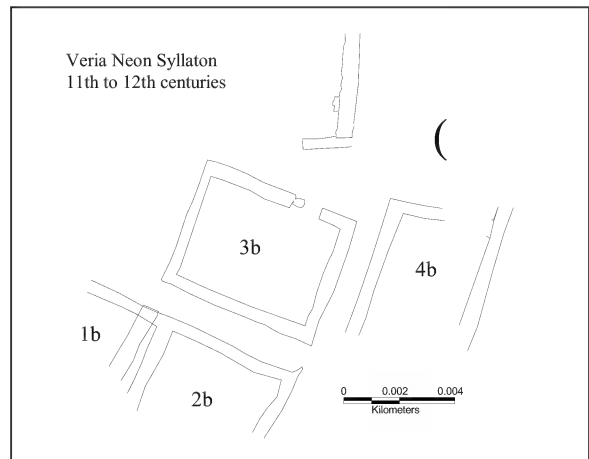
92. *Room 3b* with dimensions 4.845x3.9 m and wall thickness 0.525 m may also have been a house (*House 2*). It was underneath of the gravelled yard of the 13th c *House 4*.

93. *Rooms 1b* and *2b* seem to have been part of *House 3*. *Room 1b* is not fully excavated and the S wall of *Room 2b* has been destroyed by *House 6*. The internal length of *Room 2b* is 4.21 m and the wall thickness 0.50 m. No doorway was recorded, but *Room 2b* might have been entered from its SW facade.

13th century

94. *Room 5* has a gravelled yard at its E side, but is itself not totally excavated (continues towards the NW, *House 4*).

95. *Room 1* and *Room 2* constitute one *House (5)* probably. *Room 1* (3.59x4 m internal) has an opening (1.58 m) in its SW wall and seems to be built against *Room 2* (4.21x3.37 m internals). The SE wall of this room does not survive. The walls of this structure are approximately 0.63 m thick.

Veria Neon Syllaton
13th century

5

1

2

6

3

4
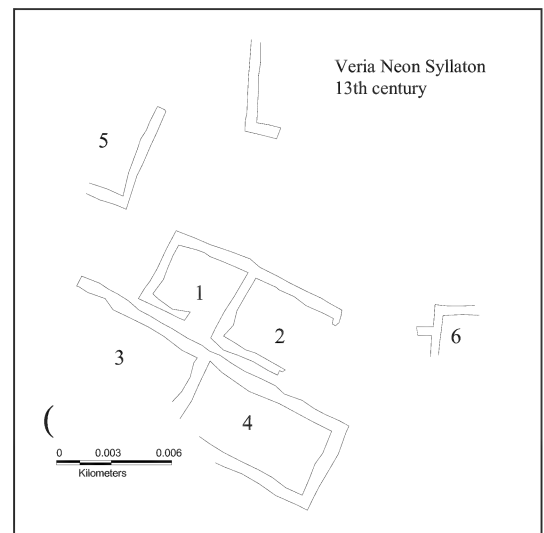
96. *Rooms 3* and *4* are part of *House 6*. Both rooms are of equal size (7.05x3.37 m, wall thickness 0.63). *Room 3*, although not fully excavated, seems to have an opening in the NW wall (Pazaras and Tsanana 1990).
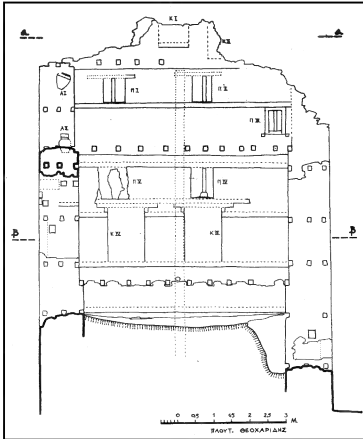
Stageira

Stageira has a series of Tower Houses that are in ruins. Most of them are in the yards of houses.

97. *Tower A* has a ground floor and 4 storeys, three of which are visible the ground and first floor being covered with soil and debris. Its dimensions are 8.30x7m and 12m high (wall thickness 1.25). It has a series of embrasures (loopholes), rectangular niches, two fireplaces on the 2nd and 4th floor and two arched windows, one in the N and one in the E wall. It probably dates to the **15th century** (Tsigaridas 1976).

Castle of Logga

98. The *house* excavated was built against the SW corner of the Late Roman fortification. Two rough stone walls joined with mud were built in order to form the two rooms (room 1: 4.25x4.5, wall thickness 0.75; room 2: similar dimension but trapezoidal plan). The rooms were covered with typically Byzantine tiles, their roofs being most probably single pitched. The ceramics, whether *pithoi* or course wares, indicated a 10th century date for the last occupation of the rooms. The castle must have been used as refuge for the neighbouring settlements as the short periods of occupation suggest (Moutsopoulos 1992).

No. 98   Castle of Logga
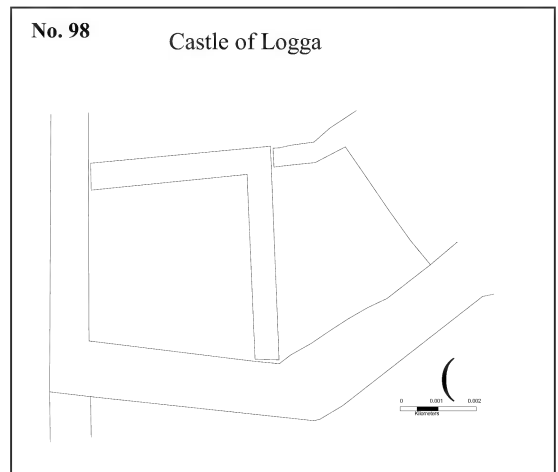
Rendina

The castle of Rendina was deserted after the settlement of the Giourouki in the area (14th c). The castle is in proximity to the Richios River, the Golf of Strymonikos, the Vovli Lake and the hot springs had as result the covering of the hill with thick vegetation. Close to the riverbanks was the only road connecting the area of Mygdonia with eastern Macedonia. The castle was built by Justinian according to the historian Prokopios (*peri ktismaton*, VI, 3, 27), who called it Artemision. During the 10th c the bishopric of Liti is transferred to the Castle and is renamed to Litis and Rentinis. The site was founded on an older settlement mainly of the Roman period (Moutsopoulos 1987).

Catalogue of Post-Roman Excavated and Surveyed house plans

Houses K24-K25

Two types of houses can be identified, the broad-fronted, single room (at least at ground-floor level) house with a second storey and a wooden hagiati, and the single space house, the ground floor of which is used as a workshop (e.g. iron smithy). The walls of the houses are 0.60 m wide and built of stones and mud. The staircases would have been wooden as well as the floor of the storey. The roof was also made of wood and covered with schist. The fireplaces recovered belong to two types: a) at the corners of the ground-floor with a slight raising of the level from the floor (K23) that is sometimes covered with slabs, and b) at the similar place in a corner but much more raised and probably indicating a workshop use (K25). Sometimes an oven is recovered right outside the workshop or house (K15). The finds from the houses vary from coarse to glazed pottery, metal objects, to tools.

99. *House K24* is adjacent to the Southern fortification wall next to a small gate that could be dated to the 10th c, a period when this part of the wall was not of defensive importance.

100. *House K23* seems to have been earlier and its location seems to confirm the hypothesis of limited defensive function of the South side of the wall. In the same area it is possible to say from the finds that older domestic structures were present.

101. *House K25* was excavated right next to K23. It is a single space at ground-floor level structure in front of the narrow and winding road of the settlement. In the facade the shallow foundations of a hagiati were recovered. The ground floor was used as a metal smith's workshop, whose house was probably above the workshop. It seems that the house is slightly later than K23 (Moutsopoulos 1990).
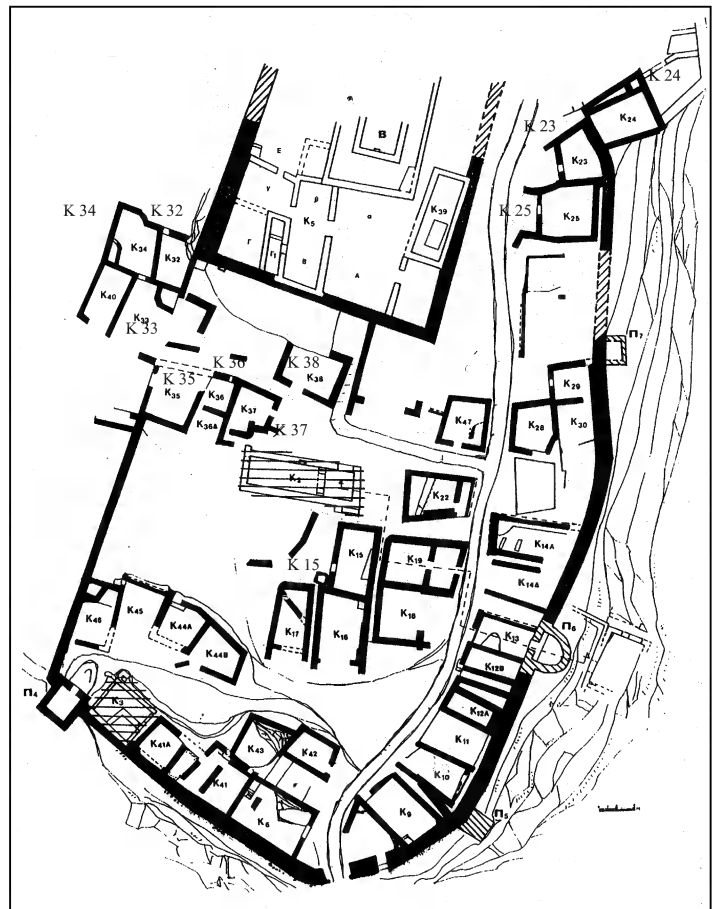
Didymoteicho

102. *House 1*: Room 6 is part of the basement of an **early Late Byzantine** house (Room 7 is connected with it but is not yet excavated). No plan is provided but it is carefully described. Its plan was irregular (external 6x5.6) as it was partly cut into the bedrock. The orientation is not given. It was used for storage as the cuts in the bedrock for *pithoi* suggest. It also had a cistern (2.1x1) and cuts in the bedrock directing rainwater to the cistern. The ceramic evidence suggests it was abandoned before the mid 14th century. It had a second floor that was used for everyday life that, due to the slope of the bedrock, would seem as the ground floor when seen from above (1 1/5 storey house). It did not have a yard, but was accessed directly from

the adjacent alley (this seems to be the case through out the whole castle of Didymoteicho). No special toilet installations were discovered. The alleys throughout the settlement were very narrow and badly constructed (Anon 1988, Bakirtzis 1994).

Kalymnos: Palaiochora

Kalymnos: Palaiochora
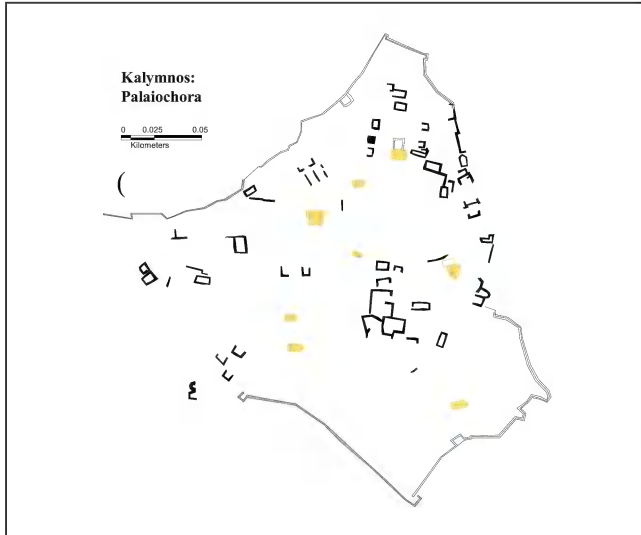
The houses of the Palaiochora on Kalymnos, built probably in the second half of the 15th century, resemble the Byzantine style houses whether with one or two storeys. The settlement was pretty dense as the ruins imply. The walls of the houses and the fortification were built with rough limestone joined with strong mortar. Some of the houses were built against the fortification walls as the beam rests in the latter suggest. They had either one or two rooms and in some cases had extensions resulting an L-shaped plan. There does not seem to be a particular favour to built vertically or parallel to the contours of the hill, as elsewhere. Drainage pipes against the walls and built niches are common features on the surviving remains.

Kalymnos: Palaiochora
Two storey house

103. The *house* (internal room 1: 8x4.2, wall thickness 0.65; room 2: 2.8x3.6, wall thickness 0.6) provided as an example has two storeys. Originally it must have had only one room but at a later stage it was extended towards the N giving it an L-shaped arrangement. The original structure was entered from the S. A niche was built next to the entrance. It had two further openings in the W wall and a small door in the N providing access to the small extension. The ceiling of the ground floor was made of wood. The lack of tile remains indicated that the house was flat roofed, a typical feature of the Aegean. The first floor must have had the same arrangement of rooms. Unfortunately, the use of the rooms was not determined (Papavasileiou and Karampatsos 1989-1991).
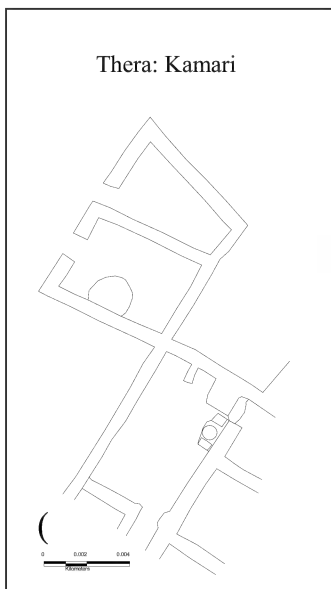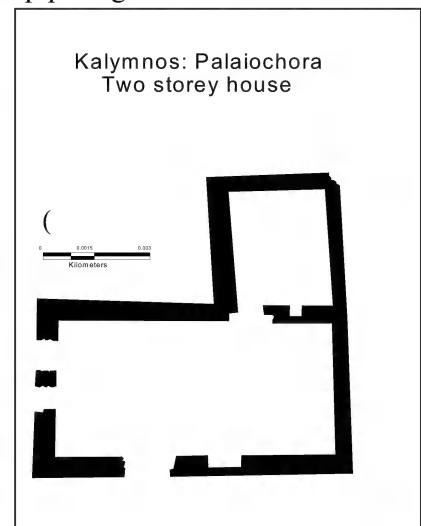
Thera: Kamari

Thera: Kamari

104. *House 1* (7th-8th centuries) seems to comprise of a complex of rooms with differing functions and irregular plan. Rooms 5 (rectangular, internal 3.7x5.3, wall thickness 0.7) and 6 (trapezoidal, internal 3.65x5.2, wall thickness 0.7) were used for storage as the Late Roman 2 amphorae suggest. Room 5 in particular may have been used as a kitchen too due to the number of blackened cooking pots found in it and the possible round hearth in the centre of the S wall. Room 1 (internal 4x7, wall thickness 0.6), connected with another room to the S, had stone bases for storage benches (?) against the N wall. The other rooms were not fully excavated. It should be noted, though, that room 3 had a niche (?) in the NW wall (Bedenmacher-Gerousi 1988).

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Panagia-Askra

Chronology
Askri
- Earlier 19th century (13)
- Mid 19th century (1)
- Late 19th to early 20th centuries (11)
- others (0)

0   0.1   0.2
Kilometers

House plans
Askri
- entrance hall with three rooms
- two rooms
- single room
- others

0   0.1   0.2
Kilometers

Roof types
Askri
- double hipped
- hipped
- double pitched
- no information

0   0.1   0.2
Kilometers

House types
Askri
- 1 1/2 storeys
- Long house
- other

0   0.1   0.2
Kilometers

223
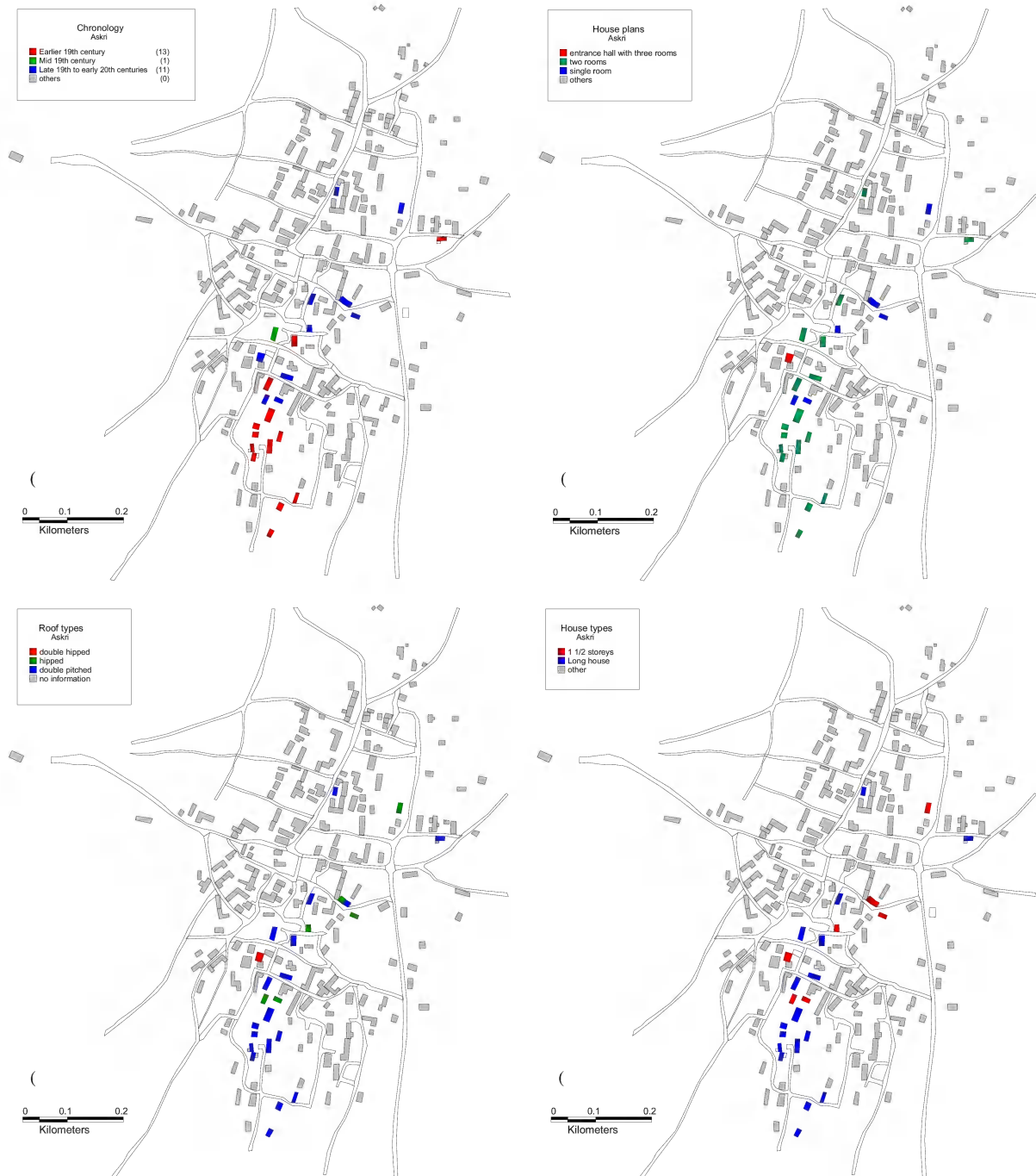
Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Chaironeia

Chronology
Chaironeia

■ Mid 19th century
■ Late 19th early 20th centuries
■ Post WWI
□ no information

0   0.05   0.1
Kilometers

House types
Chaironeia

■ 2+ storeys house
■ Two storeys house
■ 1 1/2 storeys house
■ One storey house
■ Long house
□ no information

0   0.05   0.1
Kilometers

House plans
Chaironeia

■ other
■ large hall with two or more rooms at either side
■ entrance hall with three rooms
■ two rooms
■ single room
□ no information

0   0.05   0.1
Kilometers

Roof types
Chaironeia

■ Double hipped
■ Hipped
■ Double pitched
□ no information

0   0.05   0.1
Kilometers

224

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Pavlos

Chronology
Pavlos
- ■ Late 19th to Early 20th centuries
- ■ Post WW I

House Types
Pavlos
- ■ Two storeys
- ■ 1 1/2 storeys
- ■ One storey
- ■ Long house

House plan
Pavlos
- ■ entrance hall with one room at either side
- ■ entrance hall with three rooms
- ■ two rooms
- ■ single room

Roof types
Pavlos
- ■ Double hipped
- ■ Hipped
- ■ Double pitched

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Elikonas

Chronology
Elikonas
- Mid 19th century
- Late 19th to early 20th centuries
- no information

House plans
Elikonas
- two rooms
- single room
- no information

Roof types
Elikonas
- Hipped
- Double pitched
- no information

Type
Elikonas
- Two storeys house
- 1 1/2 storeys house
- One storey house
- Long house
- no information
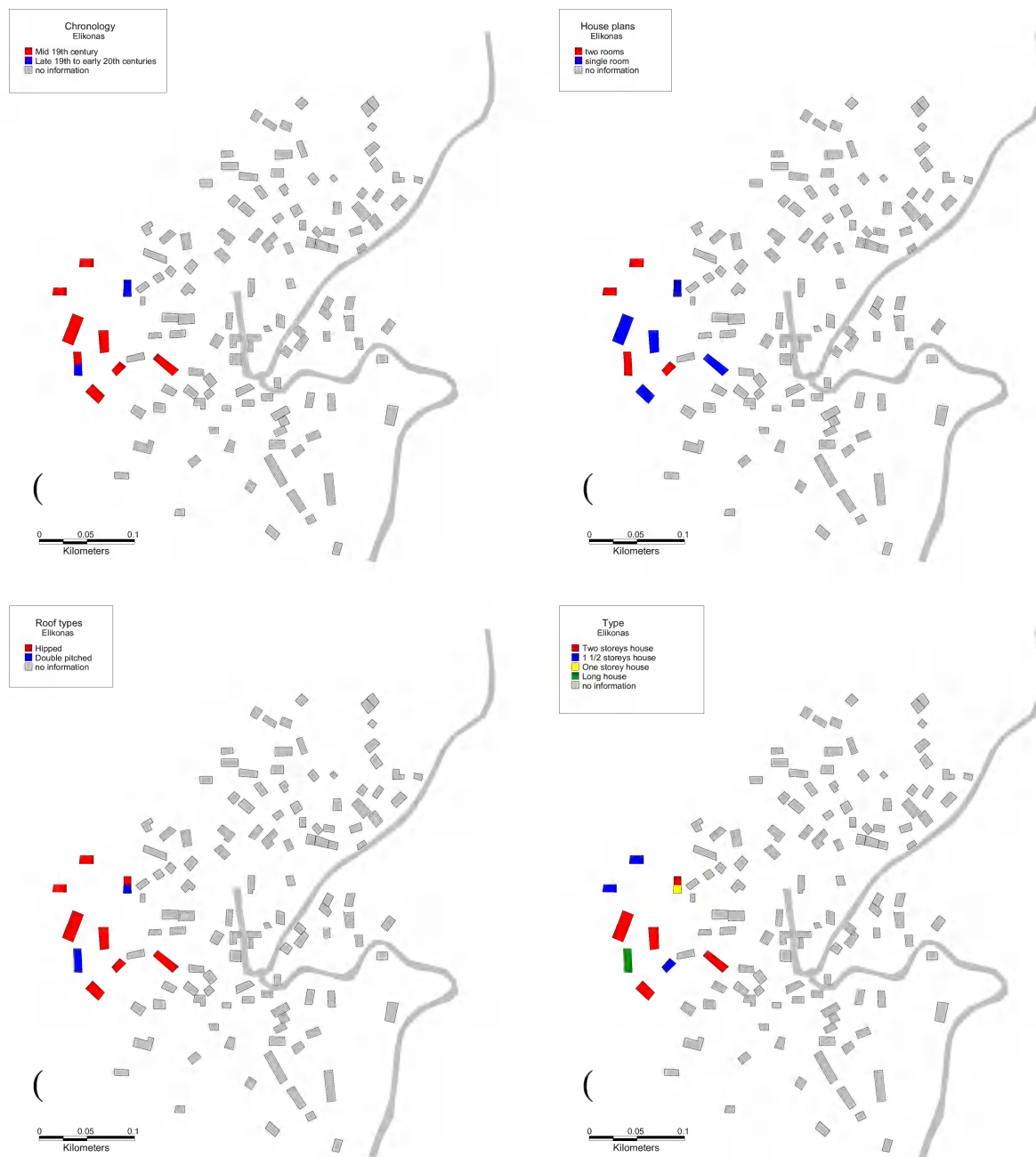
Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Livadeia
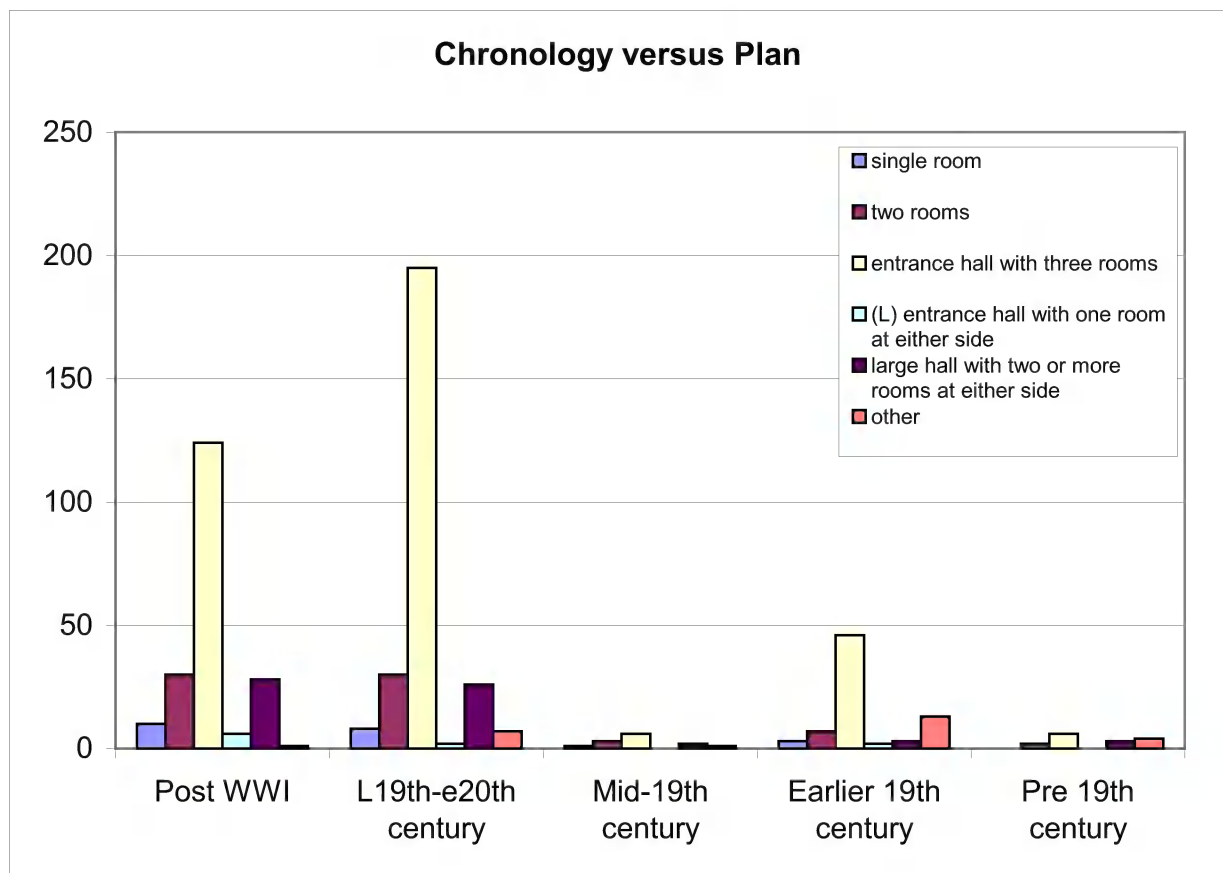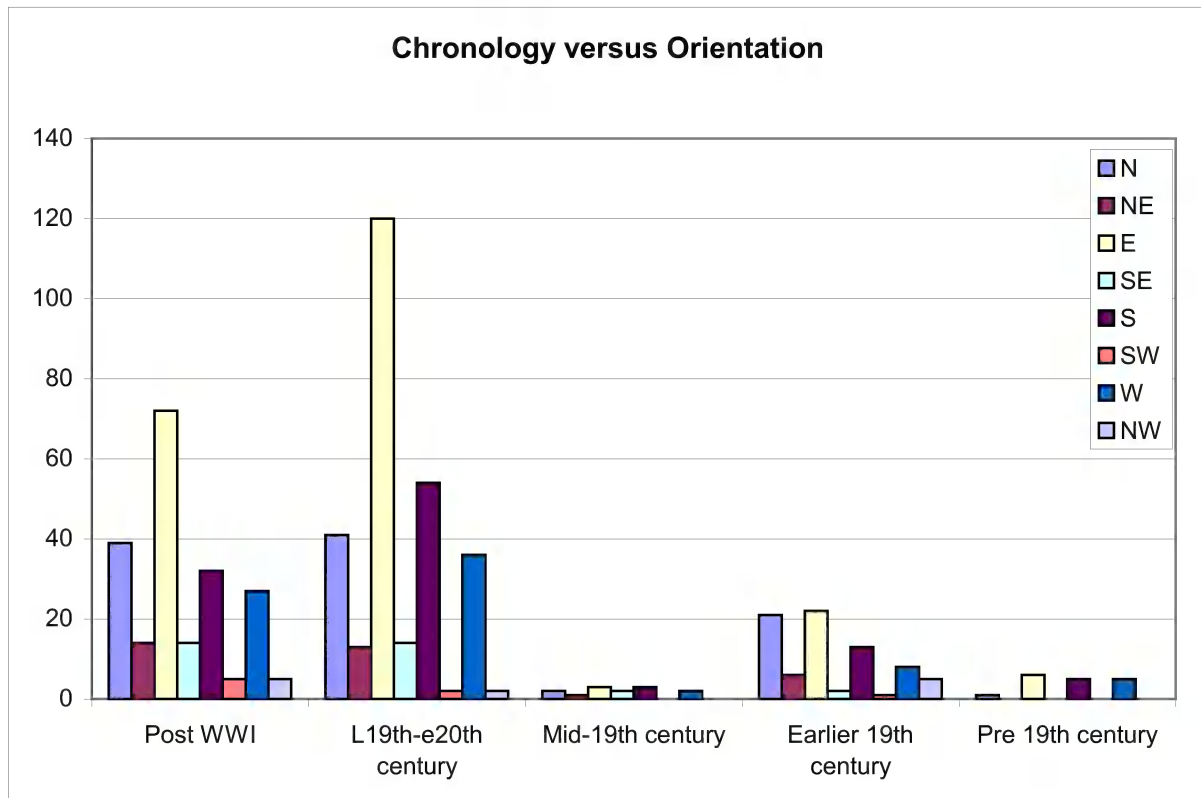
Chronology versus Orientation

Chronology versus Plan

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Chronology versus Quoin

Chronology versus Roof type

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Chronology versus Type

Type versus Orientation

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Type versus Plan

Legend:
- single room
- two rooms
- entrance hall with three rooms
- (L) entrance hall with one room at either side
- large hall with two or more rooms at either side
- other

Categories: Longhouse, 1 Storey, 1 1/2 Storeys, 2 Storeys, 2+ Storeys

Type versus Quoin

Legend:
- irregular
- alternating
- regular
- unknown

Categories: Longhouse, 1 Storey, 1 1/2 Storeys, 2 Storeys, 2+ Storeys

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Type versus Roof type

Plan versus Orientation

Distribution charts of domestic structures in settlements of Boiotia

Plan versus Quoin

Plan versus Roof type
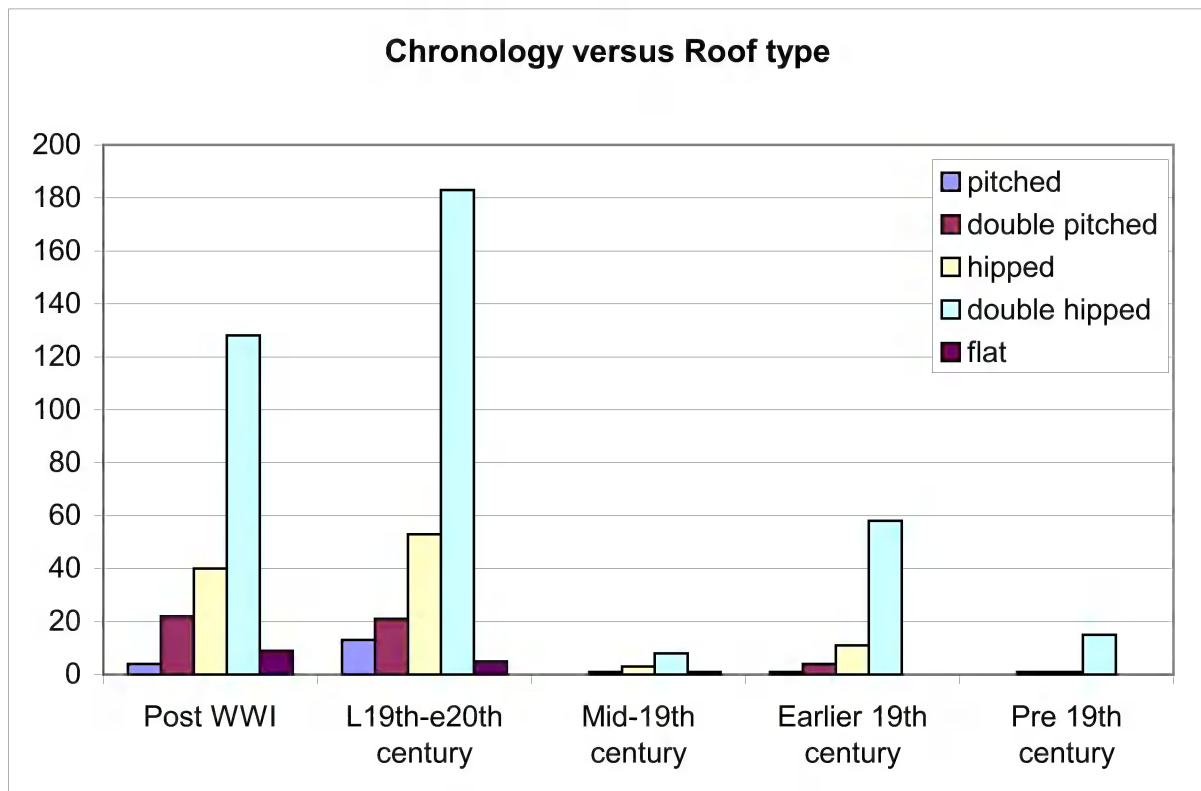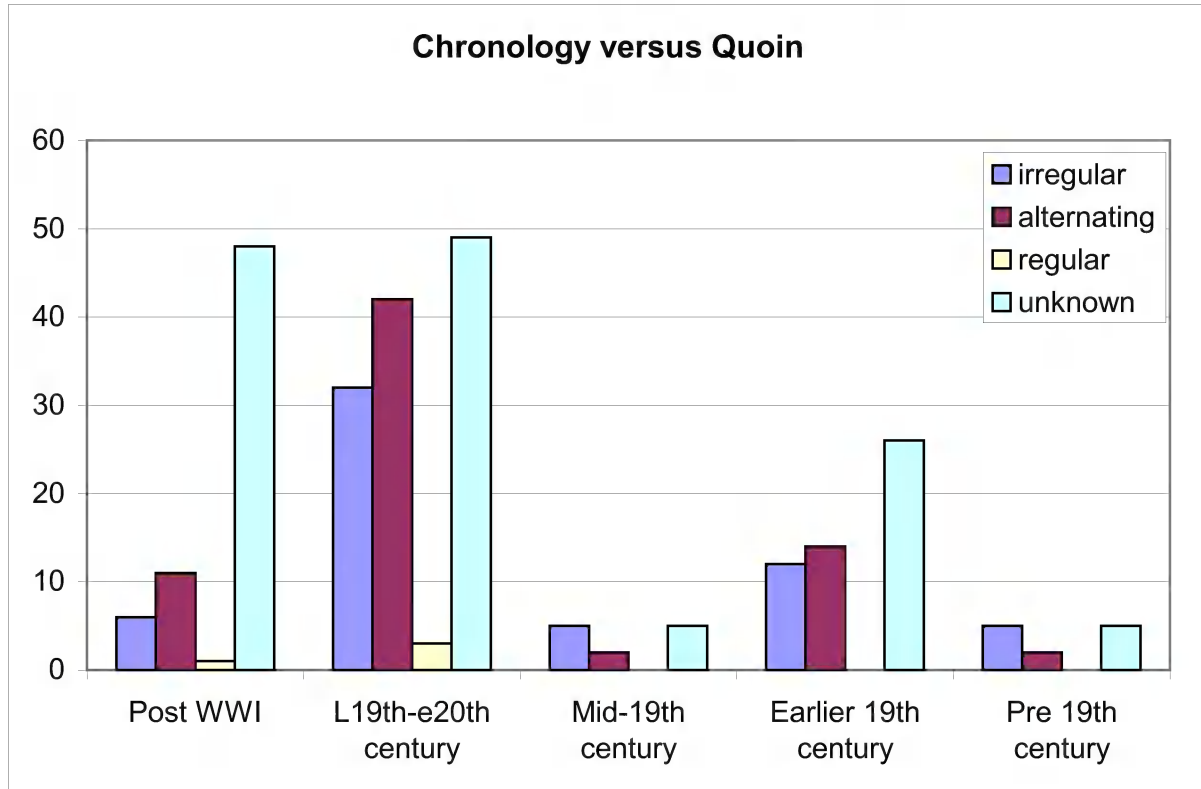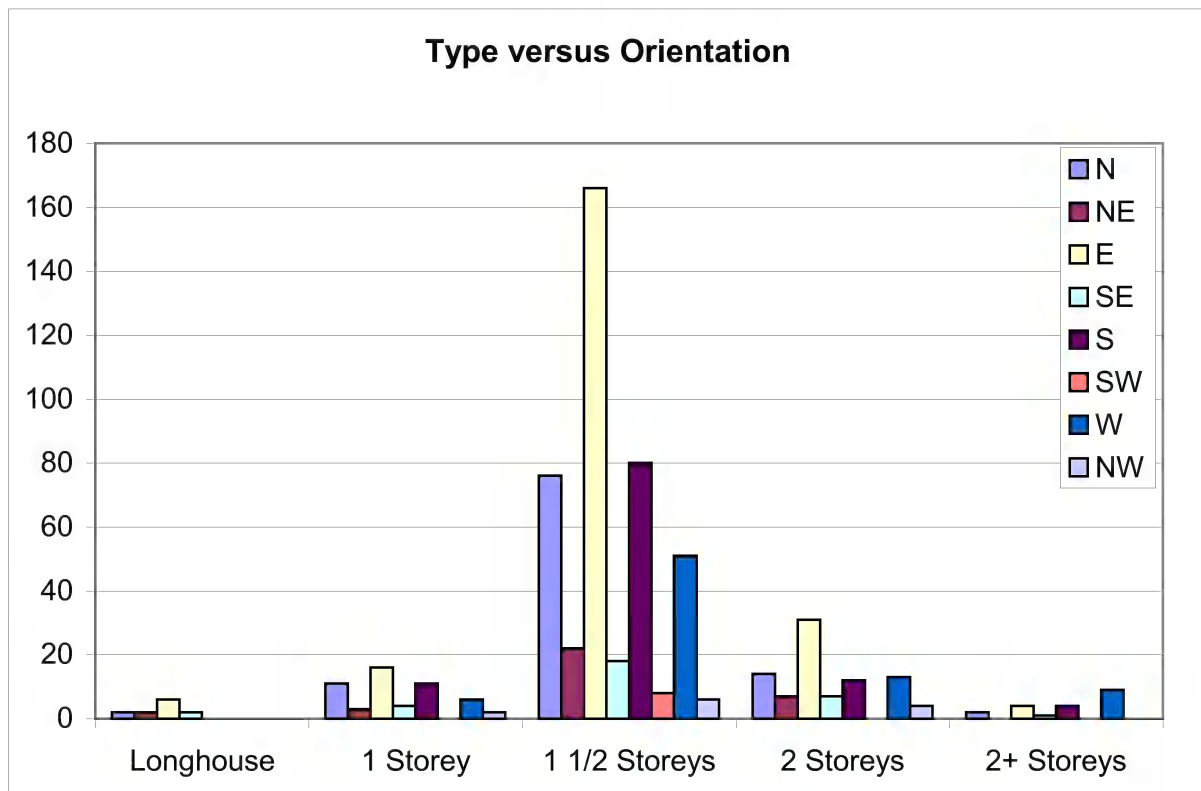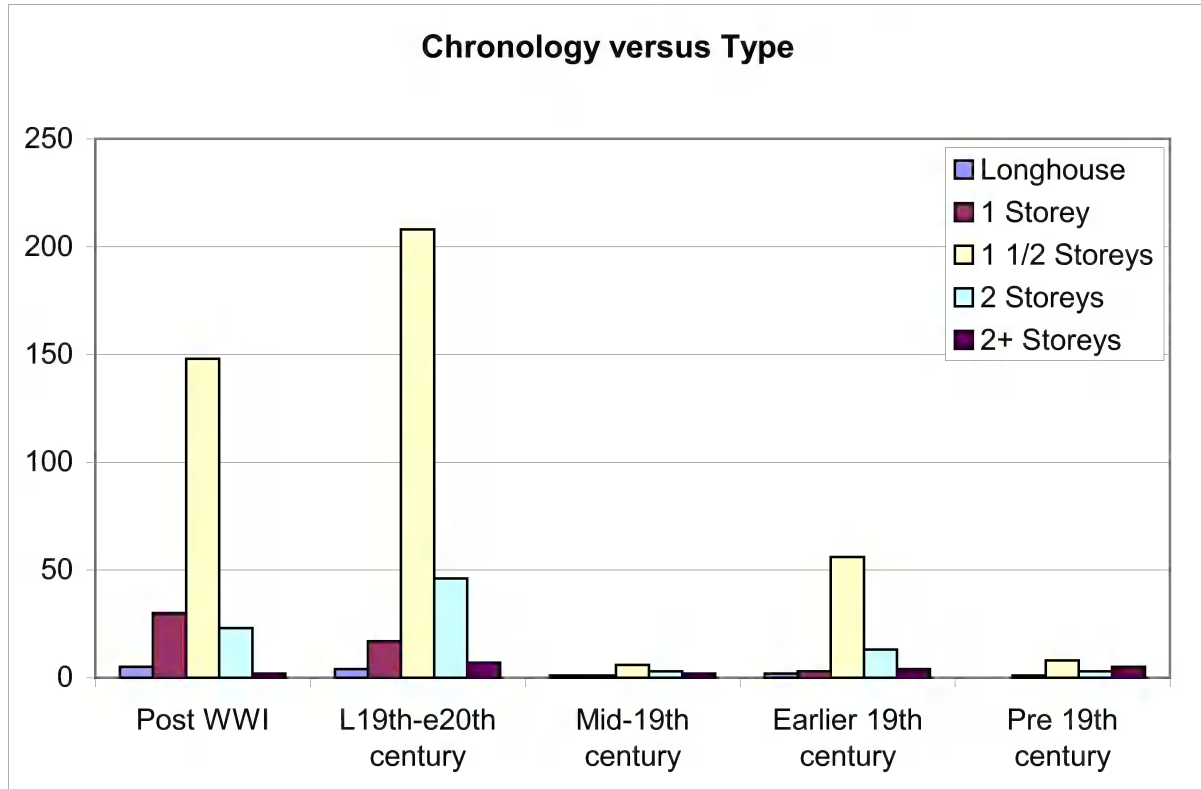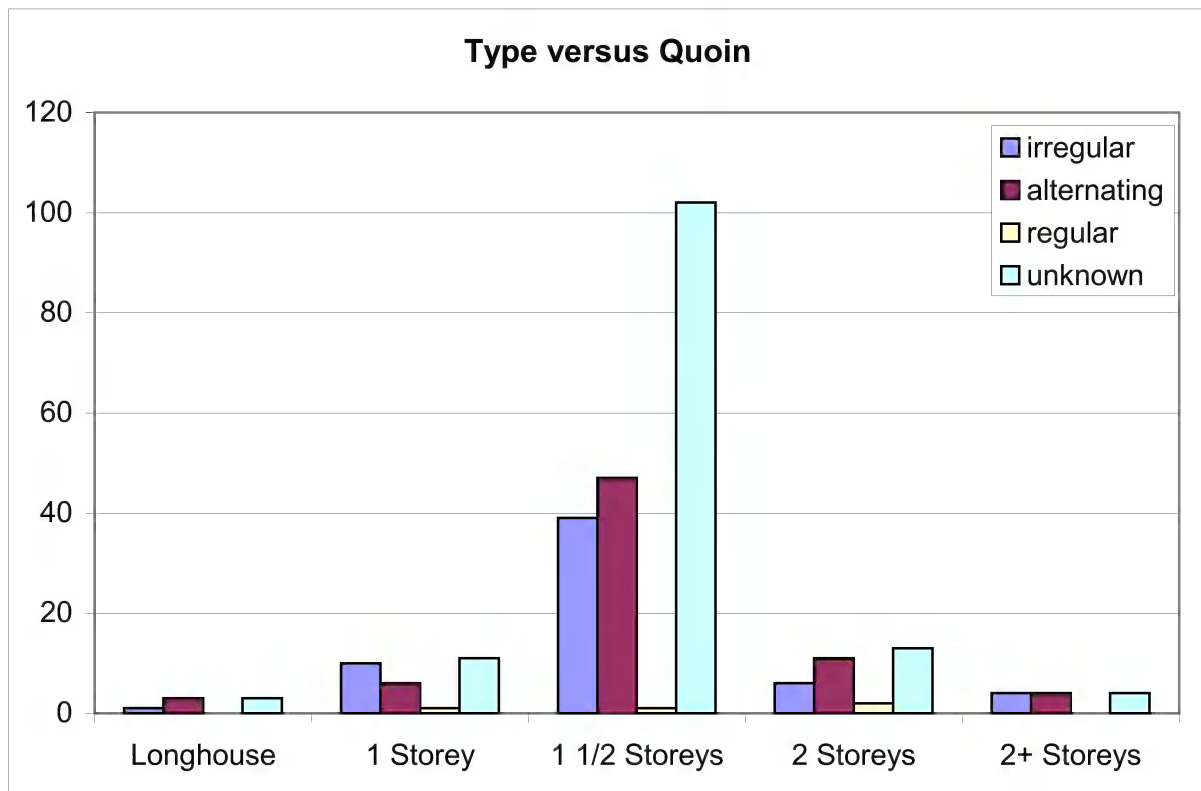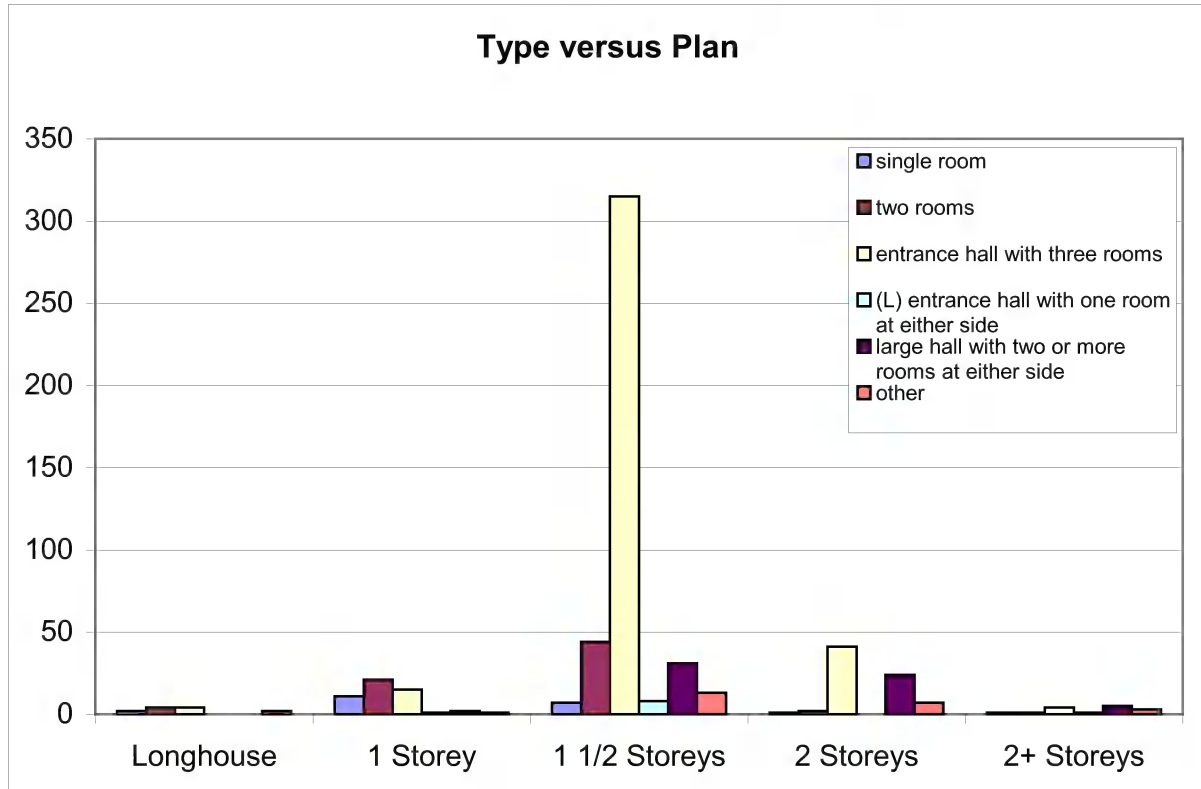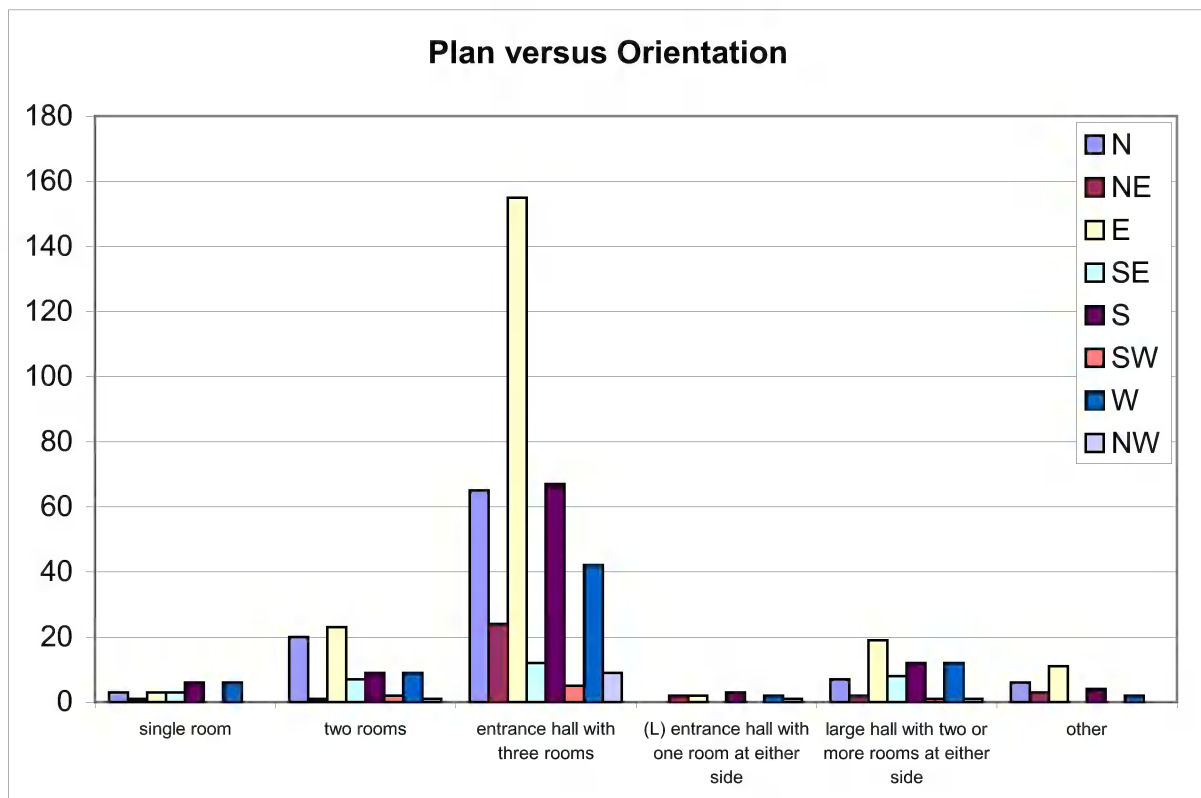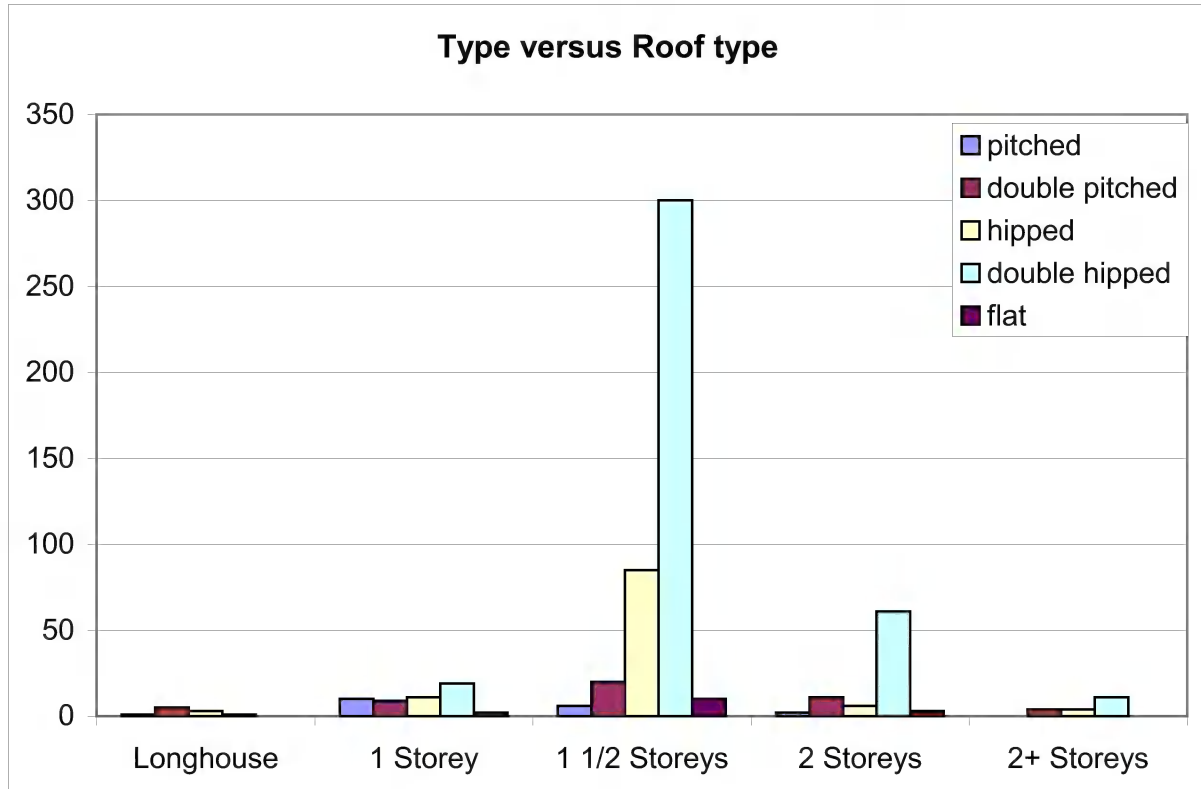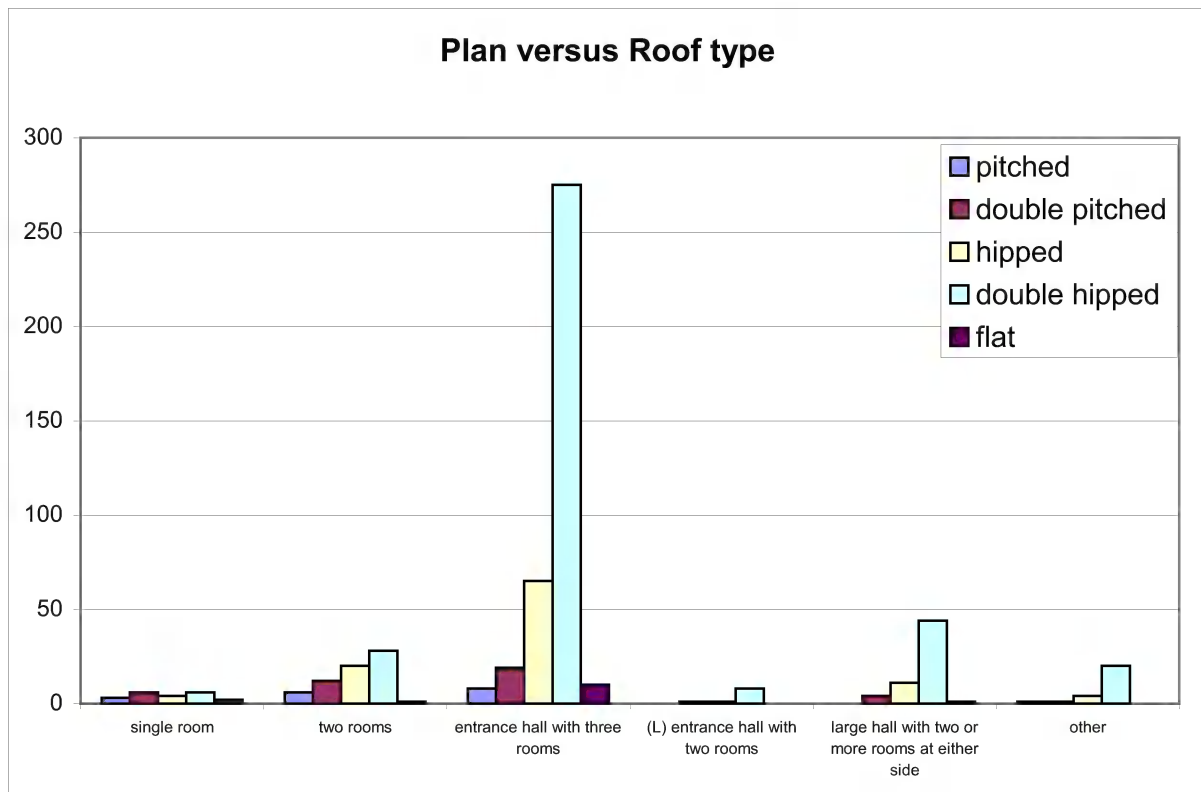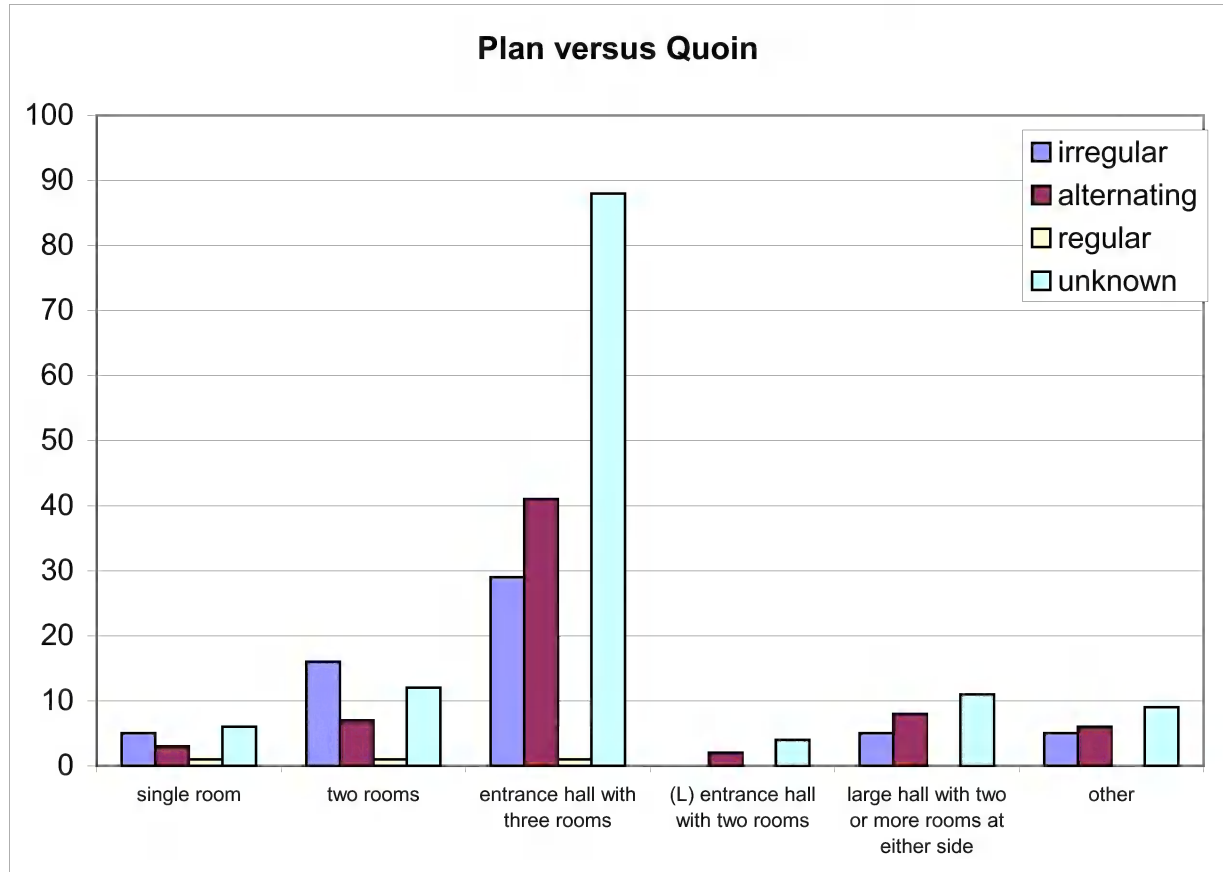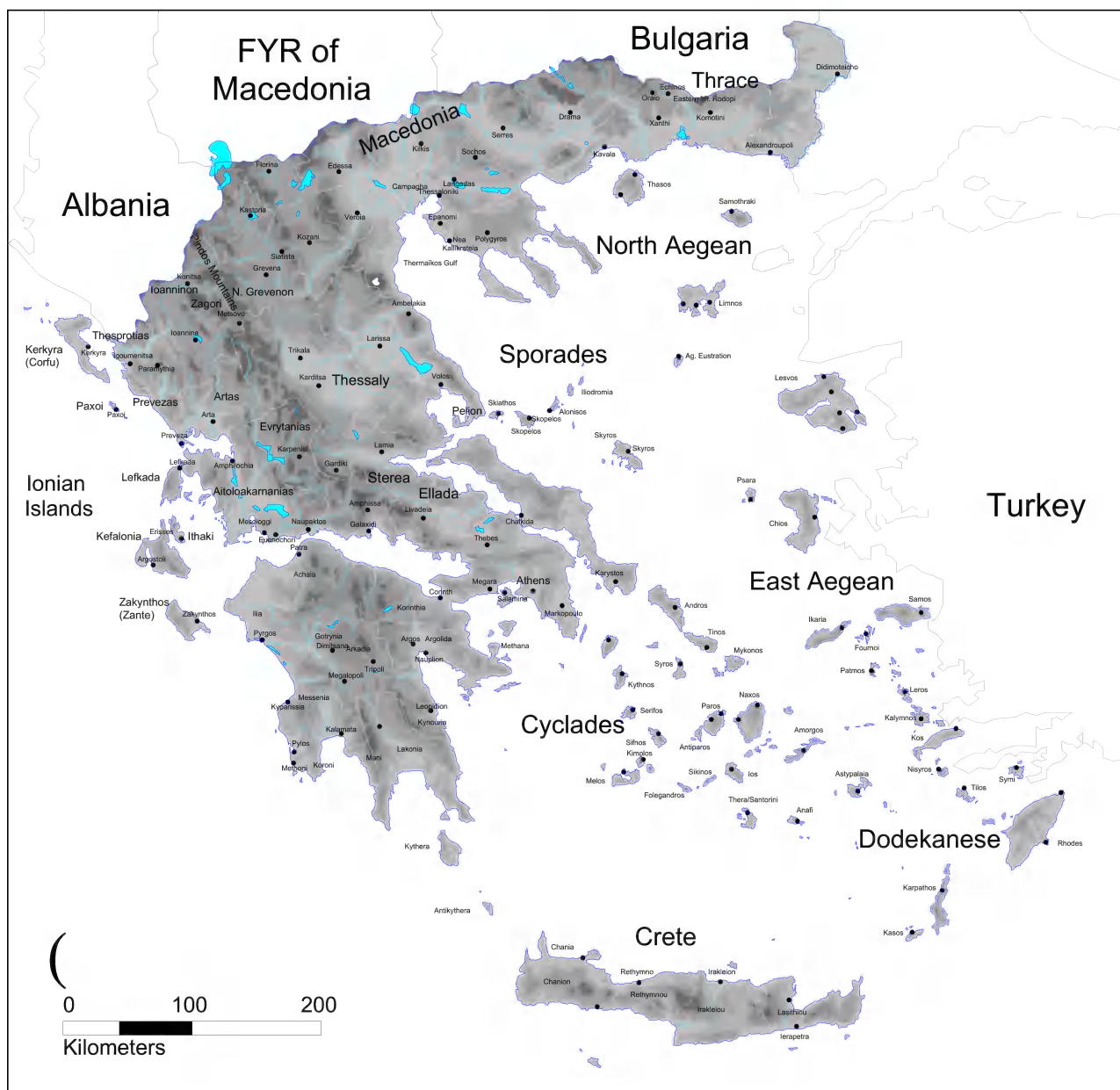
Figure 1: A general map of Greece.

Early Byzantine (Dark Age)	7th-mid 9th centuries
Middle Byzantine	mid 9th c-1204
Late Byzantine/Frankish	1204-1453
Early Ottoman	1453-16th century
Middle Ottoman	17th century
Late Ottoman	18th century -1830
Early Modern	1830-early 20th c

Figure 2: Chronological terms used in the text.

Villages of Attika						
	wheat	barley	sheep	flax	wine	olive oil	Total value
1506	298	128	541	45	13	13	**1034**
1570	218	182	688	3	40	40	**1139**

Athens						
	wheat	barley	sheep	flax	wine	olive oil	Total value
1540	14	64	7.5	25	48	2	**166.5**
1570	6.5	73	9	61	129	173	**451.5**

Figure 3: Value in *akçe* of production per household in Early Ottoman Attika (*data source* Kiel 1987).
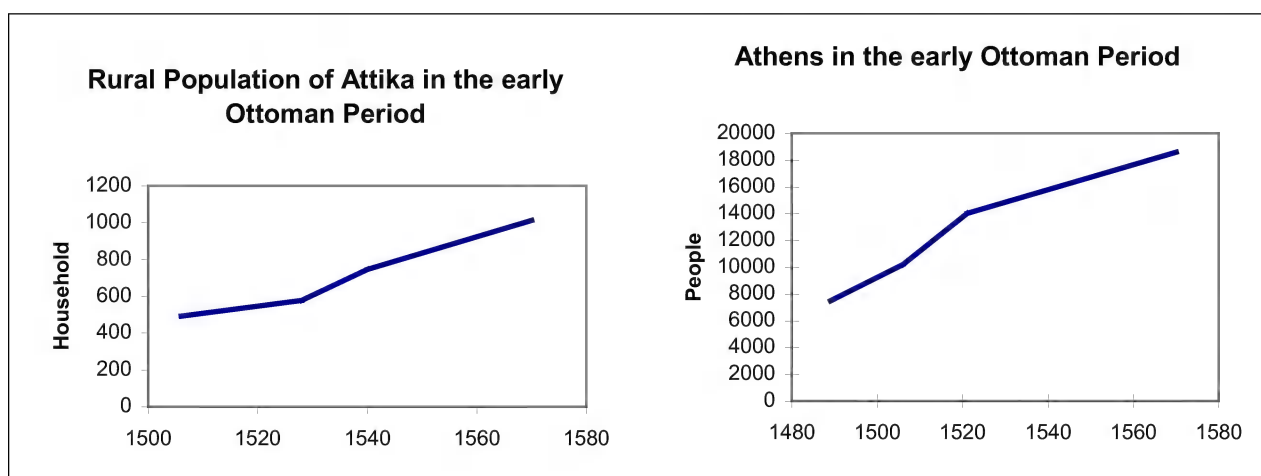
Figure 4: Comparative graph of population rise in rural Attika and Athens (*data source* Kiel 1987).
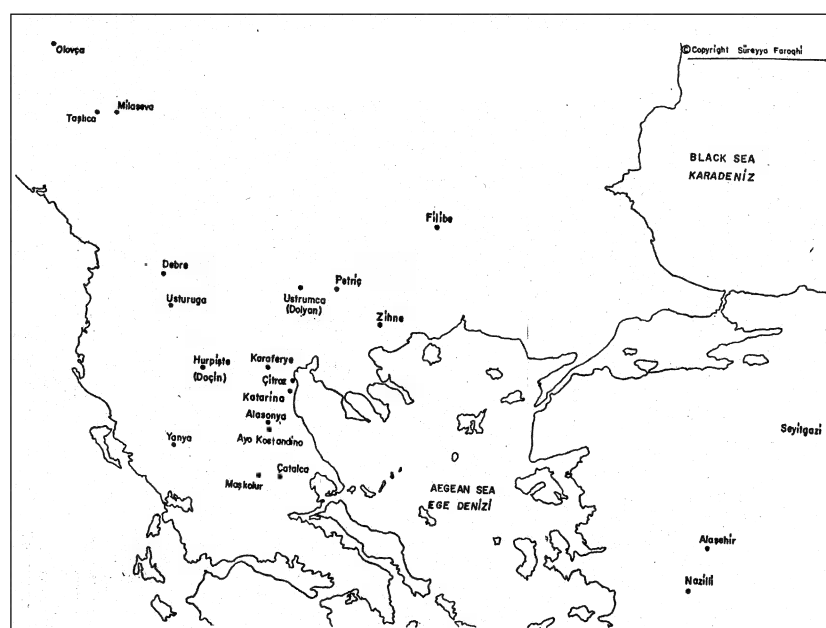
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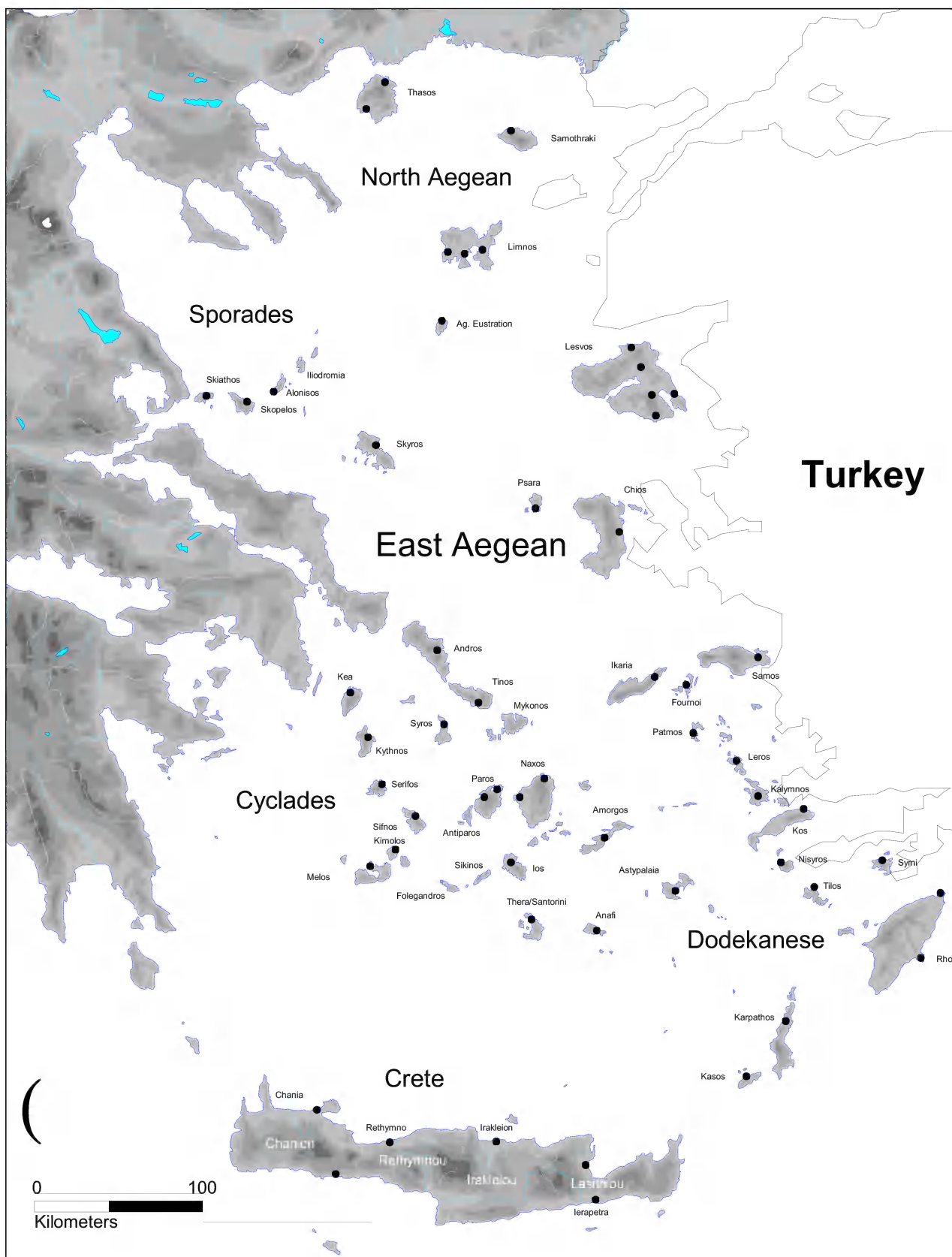
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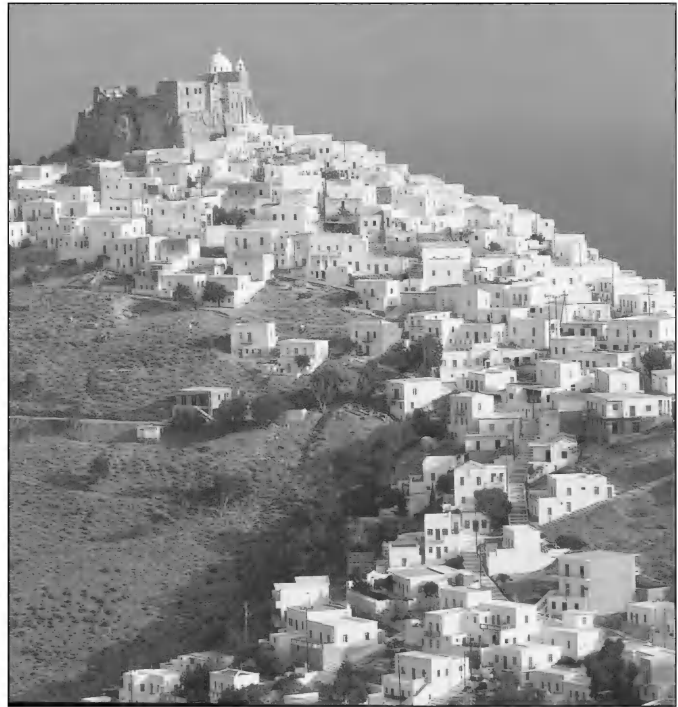
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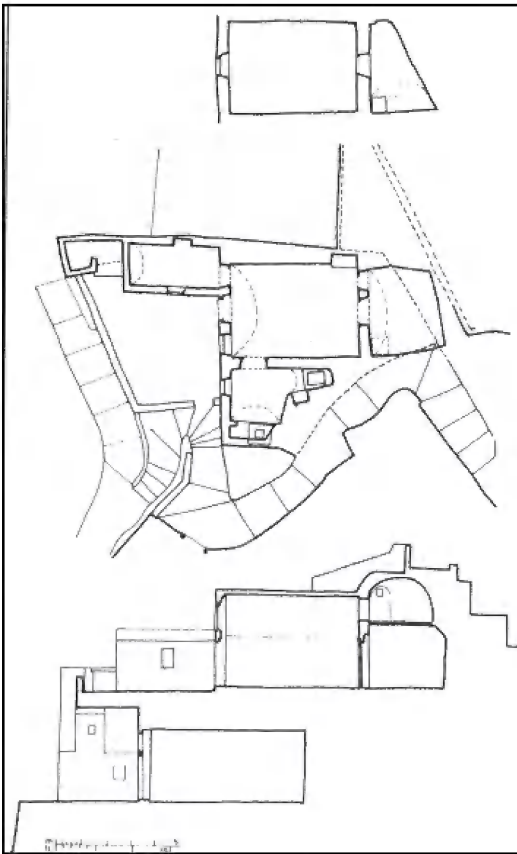
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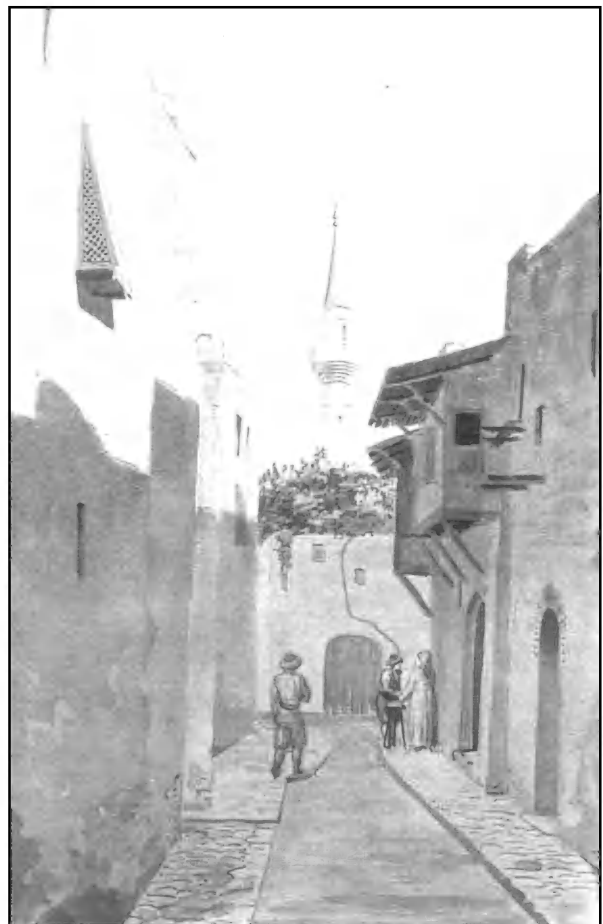
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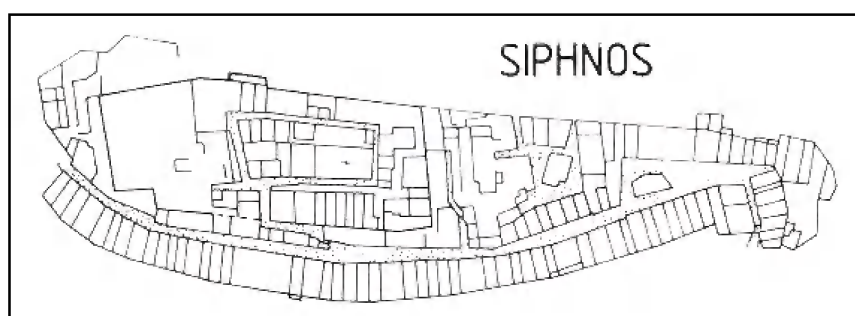
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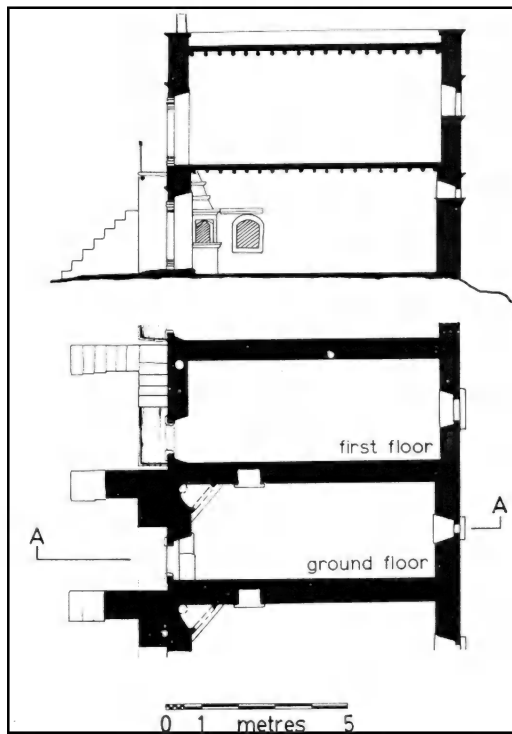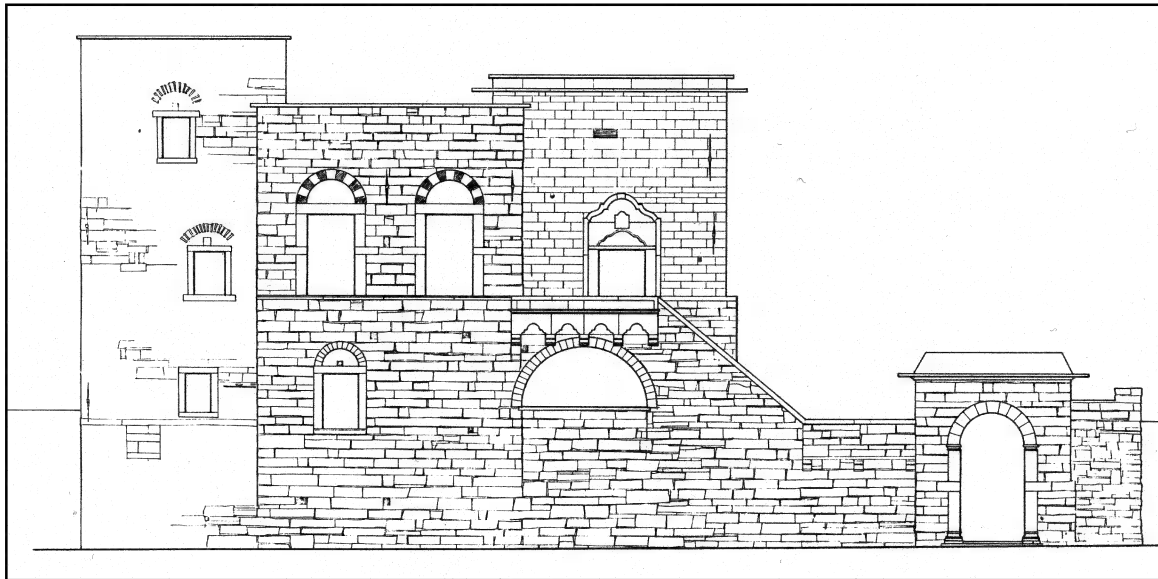
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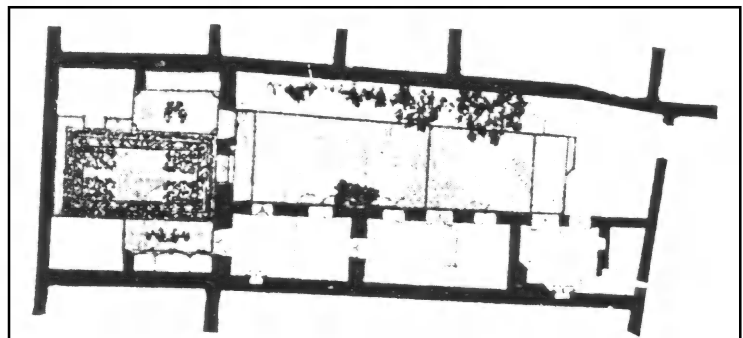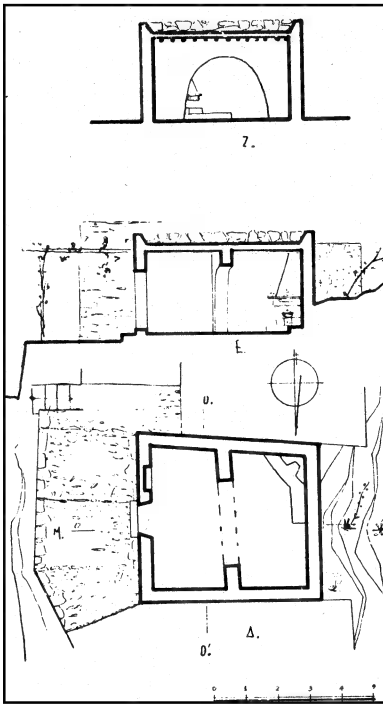
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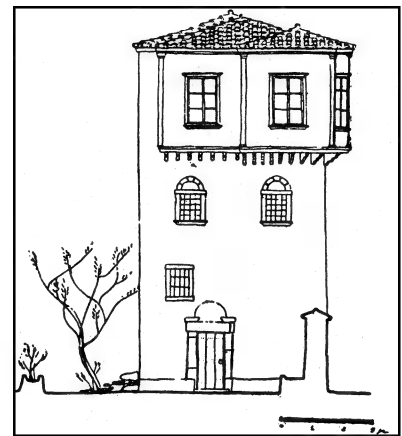
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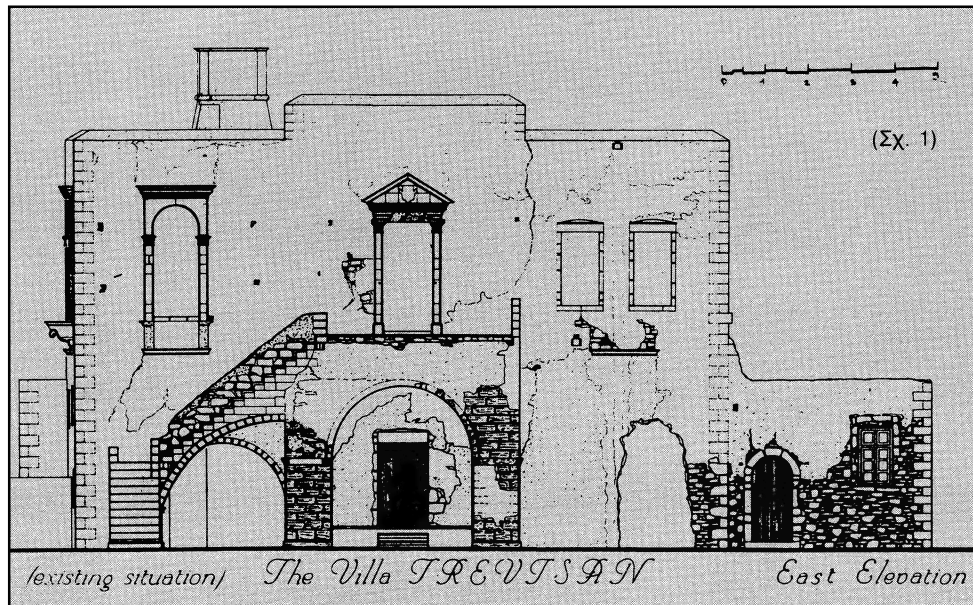
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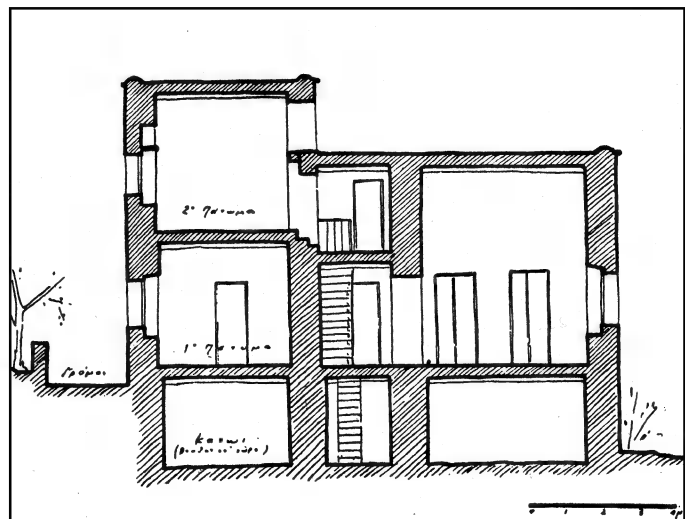
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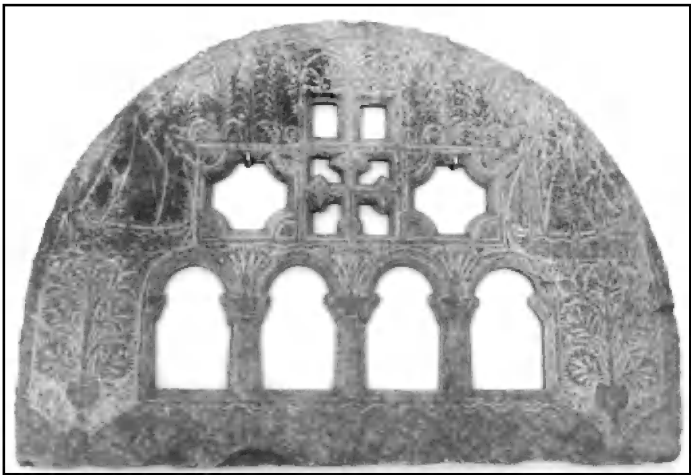
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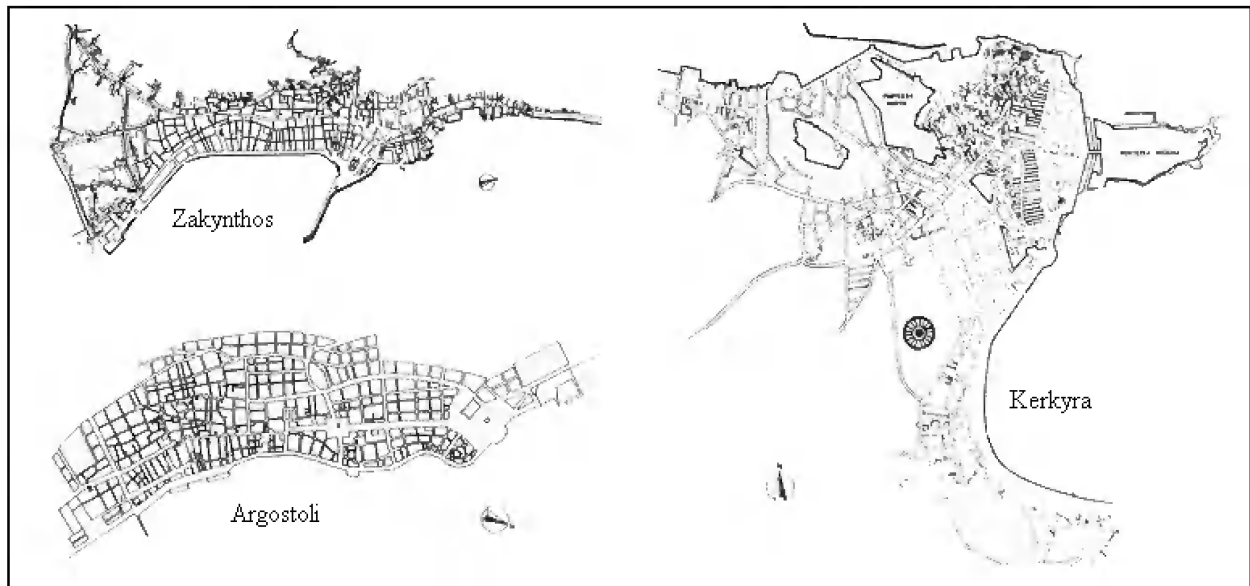
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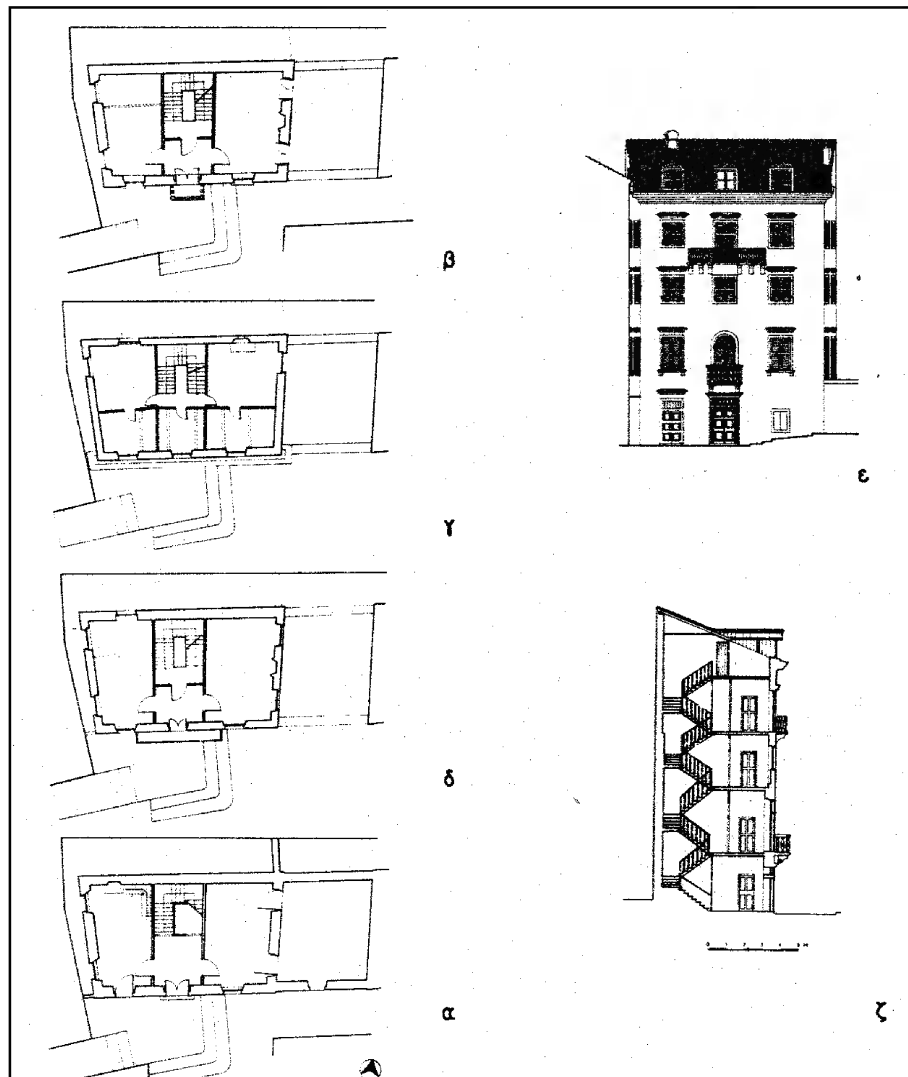
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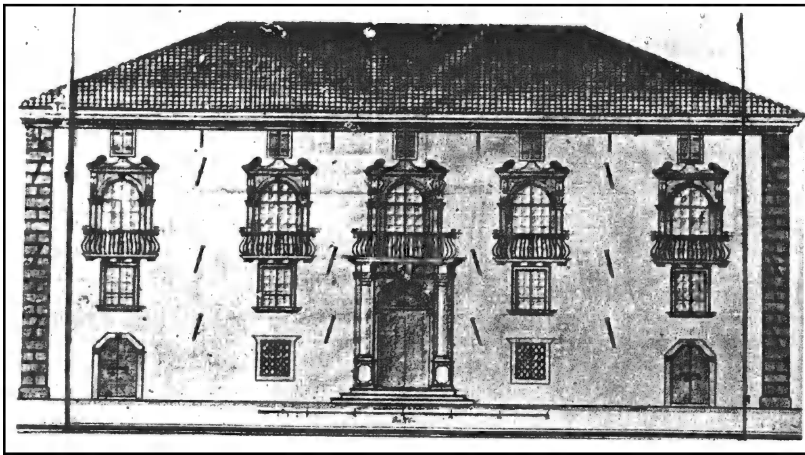
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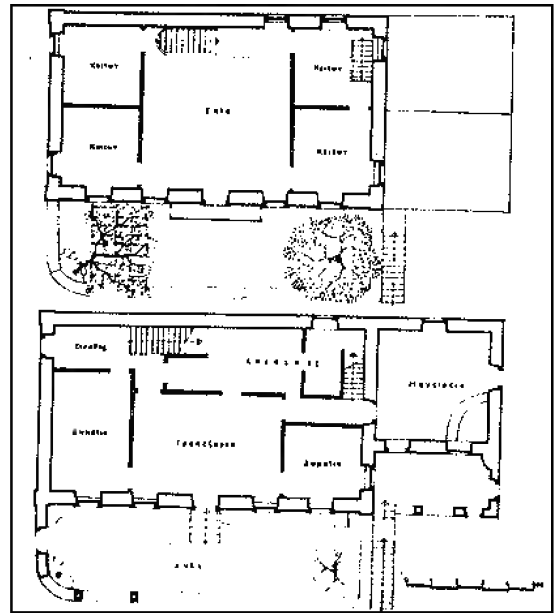
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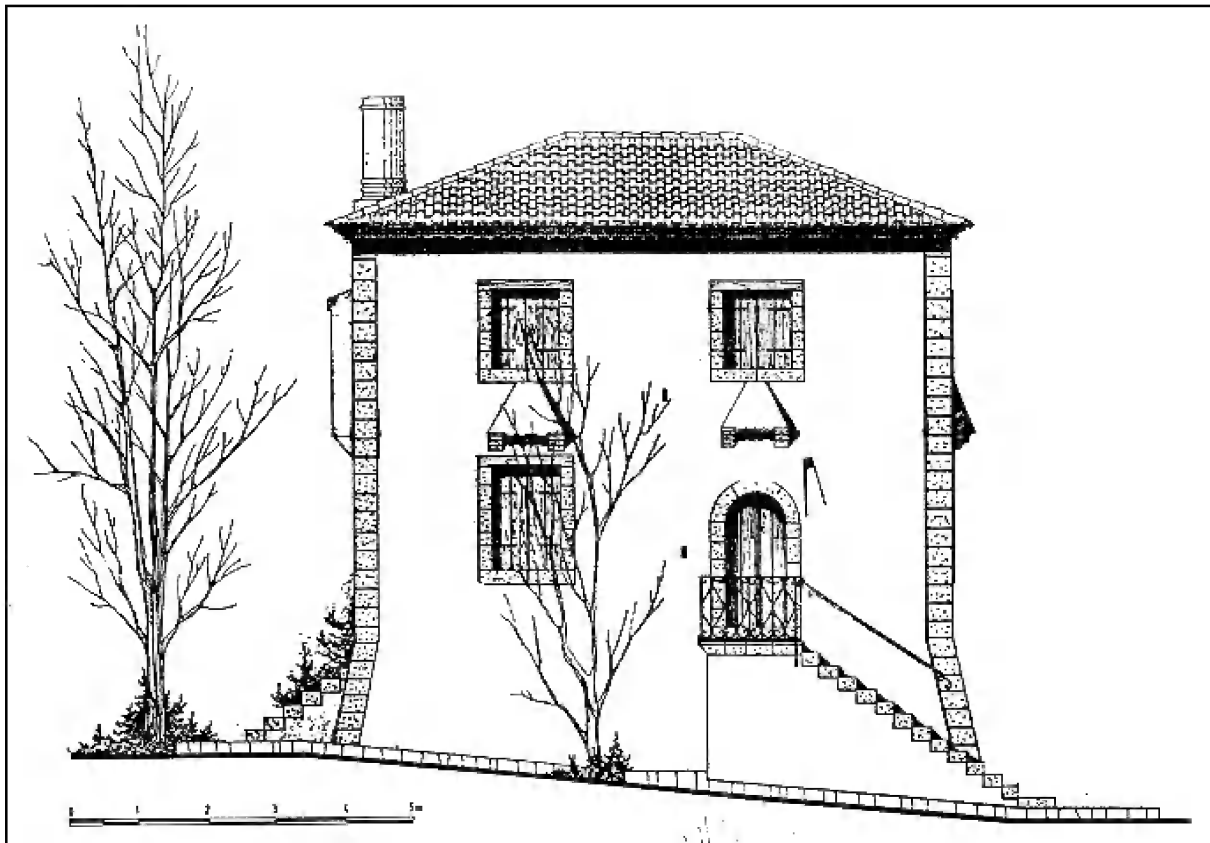
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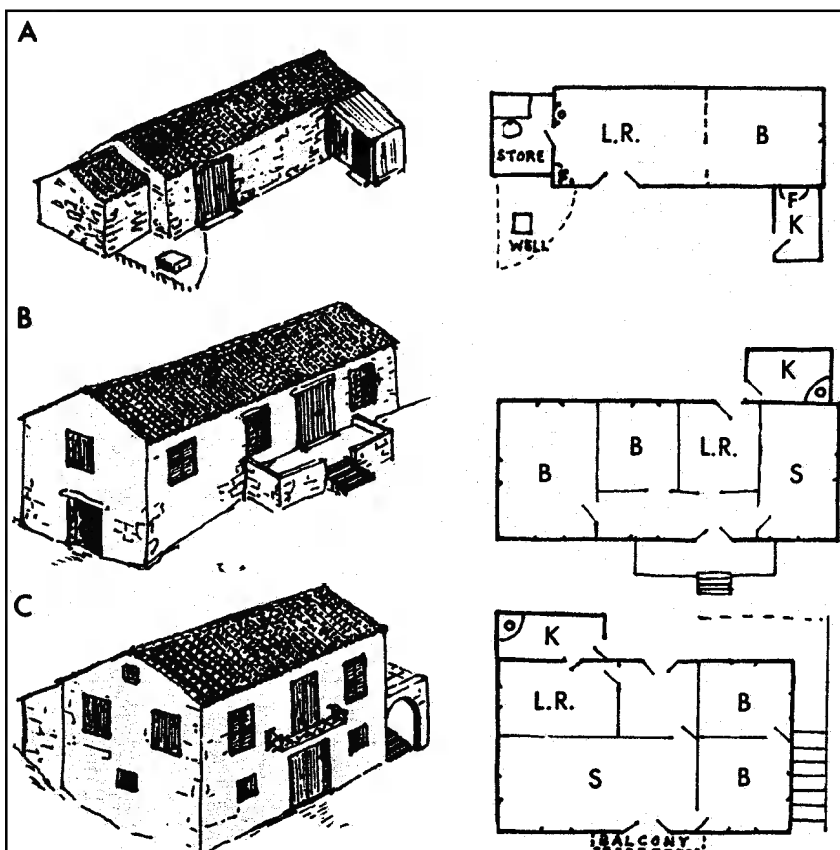
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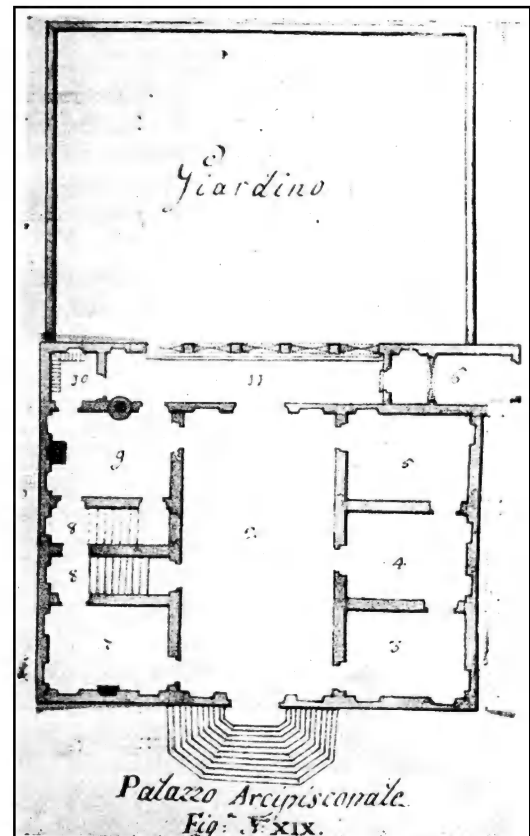
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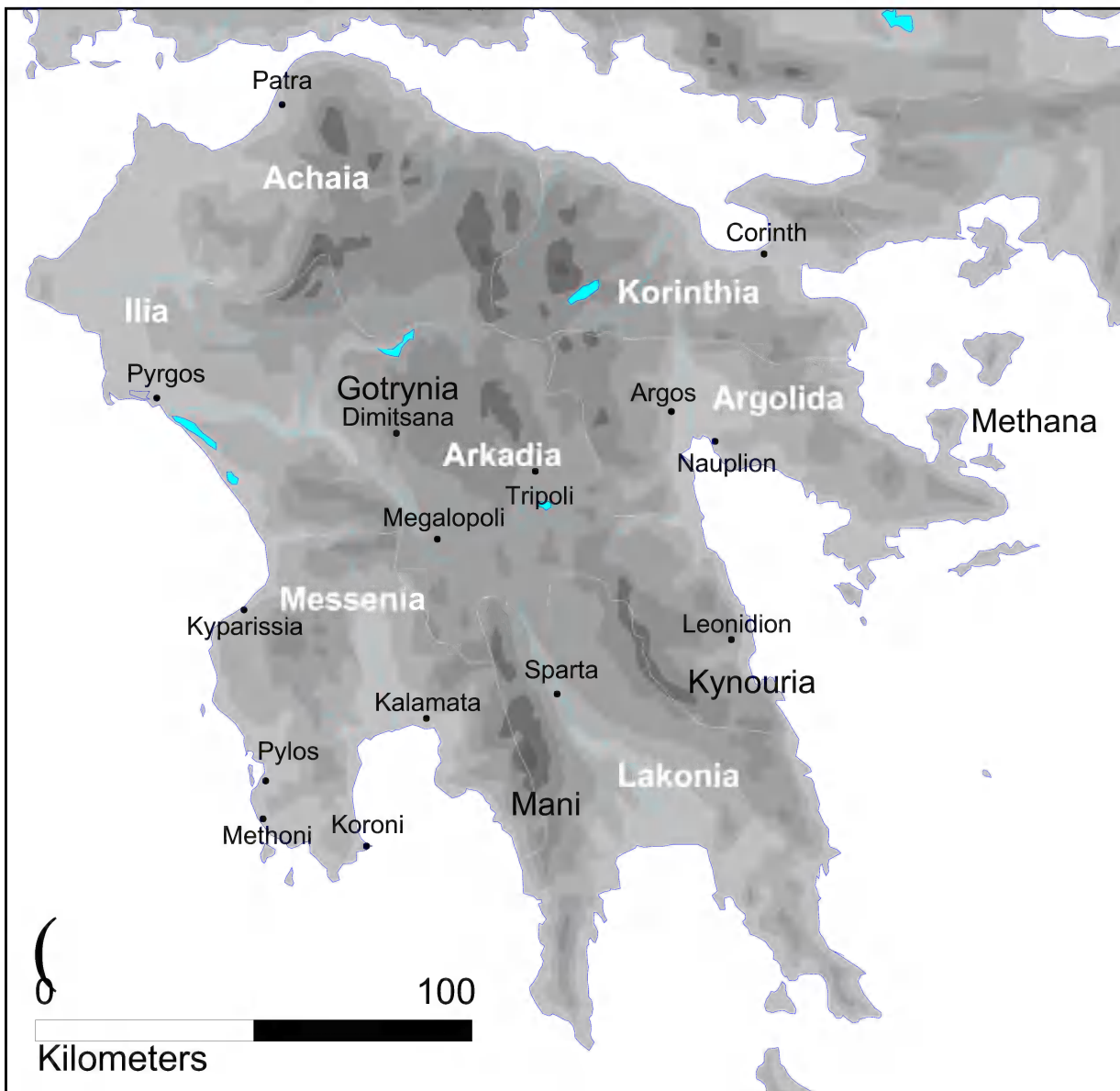
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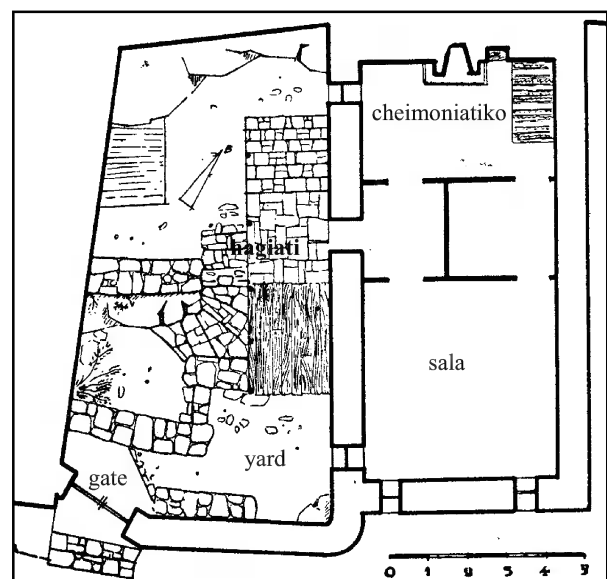
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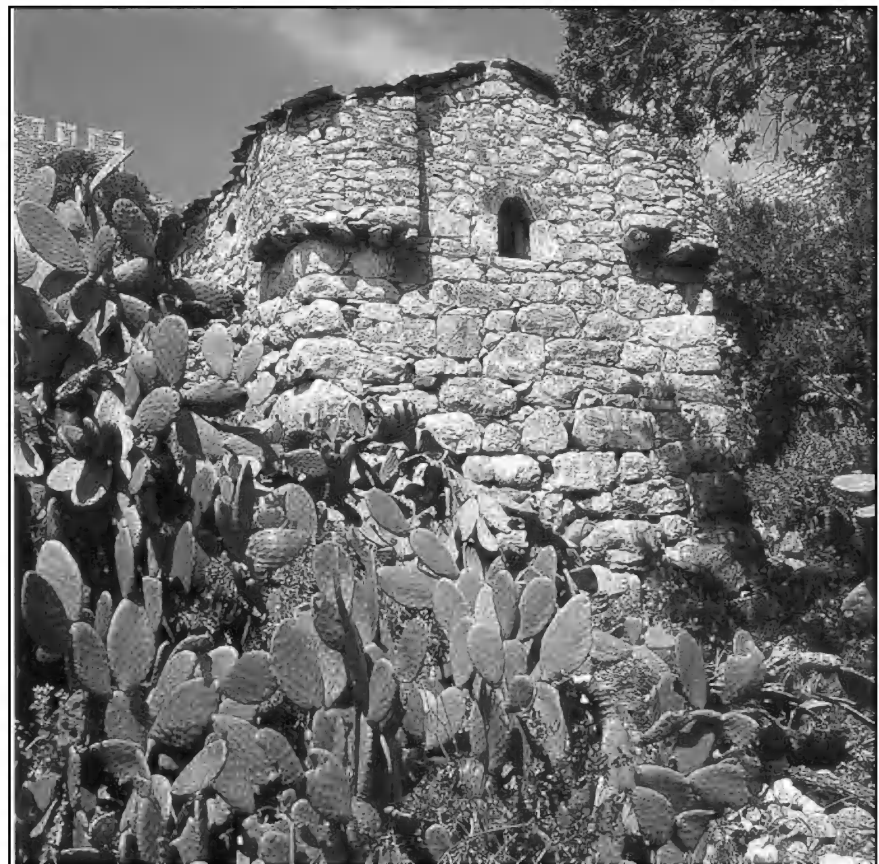
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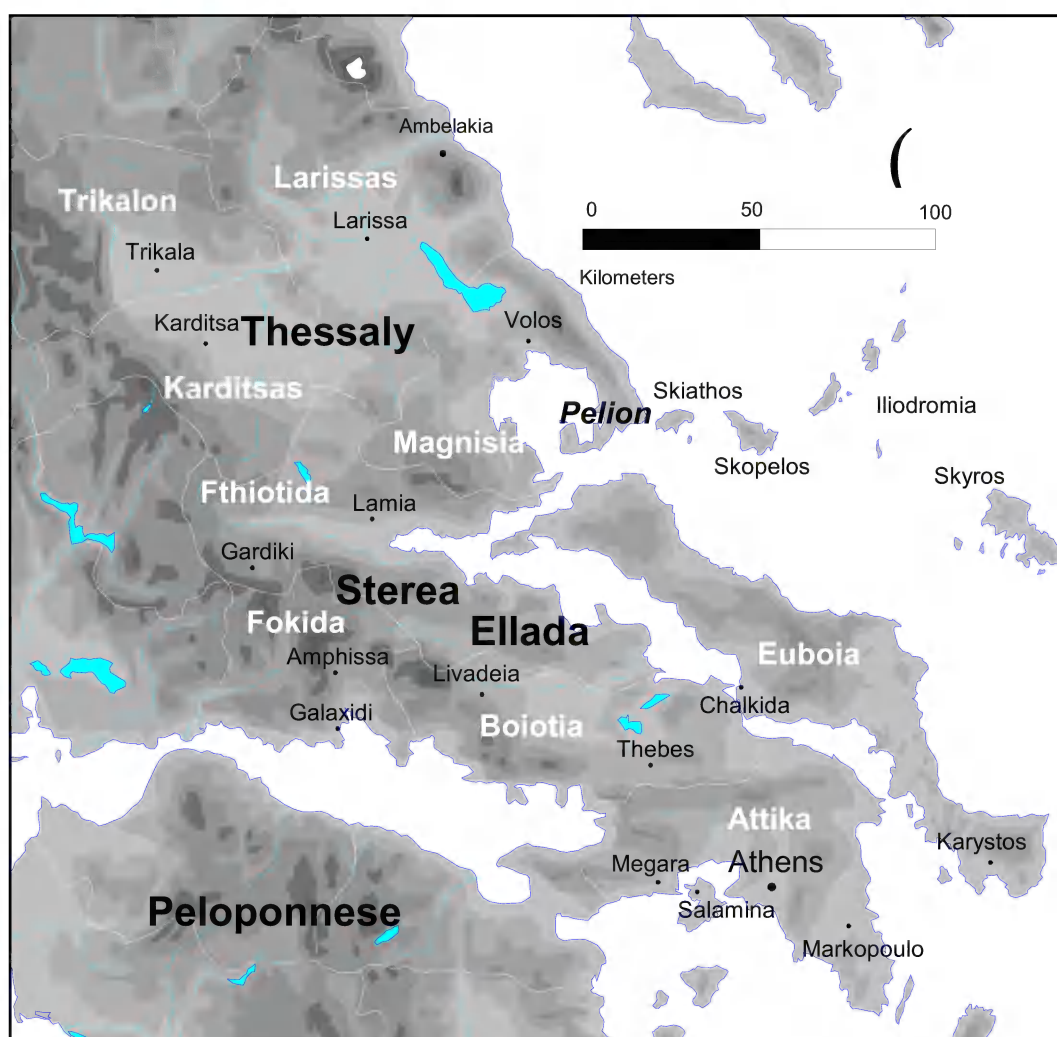
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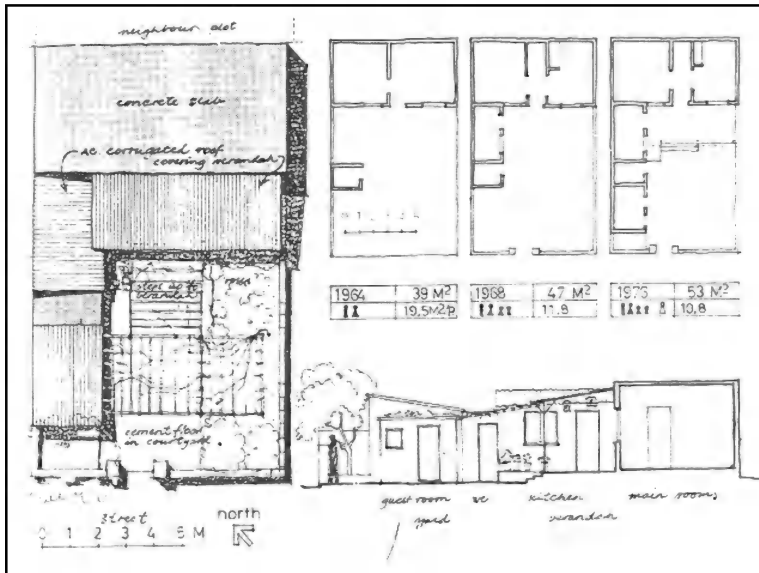
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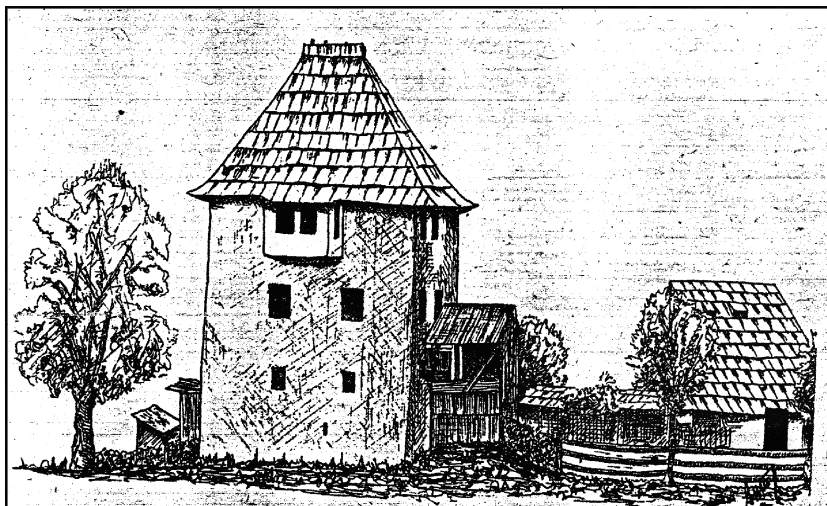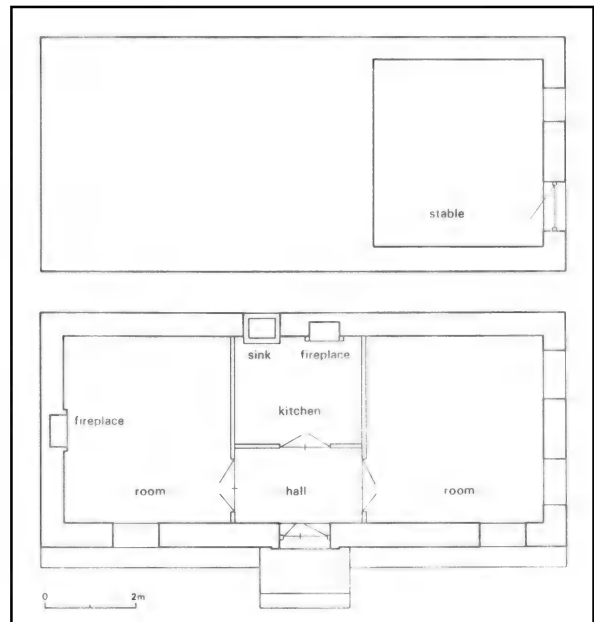
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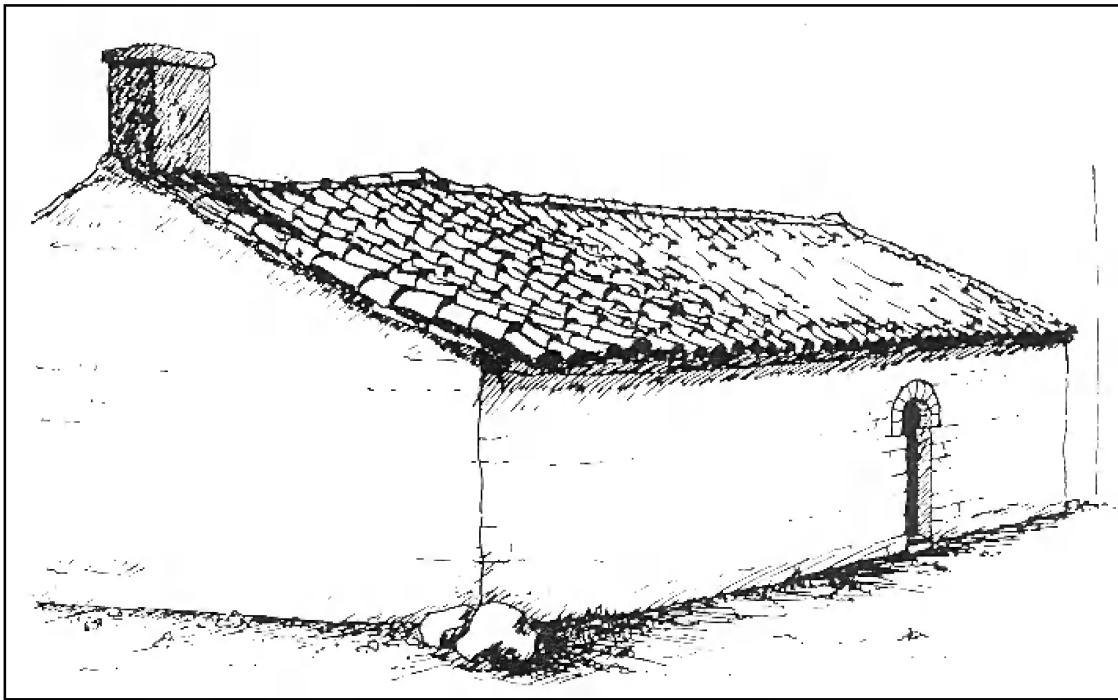
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Figure 51: Later period - Zoulia's house in Portaria, Pelion (Kizis 1994: 496, fig. 684).
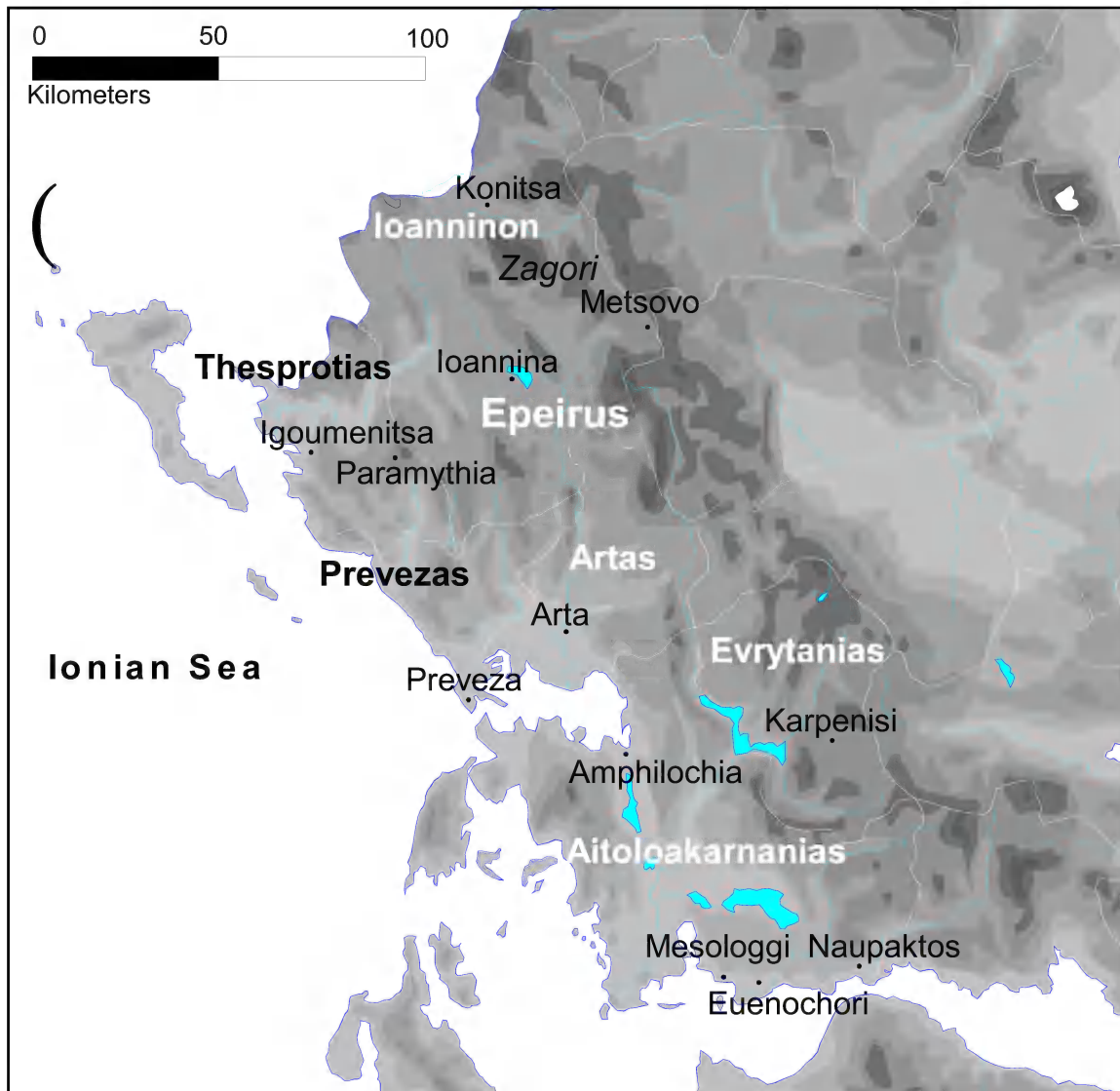
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Figure 54: Ragion Ottoman tower dominating the rest of the settlement. The tower was founded on top of a tower of the fortification wall of the Classical Corfiot fortress of Ragion (http://www.culture.gr/2/21/211/21108a/e211ha04.html).

Figure 55: *Koula*, or tower house in Euenochori, province of Aitoloakarnania (Chalkia 1980: pl. 184b).
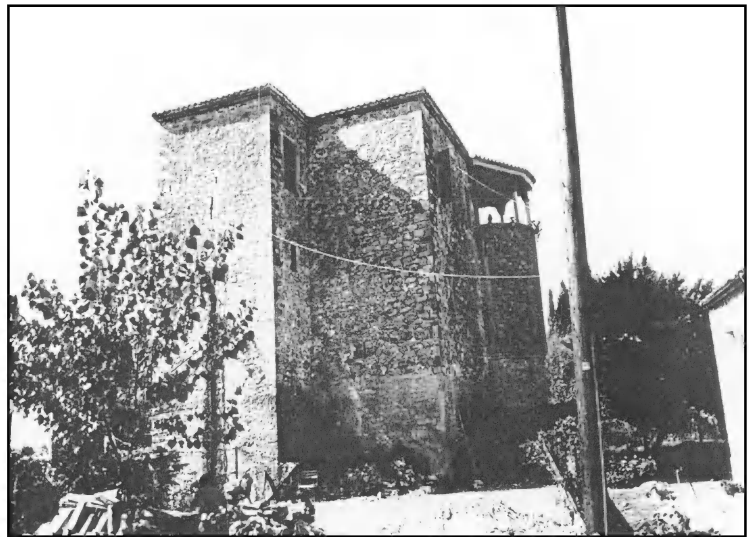
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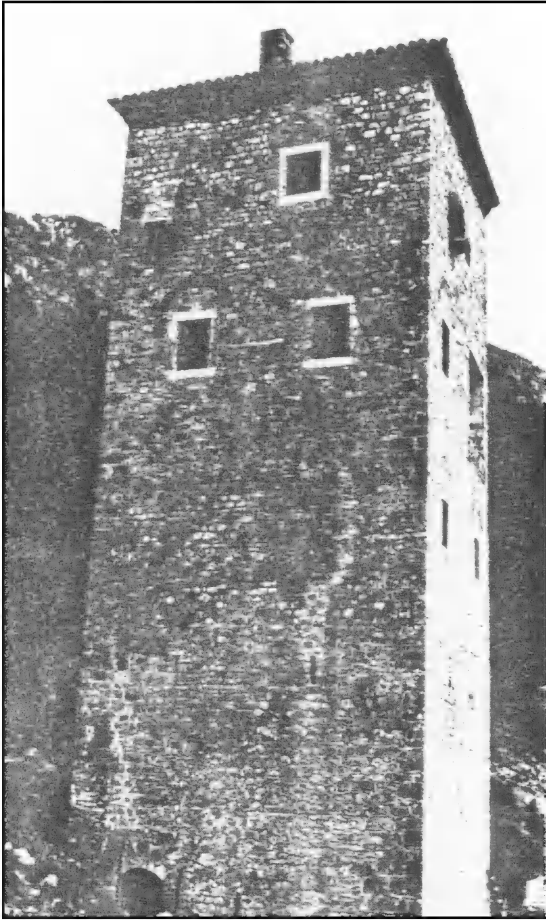
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Figure 58: The *archontiko* of Sisko Kontsa in Konitsa, province of Ioannina (Triantafyllopoulos 1976a: pl. 169d).
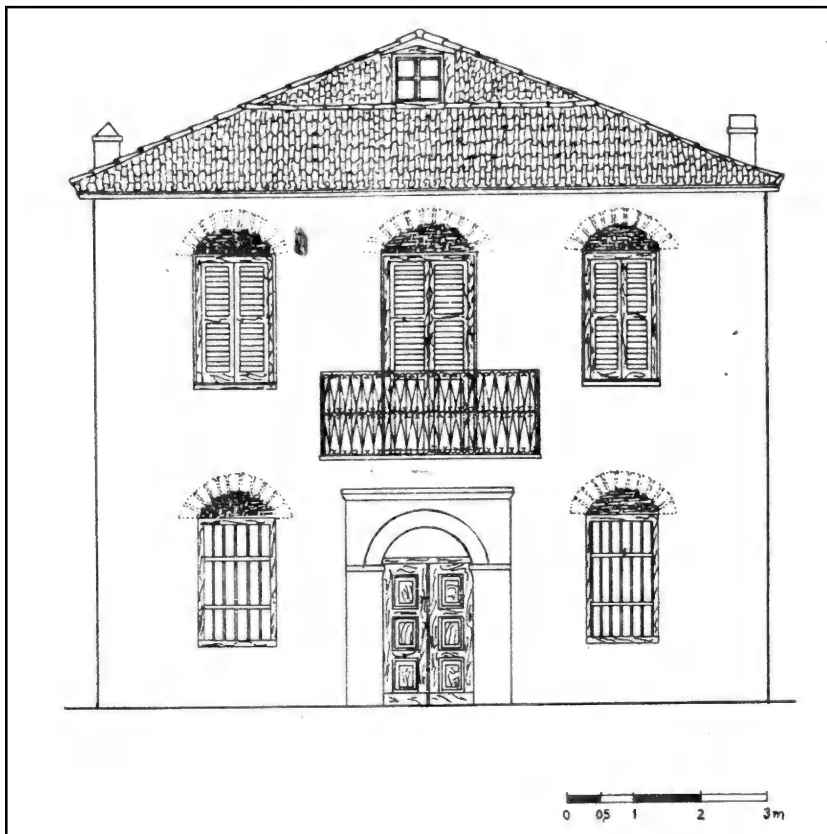
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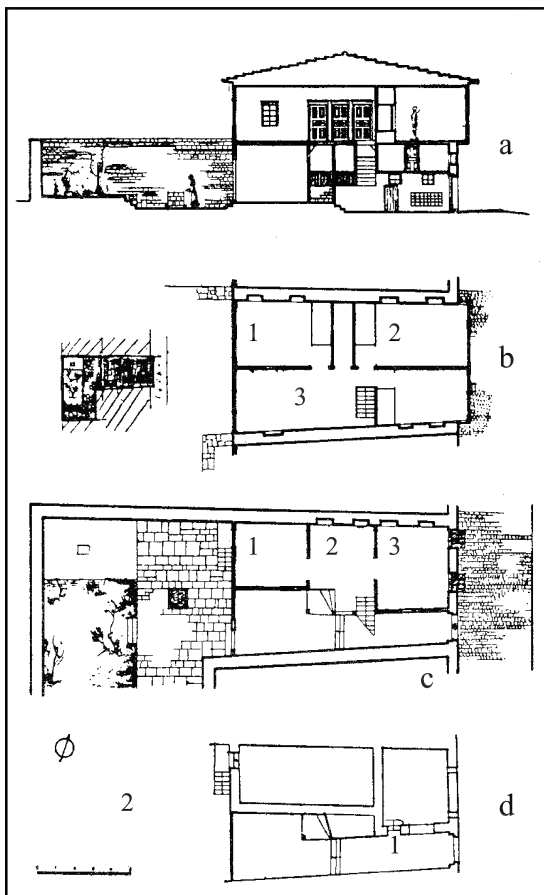
Figure 60: Town house in Ioannina.
a) section of house; b) second floor: 1. formal *cheimoniatiko*, 2. *onda*, 3. *iliakos*; c) first floor: 1. auxiliary room, 2. *metzopatoma*, 3. *cheimoniatiko*; d) ground floor: 1. entrance corridor with storerooms, 2. yard (Loukakis 1960: 200, fig. 10).
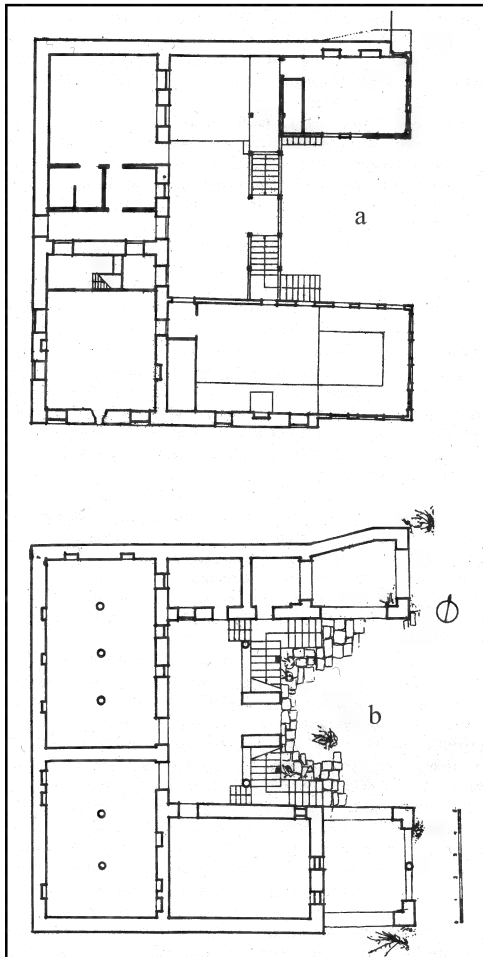
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Figure 62: Characteristic house in Metsovo, province of Ioannina: a) second floor, b) first floor, c) ground floor (Charissis 1960: 234 & 235, fig. 6 & 7).
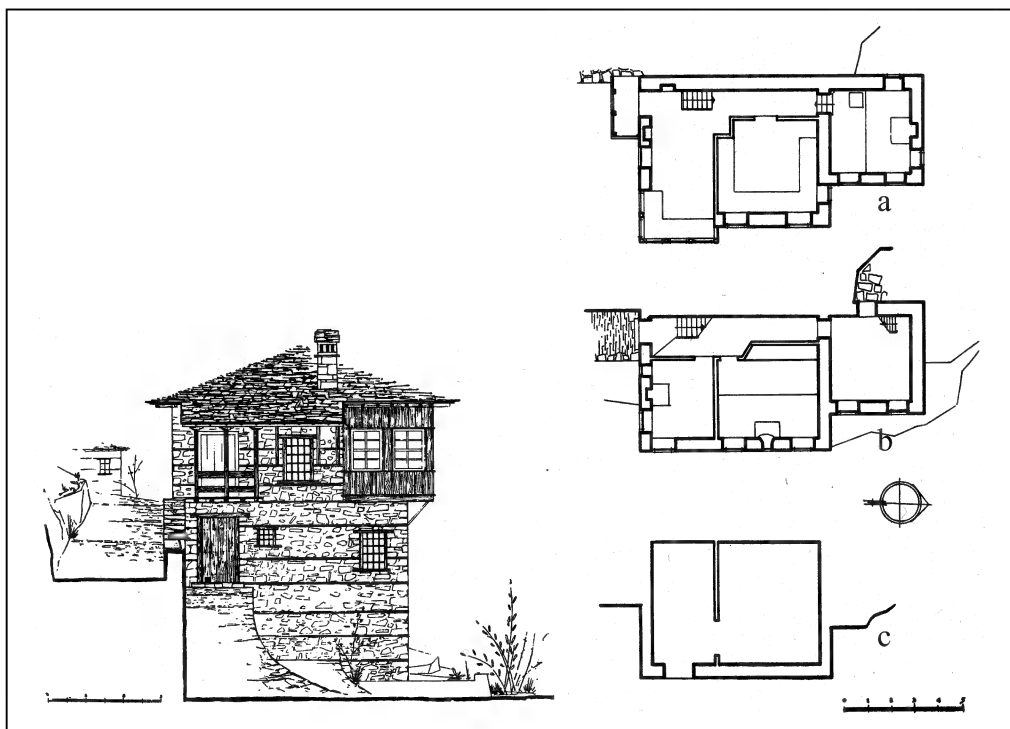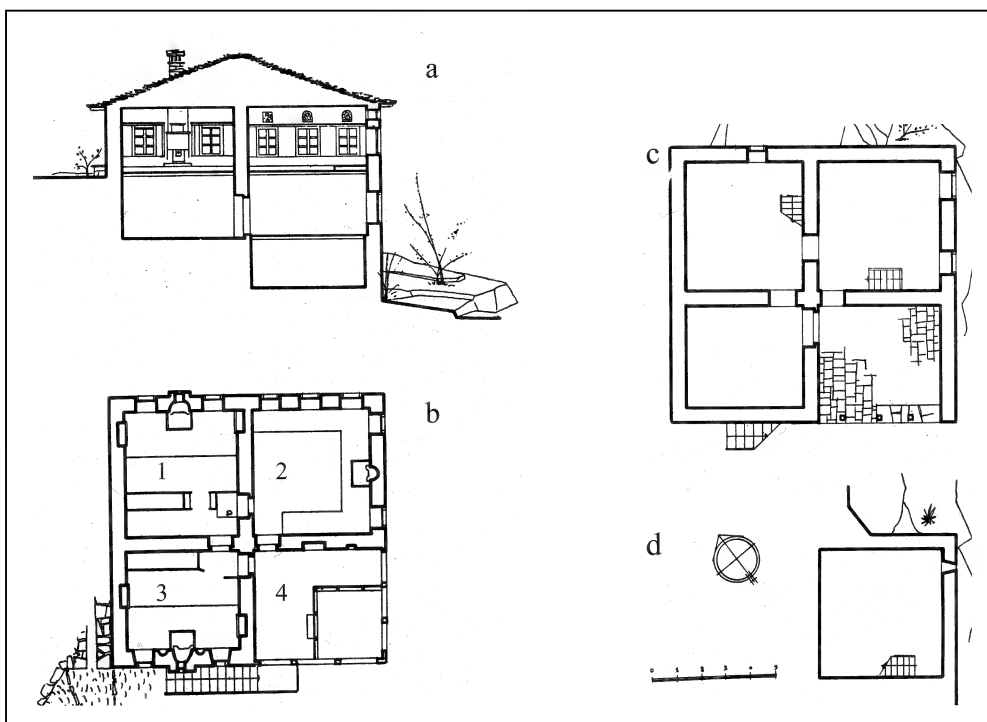
Figure 63: An *archontiko* in Metsovo, province of Ioannina: a) section; b) second floor: 1. *gonaio*, 2. *chotzares*, 3. *seraï*, 4. *ondas*; c) first floor; d) ground floor (Charissis 1960: 245 & 246, fig. 22 & 23).

Figure 64: A *sterfogalaro* from Aitolia (Loukopoulos 1984 [1925]: 5, fig. 1).
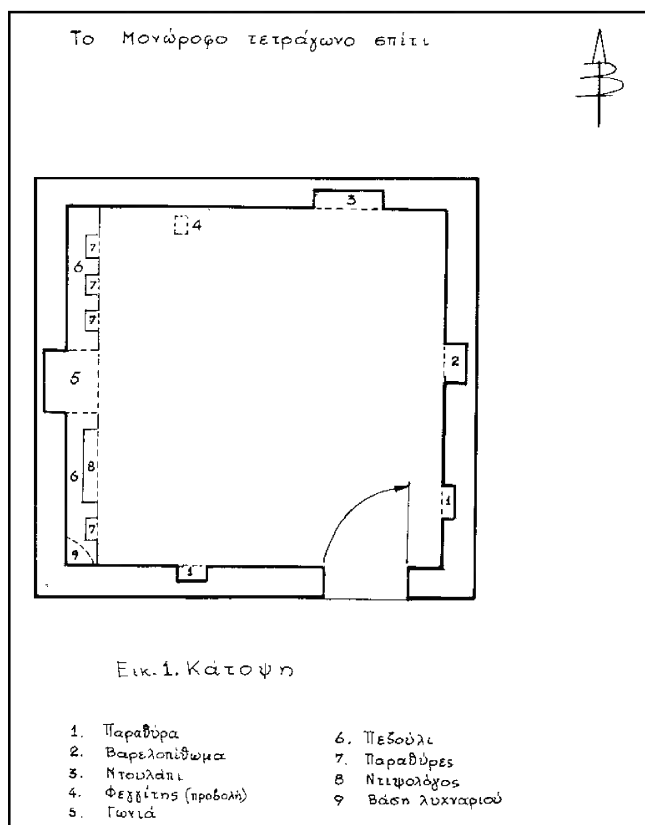
Figure 65: A square house from Epeiros (Kosmas 1998: 41, fig. 1).

The diagram contains the following Greek labels:

Το Μονώροφο τετράγωνο σπίτι

Εικ. 1. Κάτοψη

1. Παραθύρα
2. Βαρελοπίθωμα
3. Ντουλάπι
4. Φεγγίτης (προβολή)
5. Γωνιά
6. Πεζούλι
7. Παραθύρες
8. Ντιψολόγος
9. Βάση λυχναριού

Figure 66: The village Vitsa in the Zagori Region (Anon 2001).

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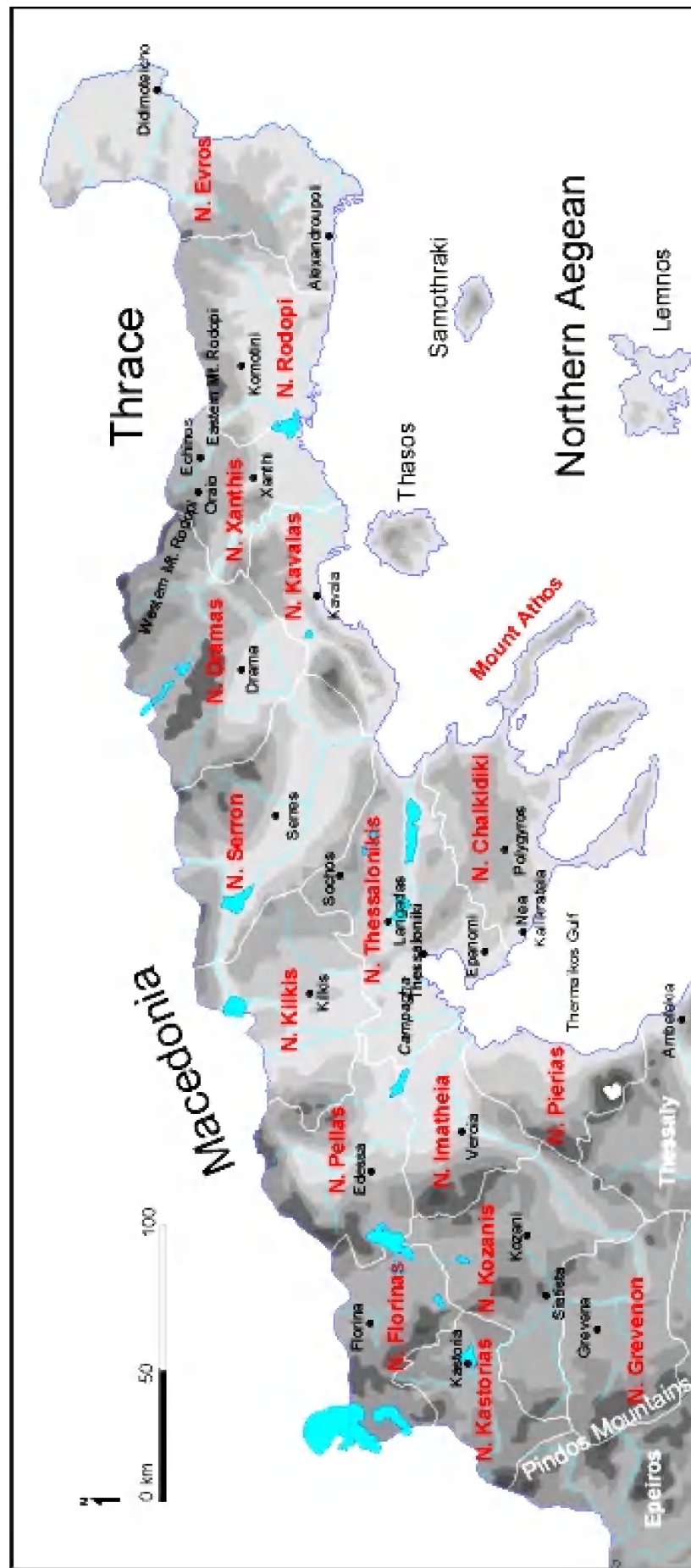
Figure 67: Map of Northern Greece.
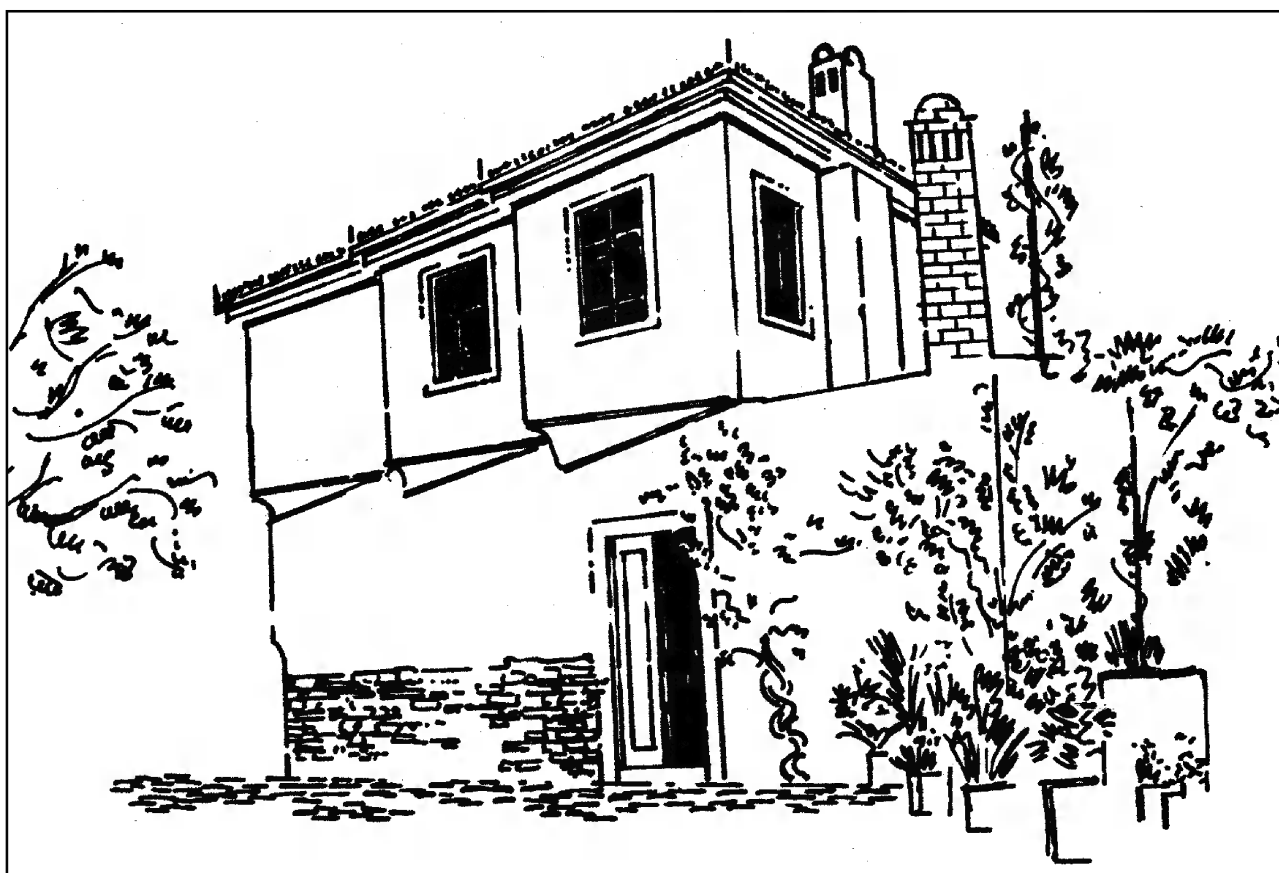
Figure 68: The house of Grigoriadis in Panagia, Kavala (Bakirtzis 1976b: 324, fig. 2).

Figure 69: The house of Albanou in Panagia, Kavala (Bakirtzis 1977b: pl. l57c).

Figure 70: The house of Tokos in Kavala (Bakirtzis 1976a: 323, fig. 1).
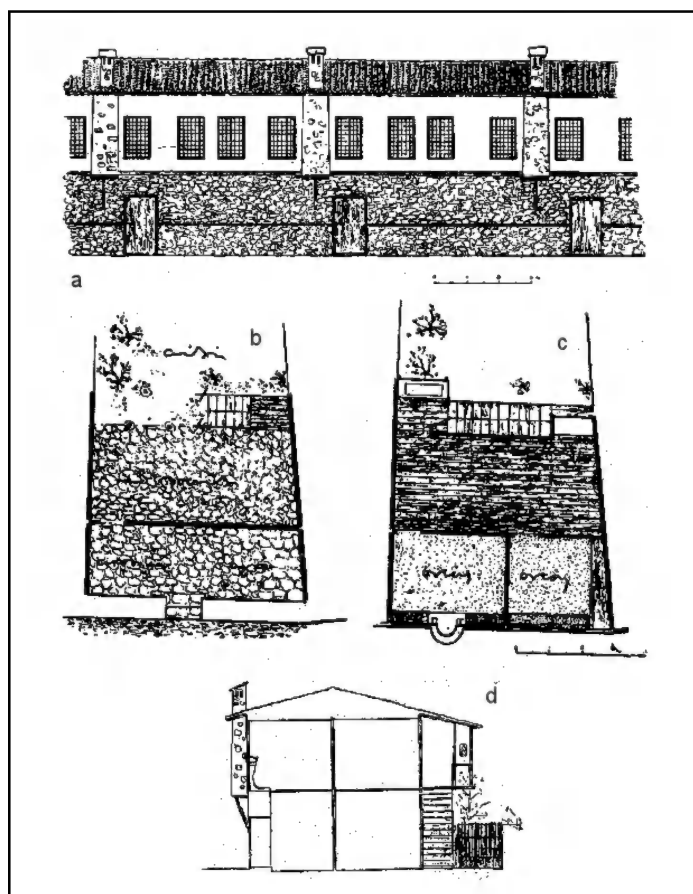
Figure 71: The *laïka* houses of Veroia, a. façade, b. ground floor, c. first floor, d. section (Chrysopoulos 1960: 287-288, fig. 1, 2, 3).
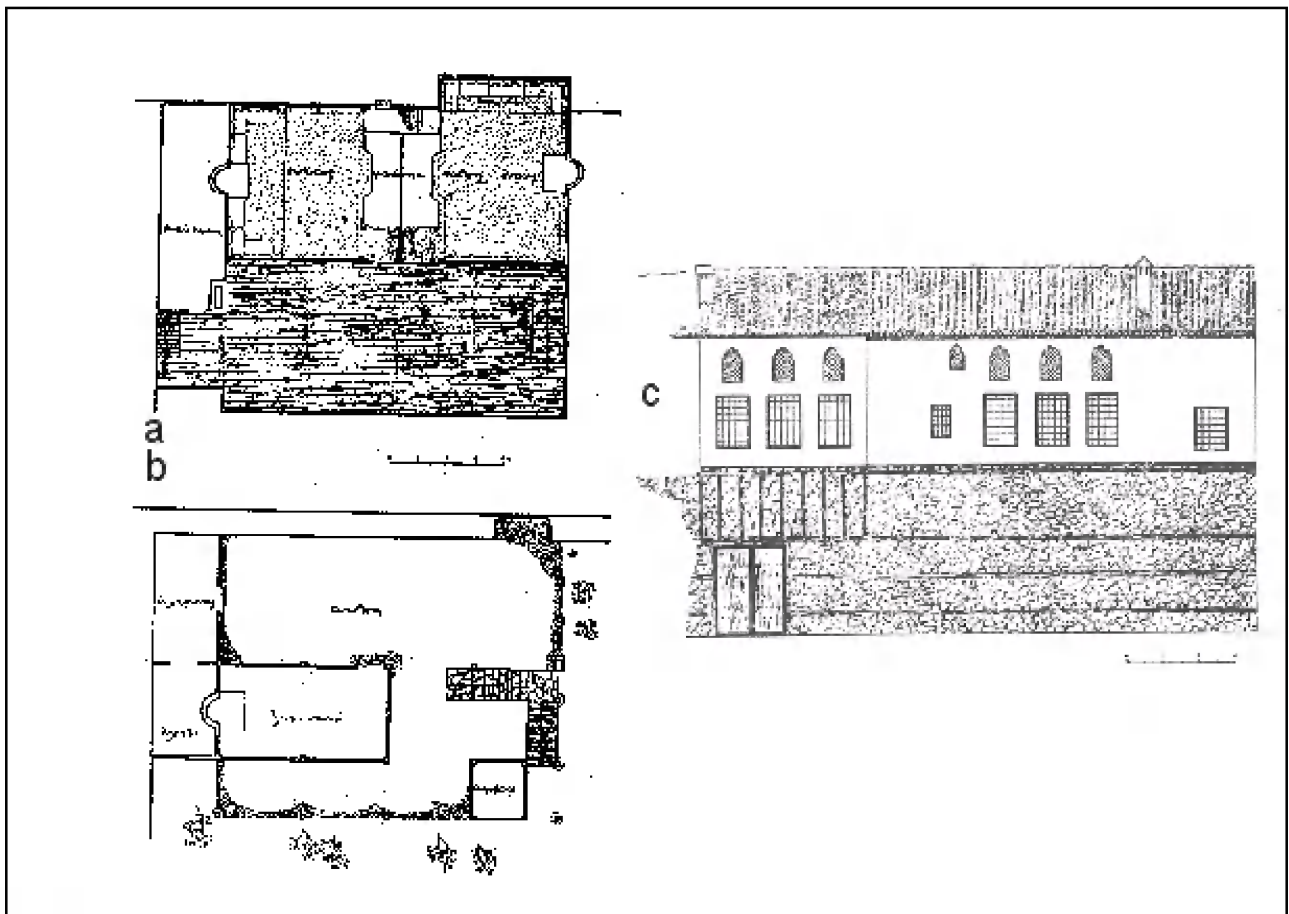
Figure 72: An archontiko in Veroia, a. ground floor yard, b. first floor, c. facade (Chrysopoulos 1960: 289-290, fig. 5-6).
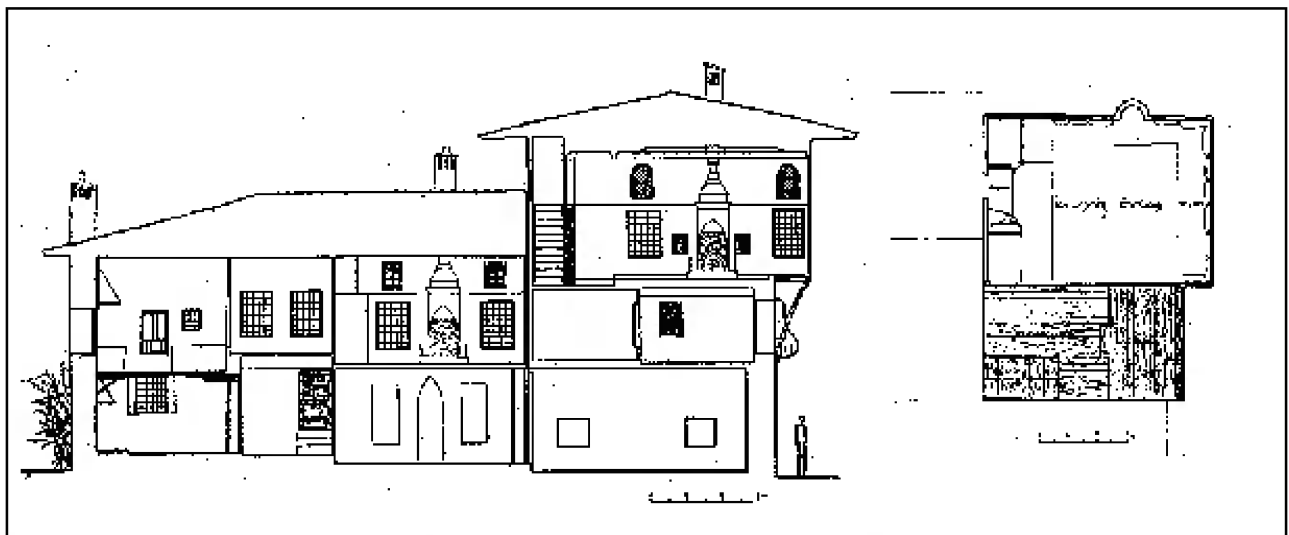
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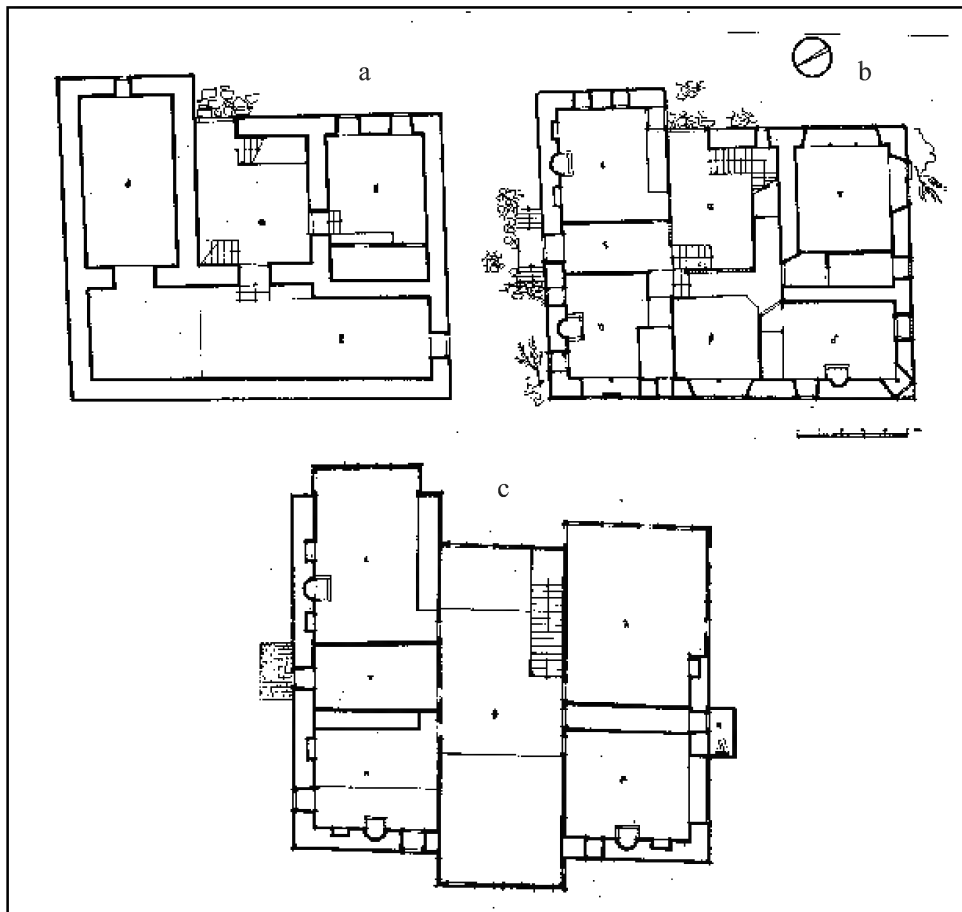
Figure 74: An *archontiko* in Siatista, a. *katoi*, b. *mesopatoma*, c. *kalokairino* (Sideris and Tsironis 1960: 265, 268, fig. 15, 16, 22).
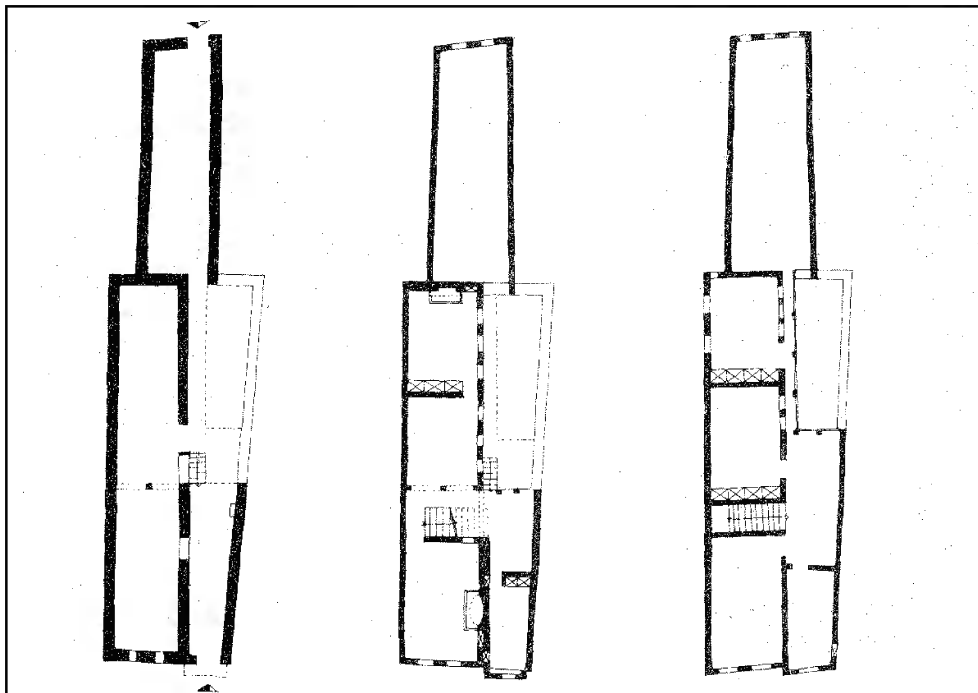
Figure 75: A house in Varosi, Edessa, with extension for household sericulture. *Katoi*, *mesopatoma*, *kalokairino*, from left to right (Zarkada-Pistioli 1988: 46, fig. 4).
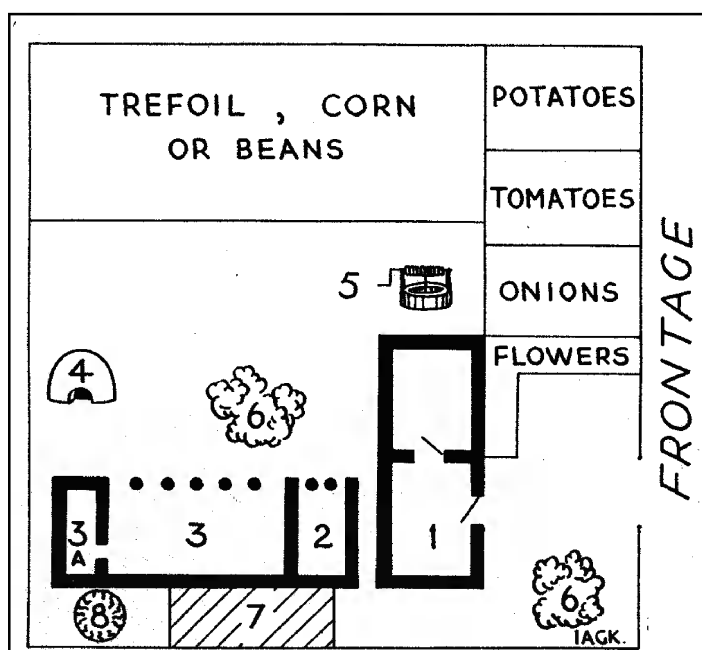
Figure 76: Characteristic household in the Thessaloniki Campagna. 1. main domestic space, 2. toolshed, 3. stalls, 3A. henhouse, 4. oven, 5. well, 6. trees, 7. brushwood, 8. manure (Common and Prentice 1956: 225, fig. 4).

Figure 77: Cvijic's geographical distribution of house-types in the Balkan Peninsula (Cvijic 1918).
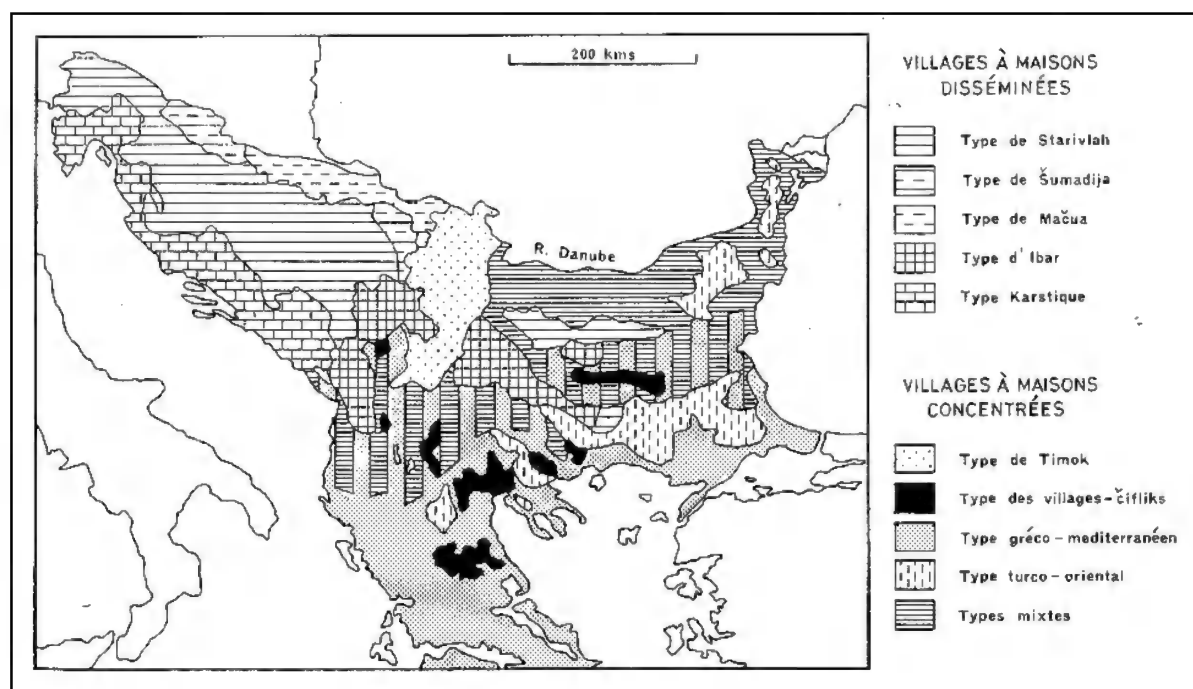
Figure 78: Beuermann's classification of settlement sites (Beuermann 1955).

Temporary Settlements	Permanent Settlements
1. Winter settlements 2. Nomad settlements	1. Clustered Villages *compact, loose, malachi, estate, colonisation*
	2. Street-and-line Settlements
	3. Hamlets
	4. Isolated Farmsteads
	5. War or Defensive Settlements

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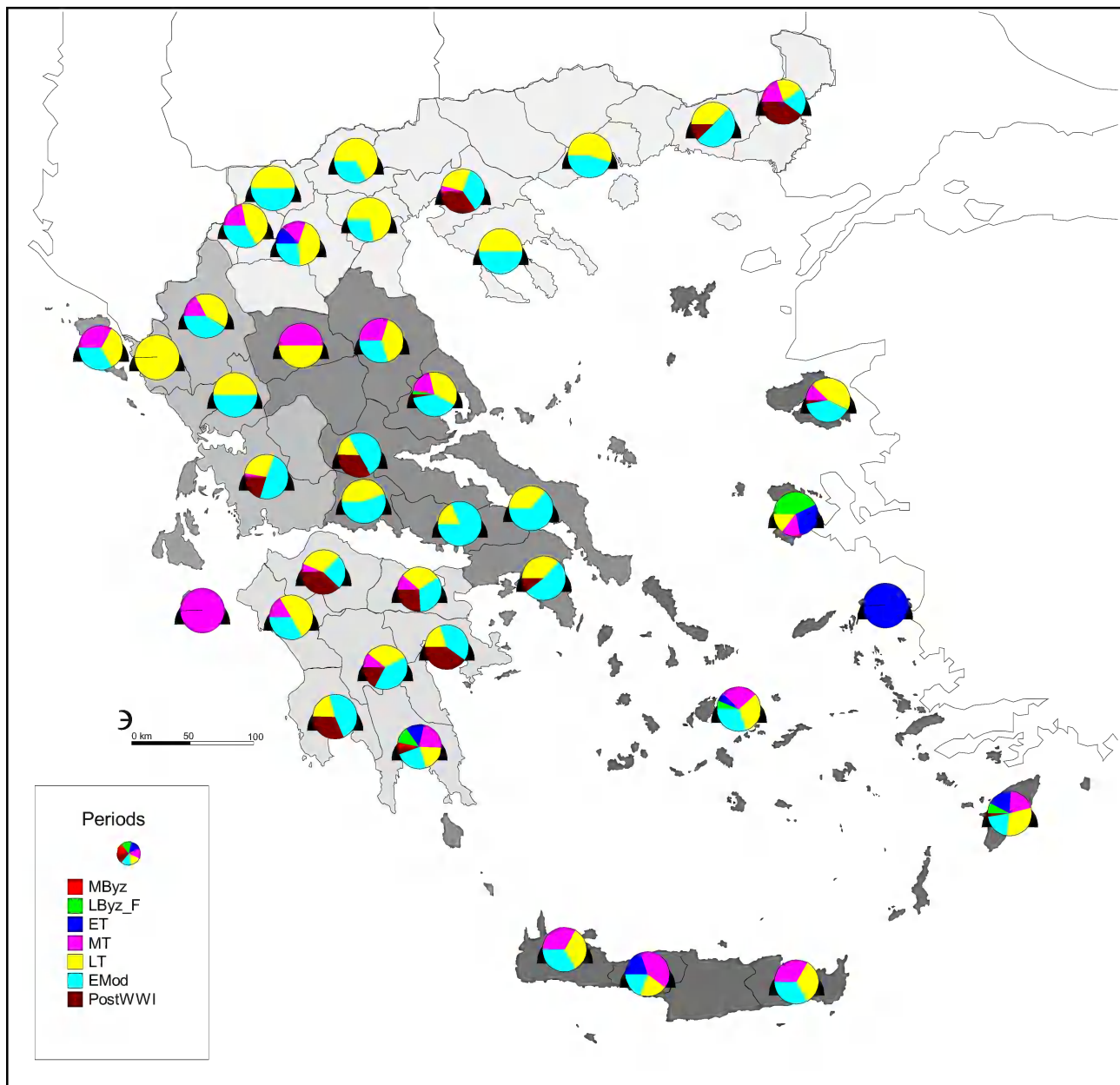
Figure 79: General distribution of dates.
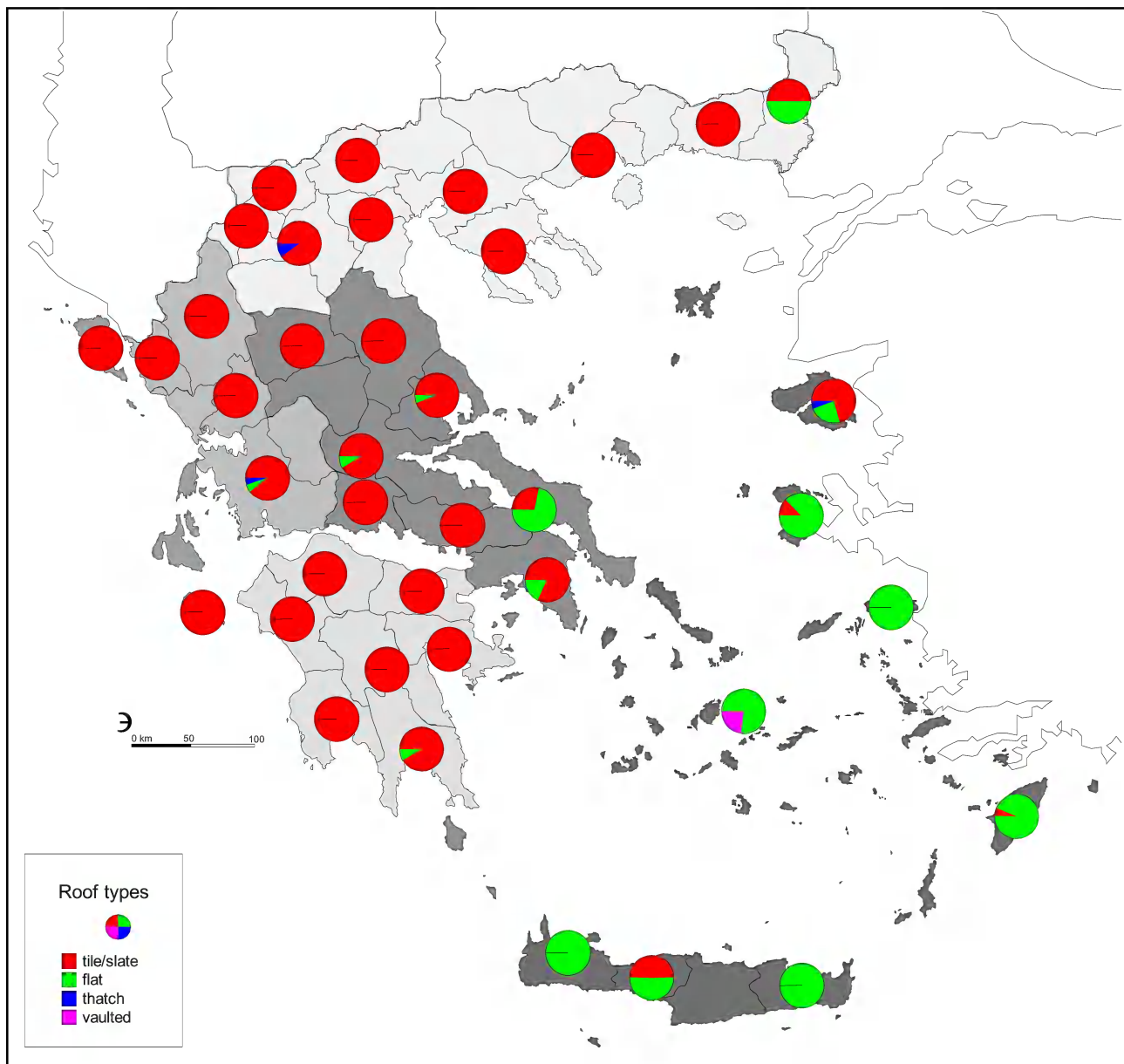
Figure 80: General distribution of roof types.

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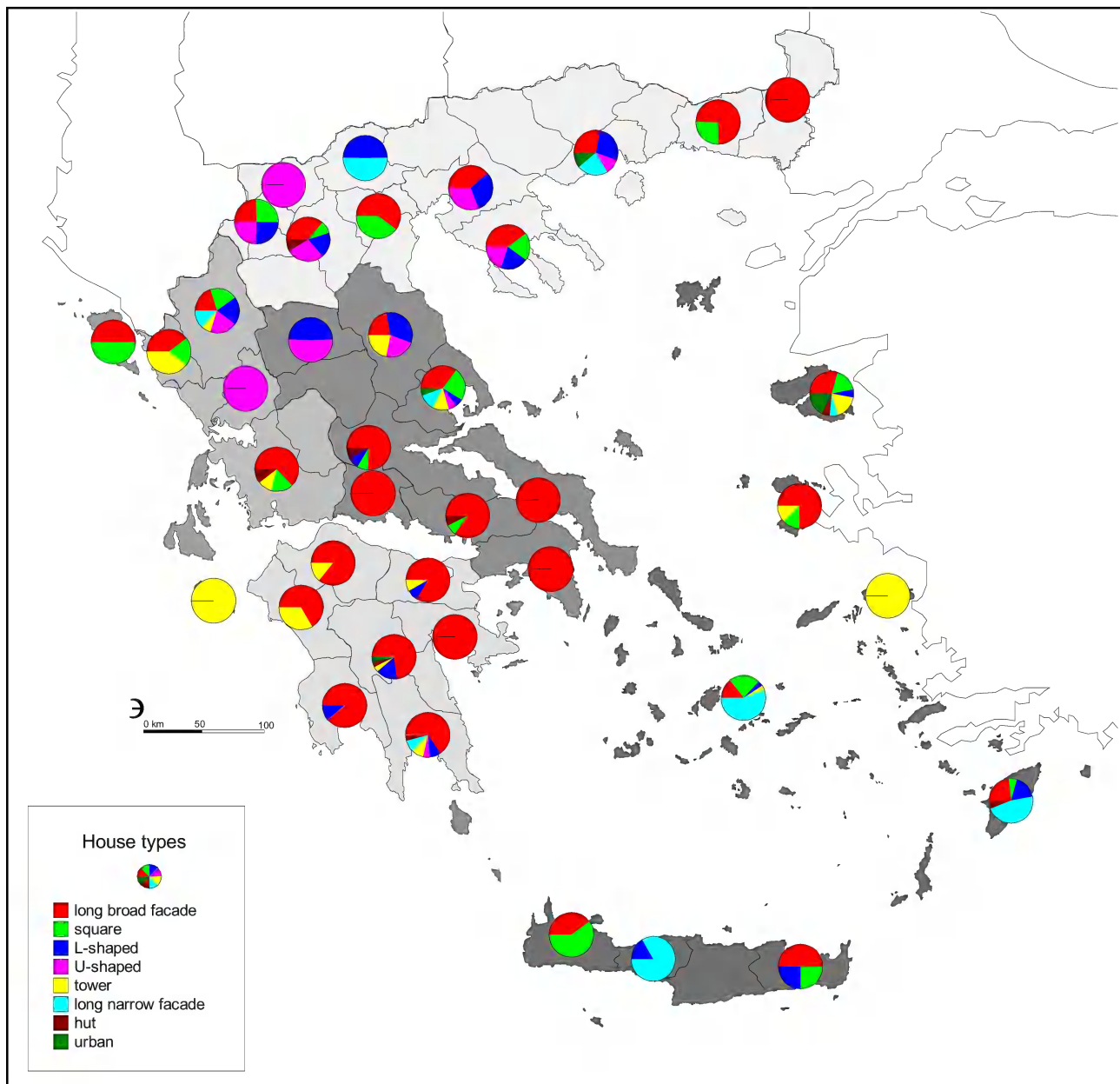
Figure 81: General distribution of house types.
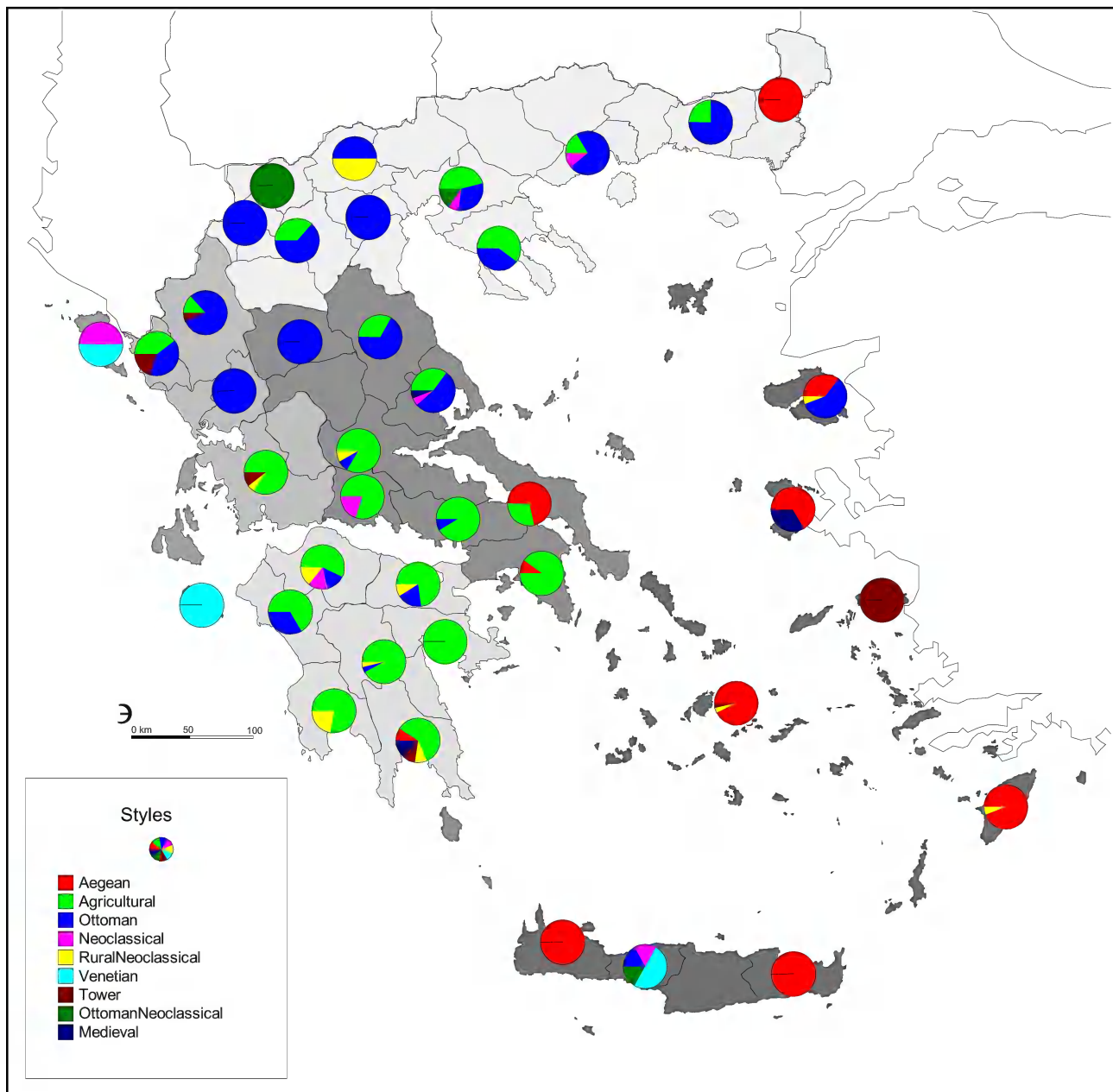
Figure 82: General distribution of house styles.
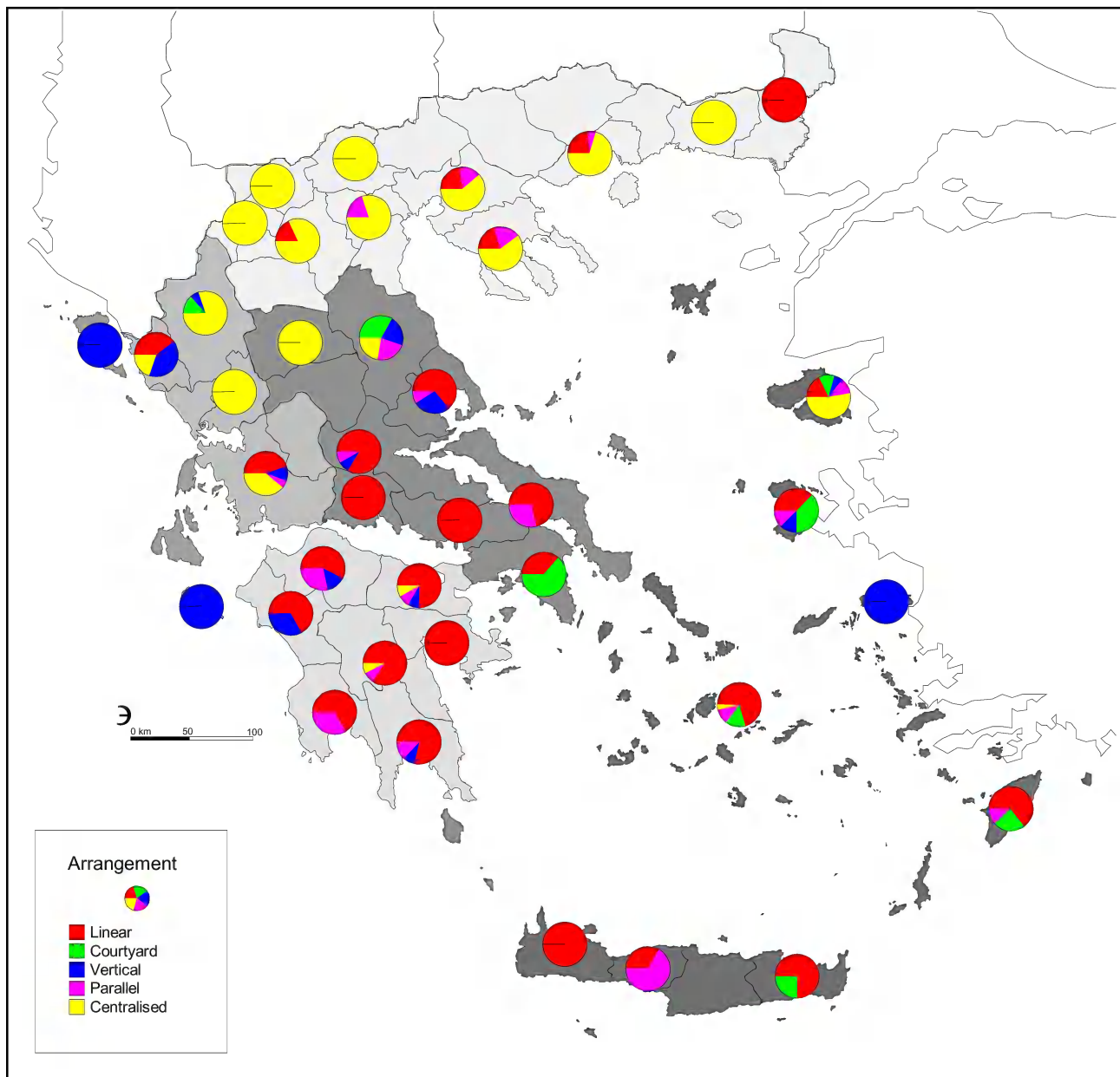
Figure 83: General distribution of interior arrangement of the house.
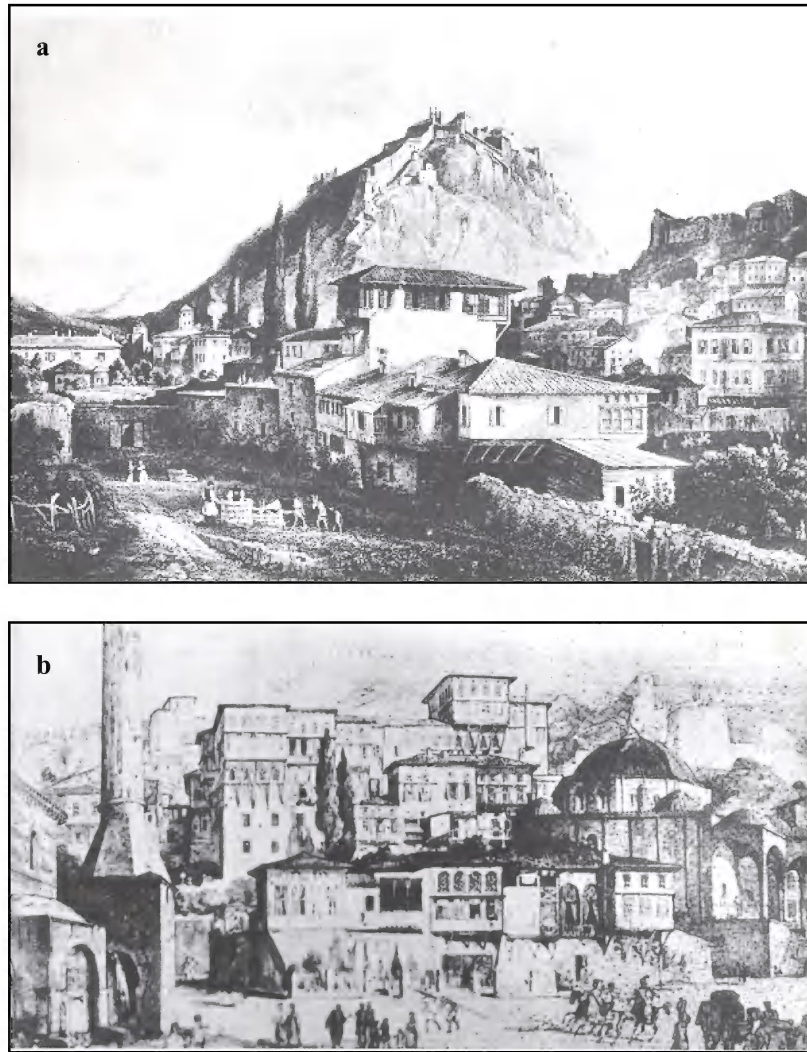
Figure 84: Two engravings of Nafplion (a.Wolfensberger 1824, Zurich, Kunsthaus, *see* Moutsopoulos 1993a: 352, fig. 5; b. Lange 1834, *see* Kizis 1994: 83, fig. 56).

Figure 85: Current view of the central square of Nafplion as remodeled throughout the 19th century (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001: 112, fig. 171).
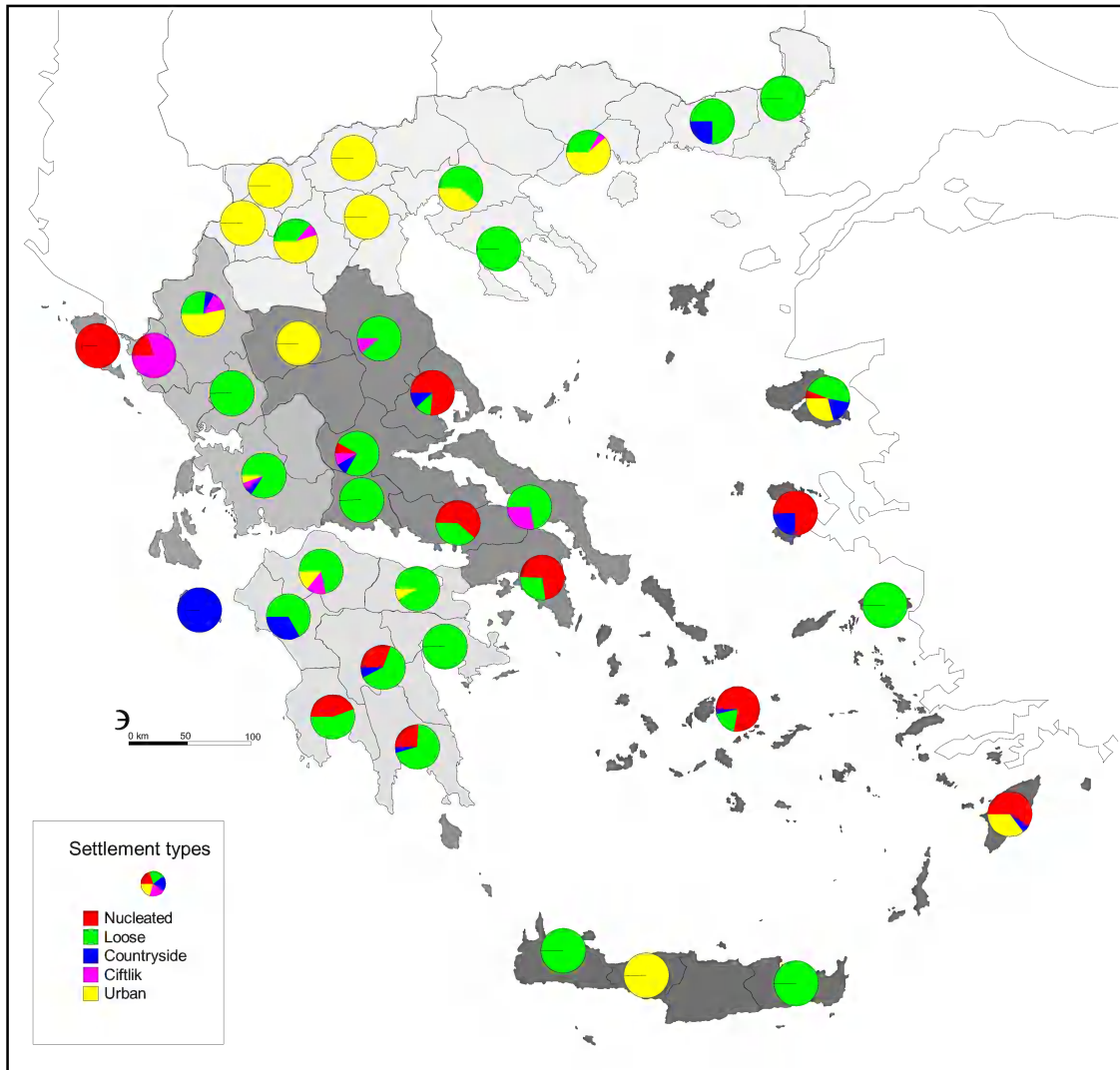
Figure 86: General distribution of settlement types.

Figure 87: A view of Ottoman style urban houses in an alley in Rethymno, Crete (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001: 206, fig. 342).

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Figure 88: Neoclassical house along the seaside in Ermoupoli, Syros (Biris and Kardamitsi-Adami 2001: 120, fig. 182).

Figure 89: General distribution of towers according to the published examples collected, but the types are not necessarily confined to the provinces indicated above.
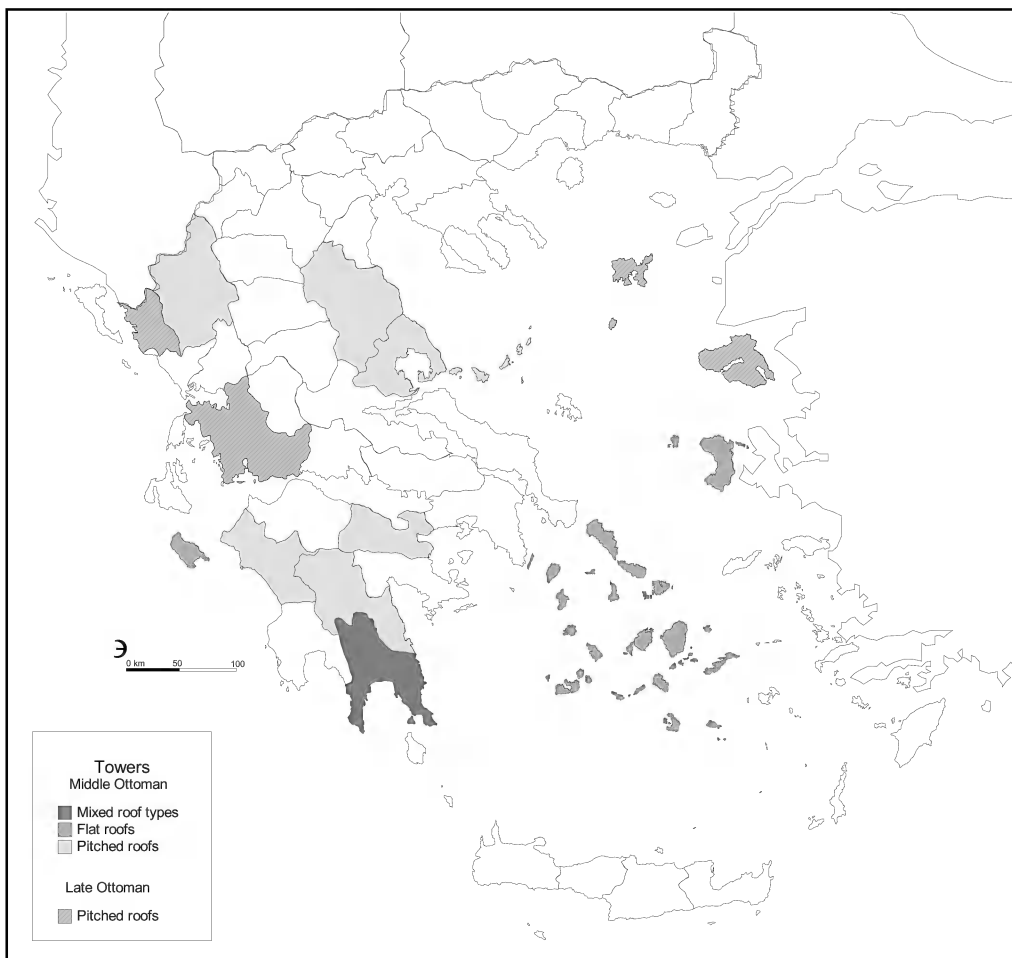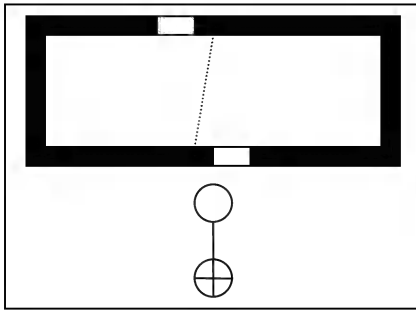
Figure 90: Schematic plan of long house entered from broad façade.

Figure 91: Schematic plan of long house entered from narrow façade.

Sleeping Area
Sofas

Living Area
Sala or Sptit
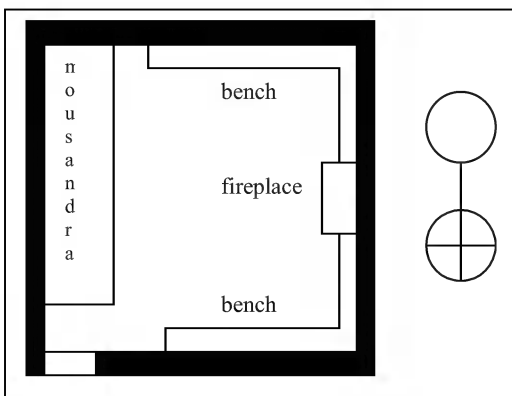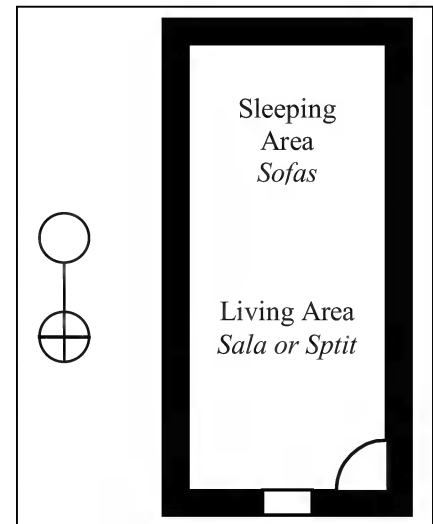
Figure 92: Schematic plan of square house, or *ondas*.

n o u s a n d r a

bench

fireplace

bench

Figure 93: House with *kamara* from Crete (Rackham and Moody 1996: 170, fig. a).
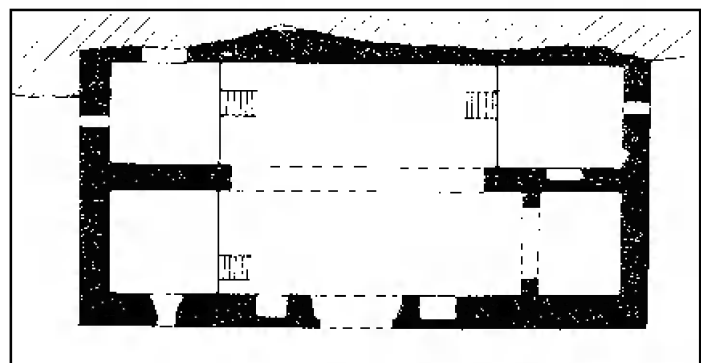
Figure 94: A *kamarospito* in Attika (*after* Stackelberg and Gille in Dimitsantou-Kremezi 1984: 34, fig. 49).
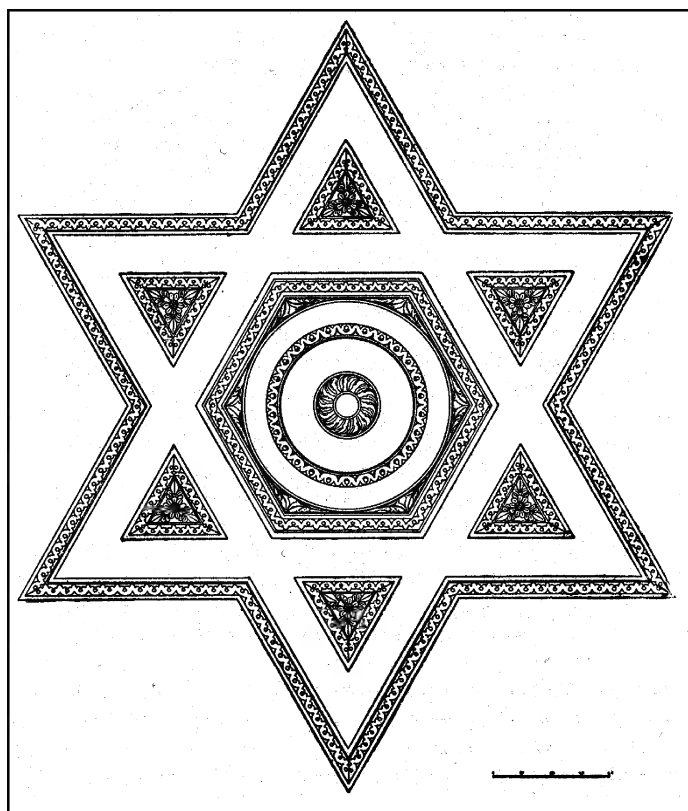
Figure 95: Schematic star design on a ceiling made of wood, Ioannina (Loukakis 1960: 227, fig. 54).
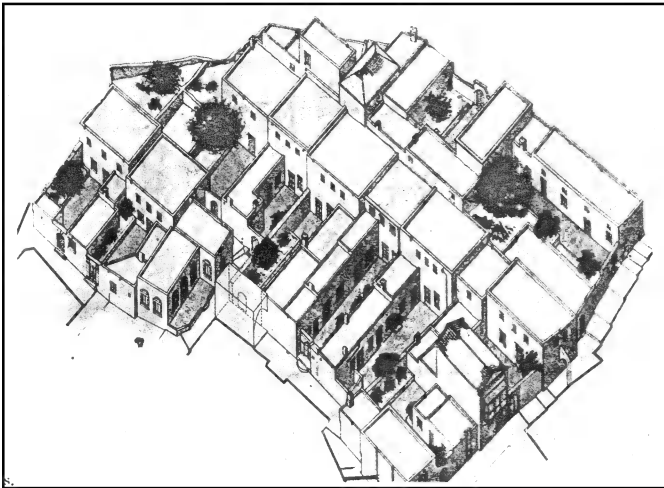
Figure 96: Double height sala in Lindos (Hope 1967: 185, fig. 6).

Figure 97: A characteristic hagiati from Livadeia (house 283).
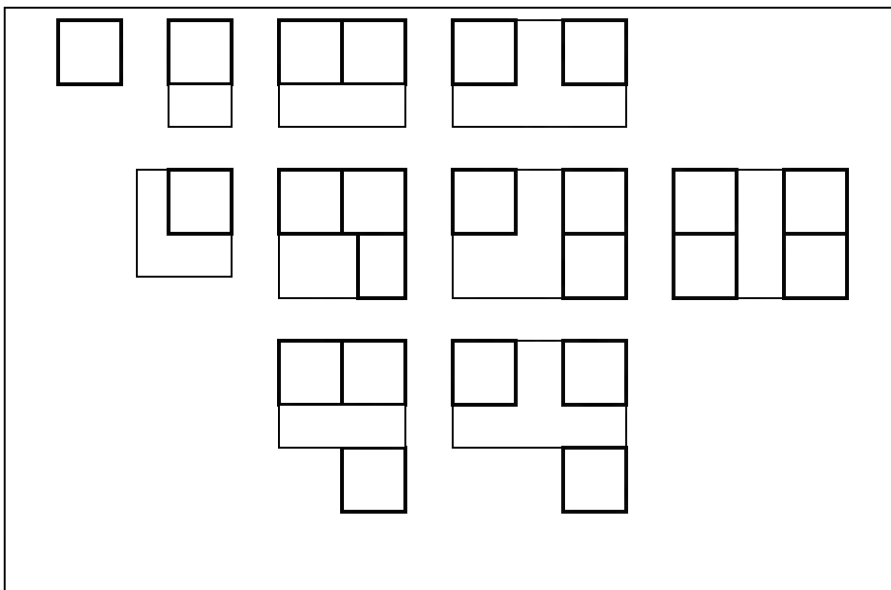
Figure 98: Typology of Ottoman Style houses in Pelion (Kizis 1994: 102, fig. 86).

Recreation → Immaculate → Heaven

Intermediate → Clean → Domestic

Manufacture → Dirty → Earth
Storage
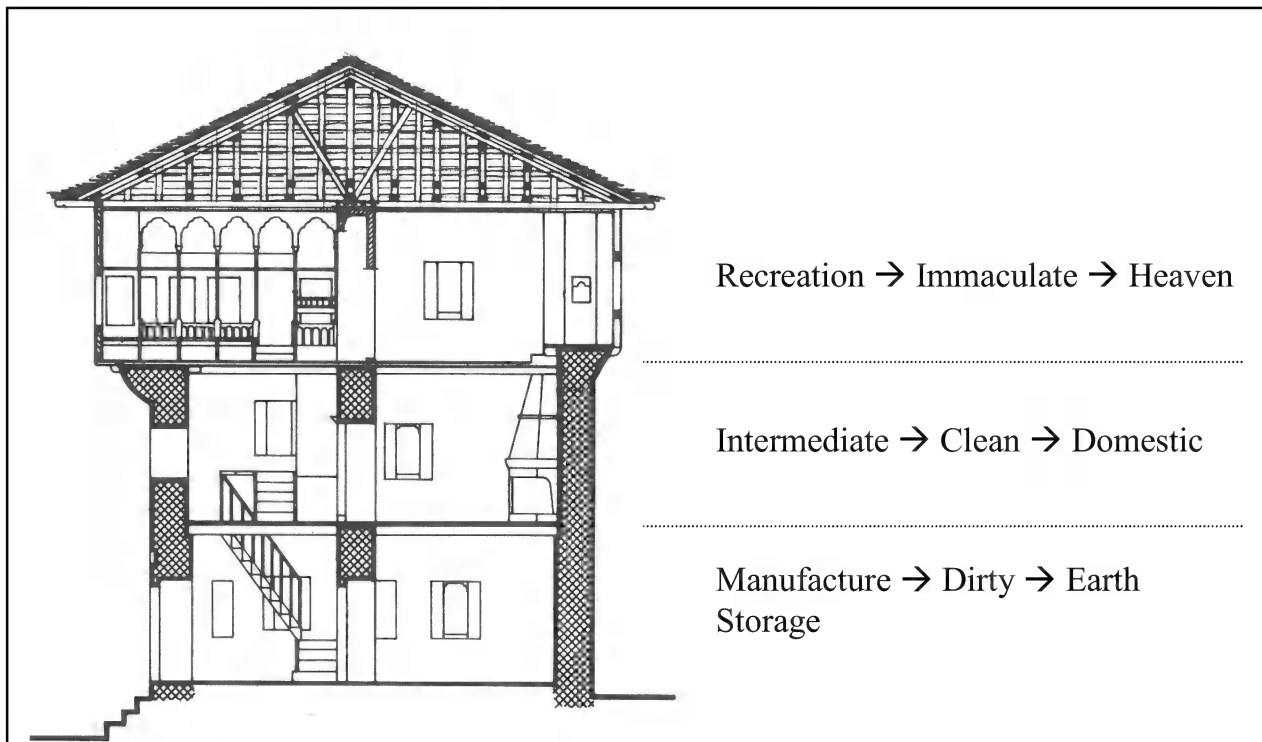
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Figure 100: The merchant Logothetis from Livadeia (Dupré 1825: plate XVI).
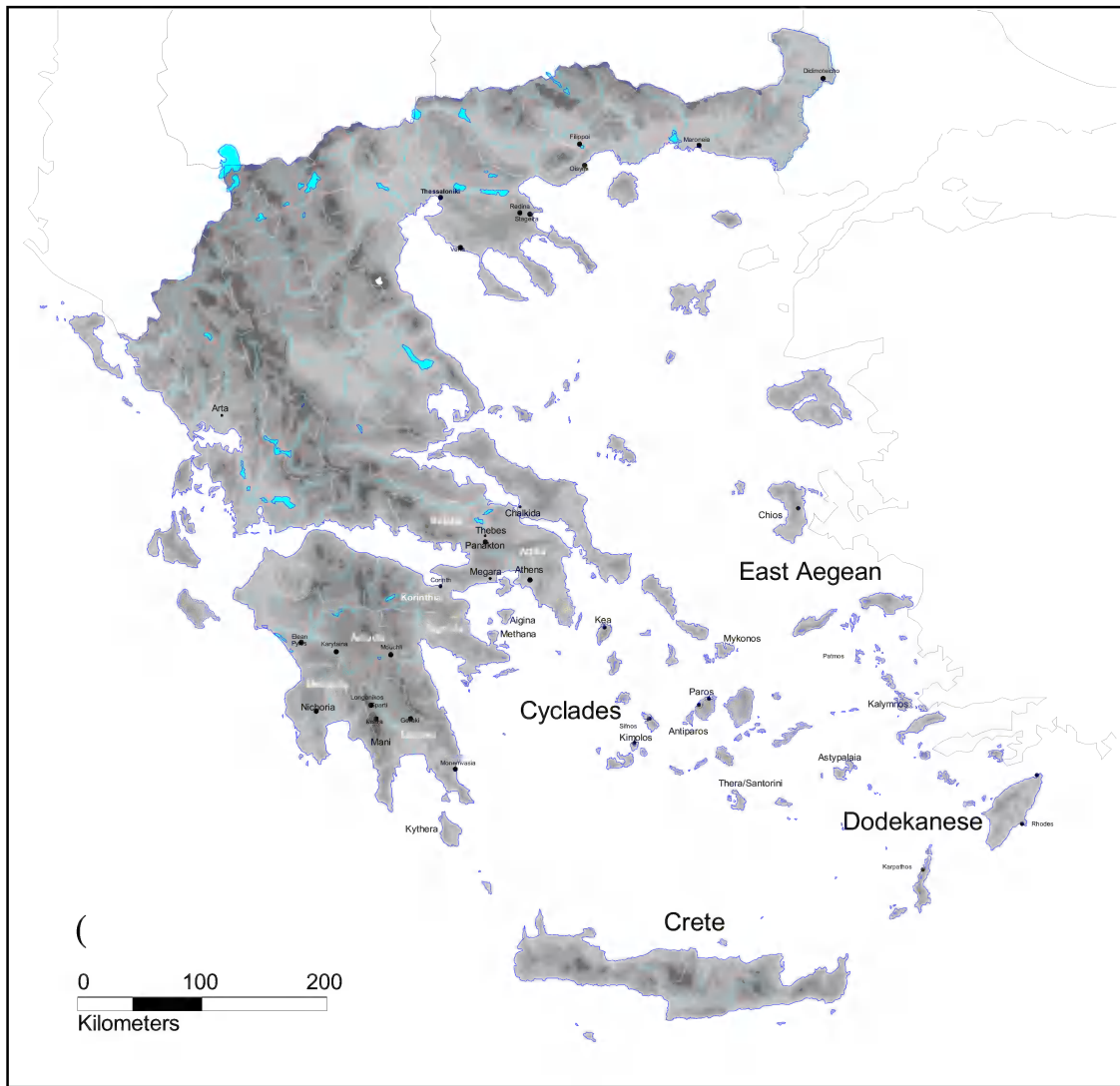
Figure 101: Sites with Post-Roman excavated and surveyed structures.
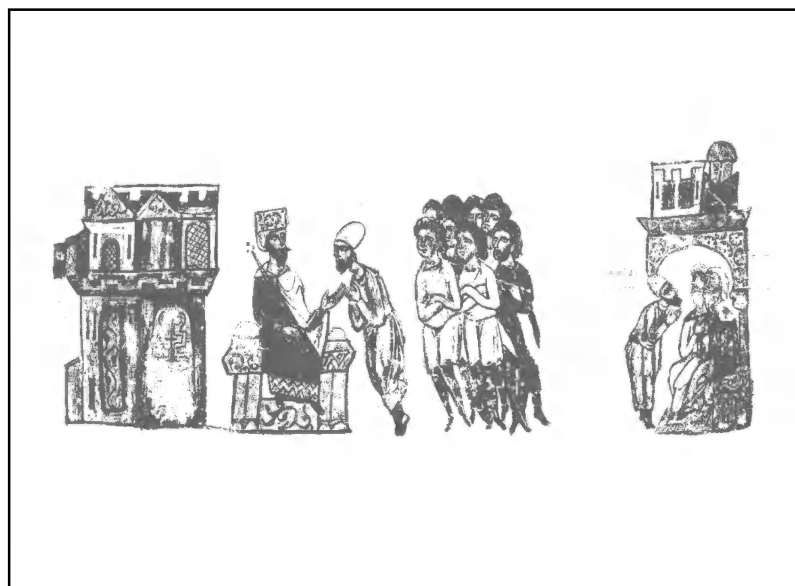
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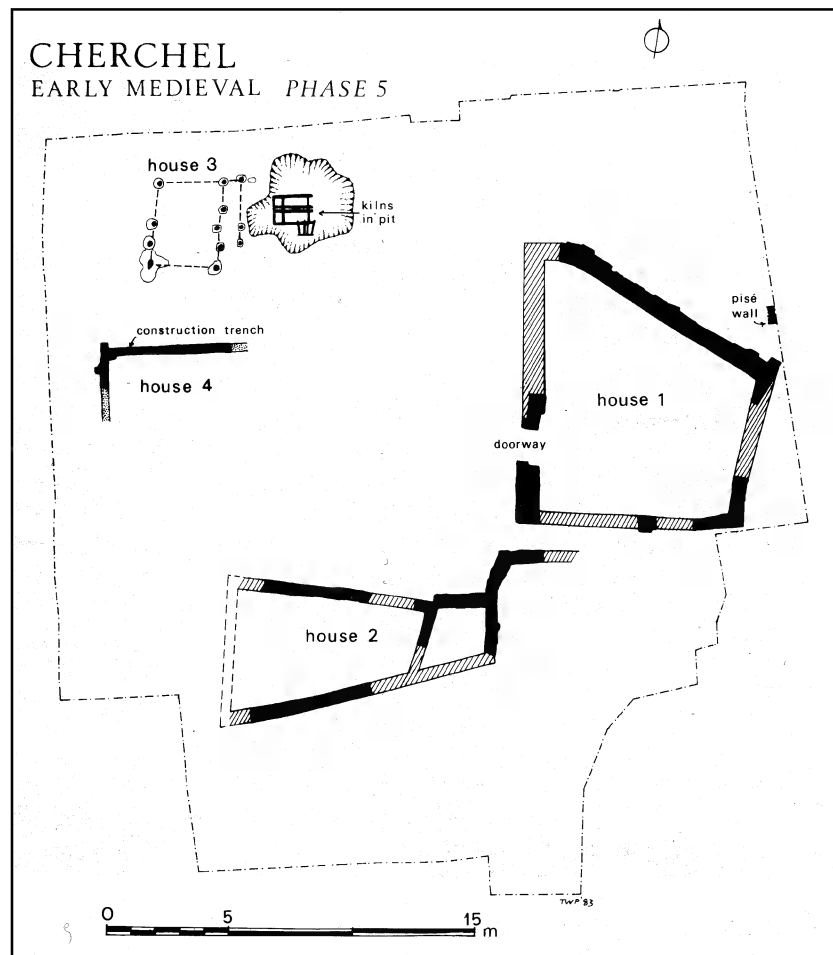
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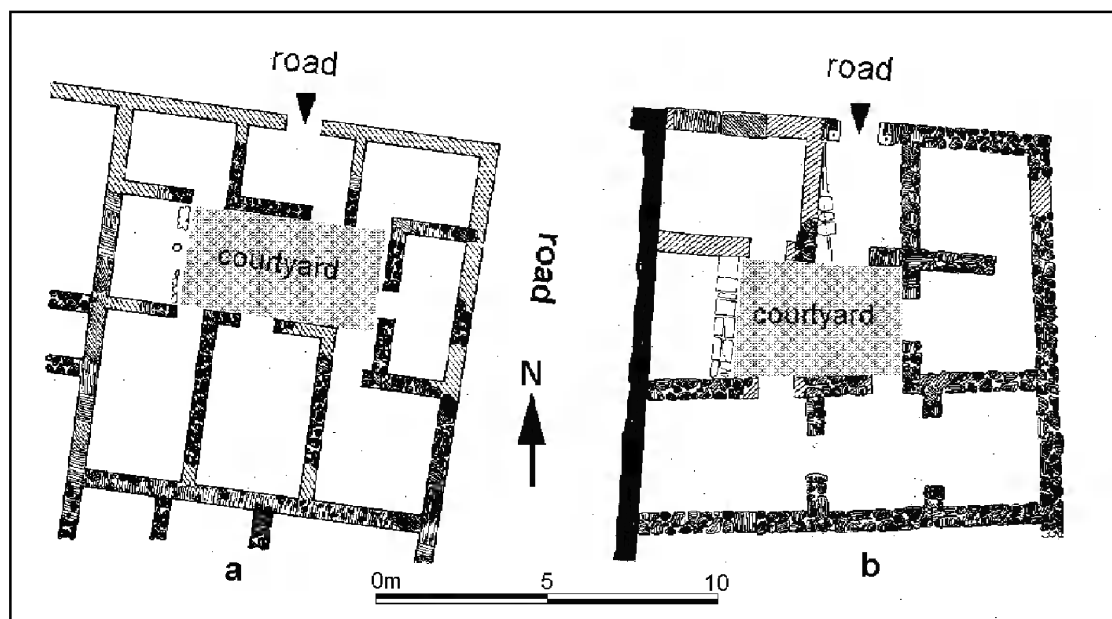
Figure 104: Comparison of Classical and Byzantine domestic structures (Travlos 1960: 159, fig. 104).

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Figure 105: Built pithos from the American excavations in the Agora of Athens (Scranton 1957, pl. 18.1).
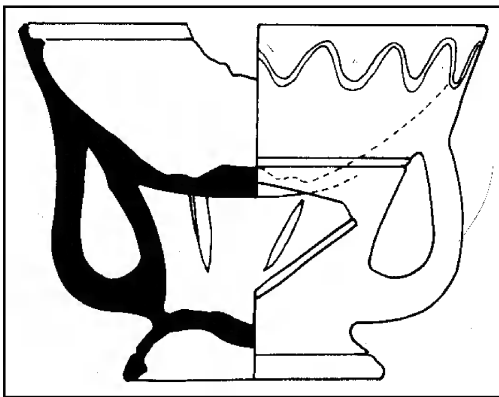
Figure 106: Ceramic brazier (Bakirtzis 1989: pl. 12.6).

Figure 107: Visual fields analysis from the entrance and the centre of the courtyard of an excavated Middle Byzantine house in Athenian Agora near the Eleusinion (*data source* Travlos 1960: 159, fig. 104).
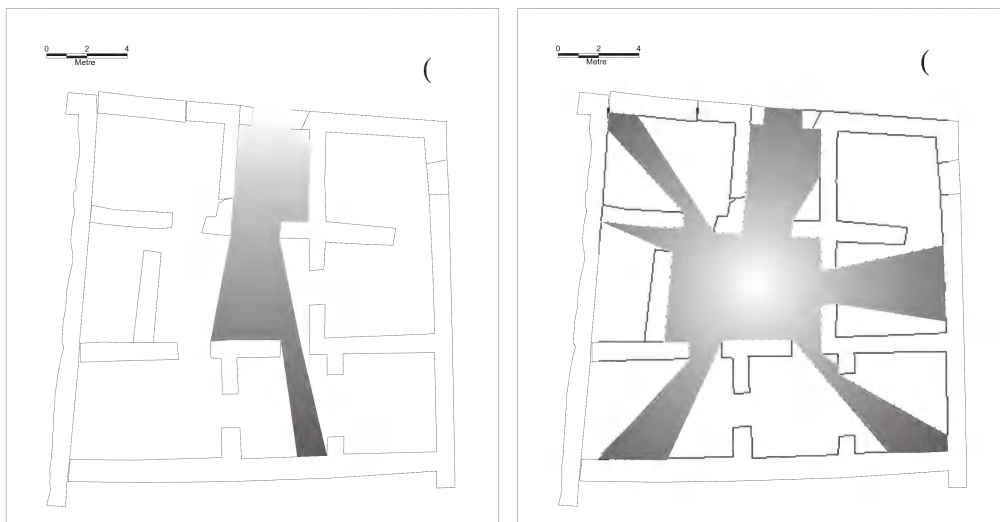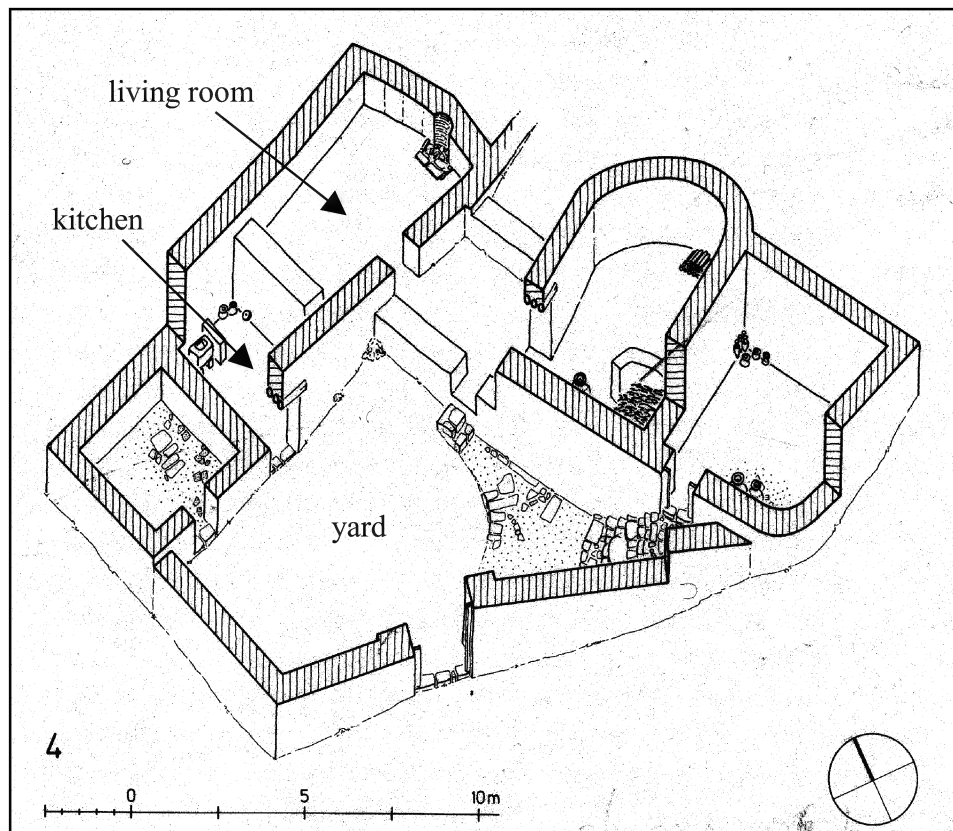
Figure 108: Domestic complex 4 at Pergamon, Turkey (Rheidt 1990: pl. 6).
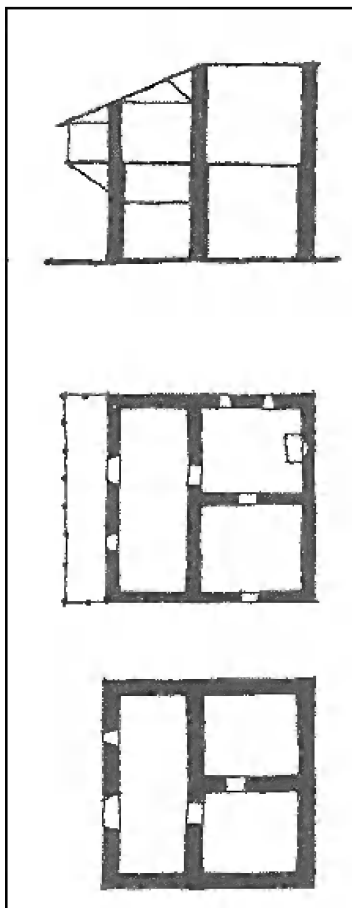
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Figure 110: View from the citadel of the settlement of Geraki.

Figure 111: Rock-cut basements of houses at Didymoteicho (Bakirtzis 1994: 203, fig. b).

Figure 112: A cistern adjacent to house 16 at Geraki.

Figure 113: Interior of house 17 plastered in the *sardeloto* technique.

Figure 114: Miniature from manuscript depicting the construction of a tower (Psalter, Manuscript on parchment, illumination, Constantinople, second half of the 9th century AD).

Figure 115: General view of Mistra.
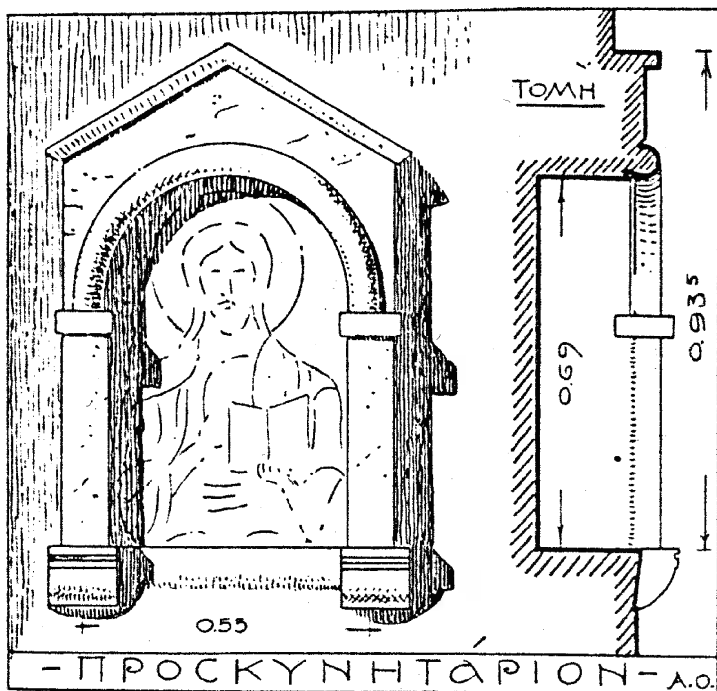
Figure 116: *Proskynitarion* at a house in Mistra (Orlandos 1937: 72, fig. *60*).

Figure 117: Toilet cubicle in a house in Mistra (Orlandos 1937: 79, fig. 67).
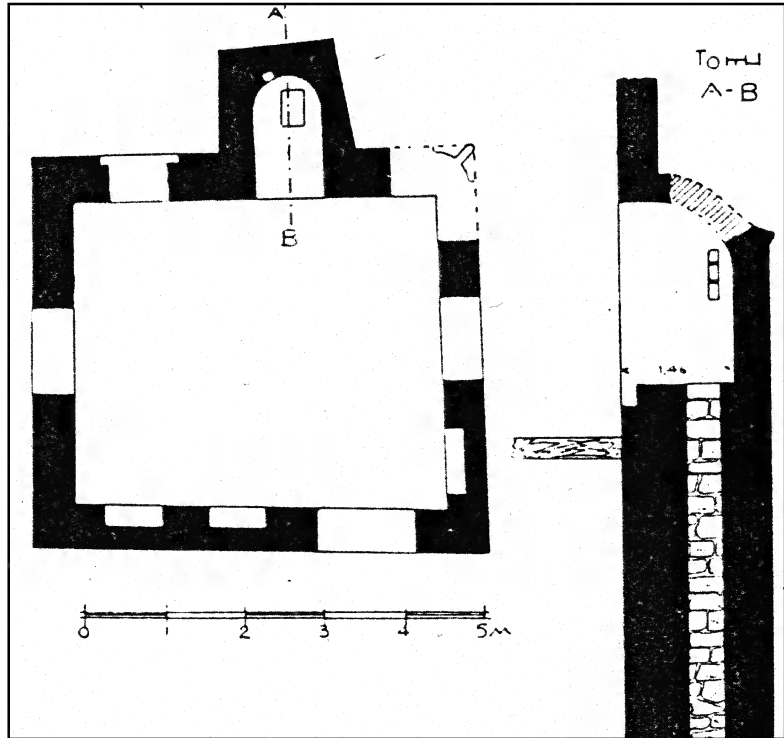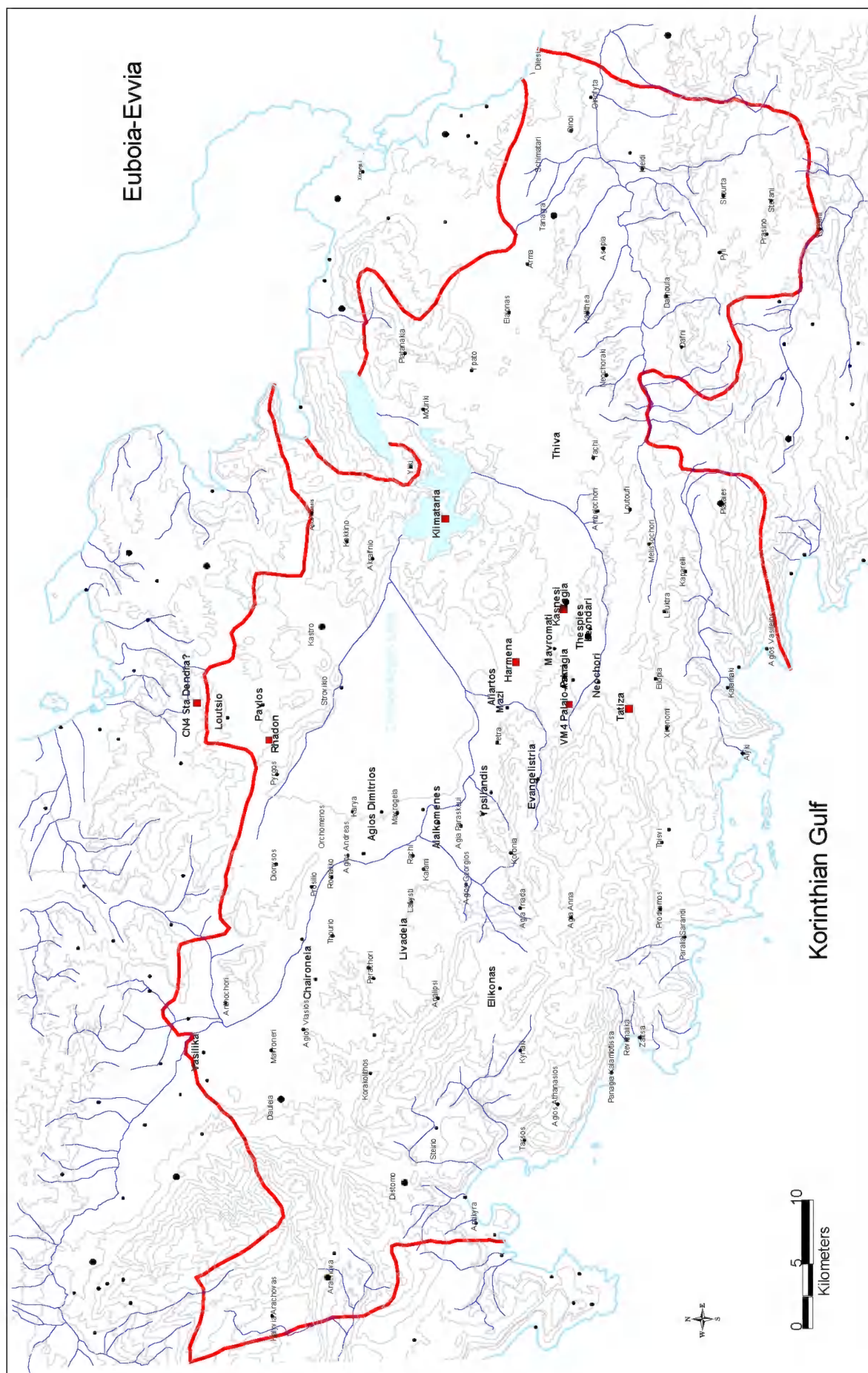
Figure 118: Map of Boiotia.
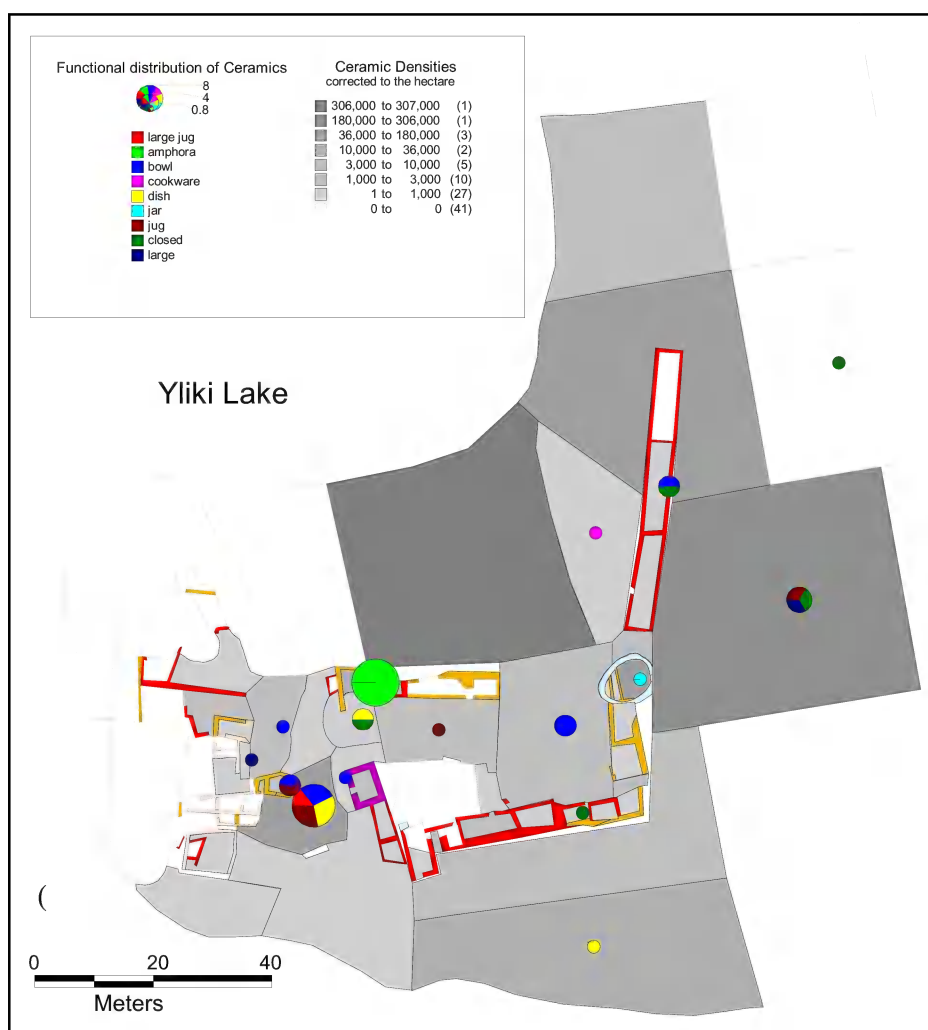
Figure 119: The tower site of Klimmataria.

Functional distribution of Ceramics

8
4
0.8

Ceramic Densities
corrected to the hectare

306,000 to 307,000	(1)
180,000 to 306,000	(1)
36,000 to 180,000	(3)
10,000 to 36,000	(2)
3,000 to 10,000	(5)
1,000 to 3,000	(10)
1 to 1,000	(27)
0 to 0	(41)

large jug
amphora
bowl
cookware
dish
jar
jug
closed
large

Yliki Lake

0   20   40

Meters

Figure 120: The Klimmataria tower (photo courtesy J.L. Bintliff).

Figure 121: The Ypsilantis tower.

Figure 122: The tower site on Mount Ymittos (courtesy J. Lee).

Figure 123: Tower at VM4/Palaio-Panagia.
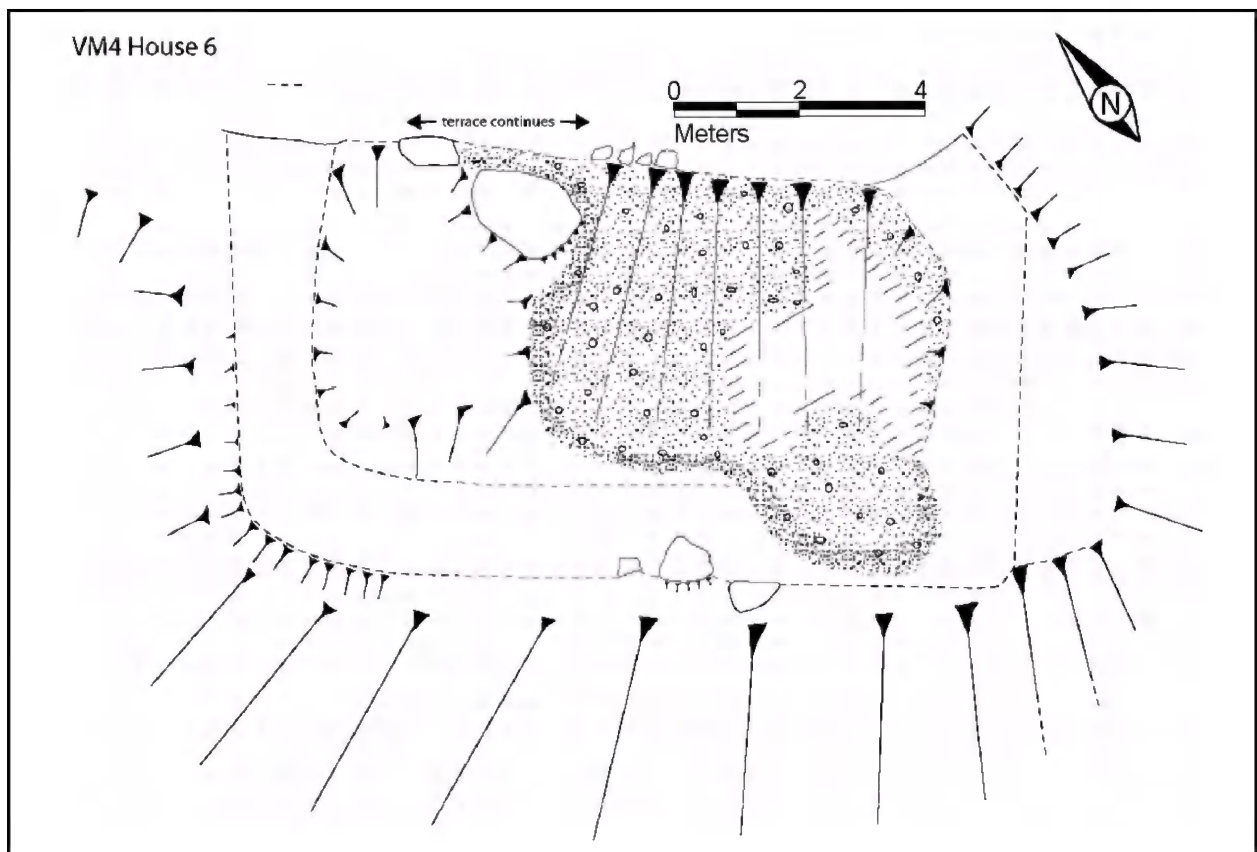
Figure 124: Plan of house 6 at VM4/Palaio-Panagia.
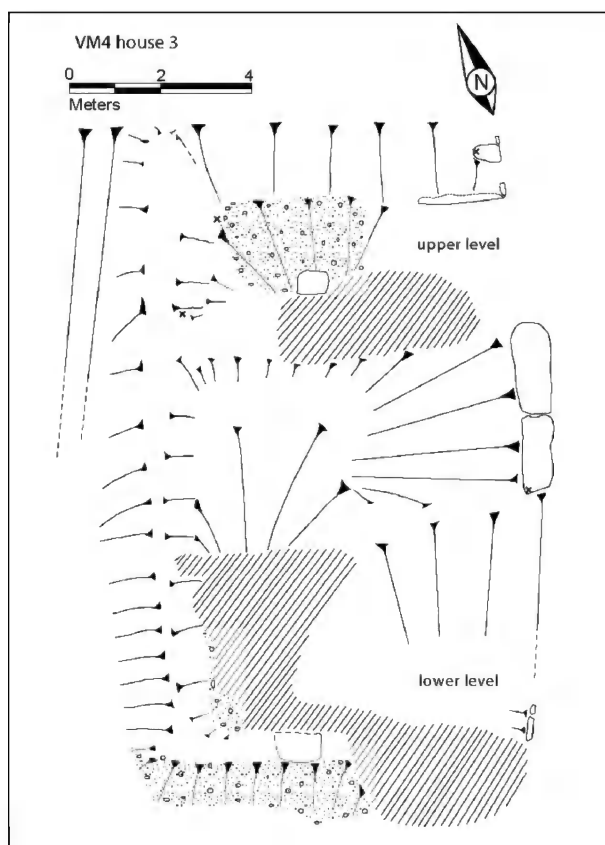
Figure 125: Plan of house 3 at VM4/Palaio-Panagia.

Figure 126: Plan of house complex 2 at VM4/Palaio-Panagia.
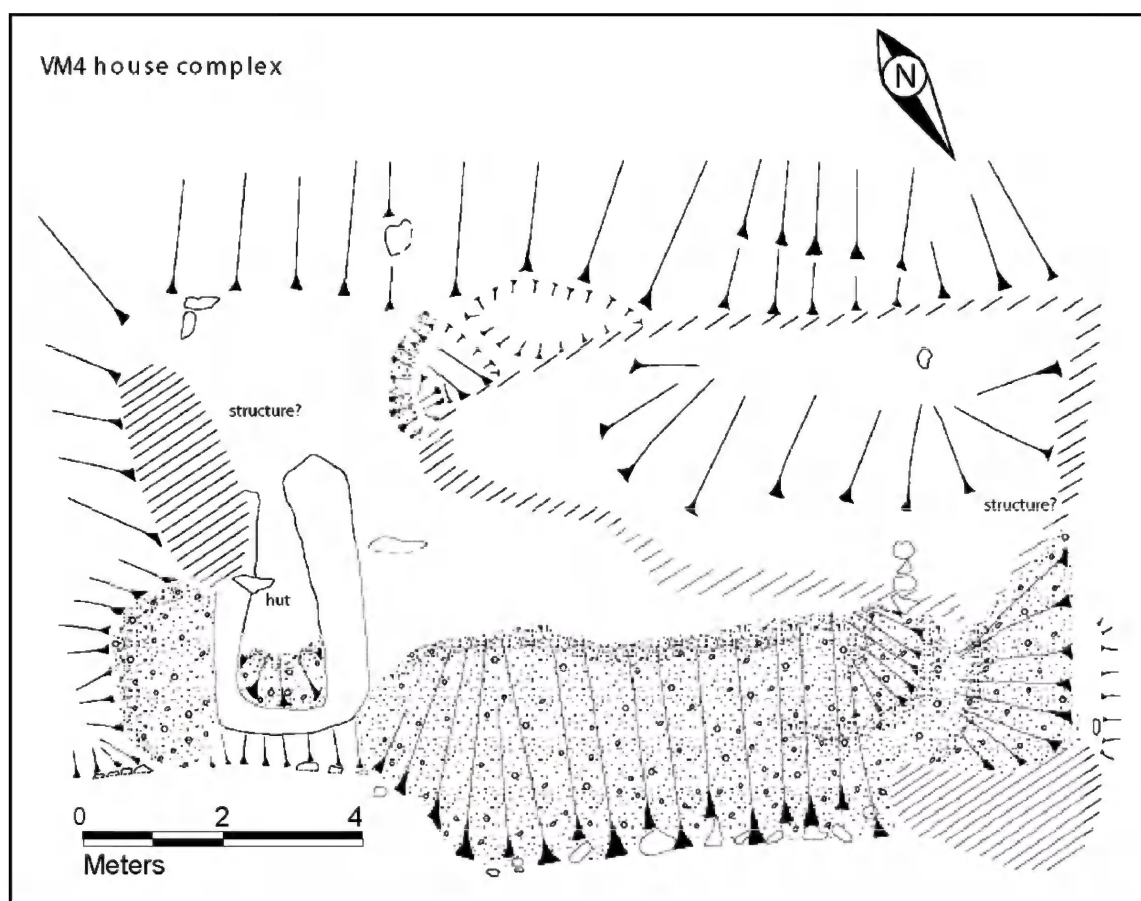
Figure 127: General distribution map of houses according to date at the modern village of Panagia/Askra.

Chronology
Askri

■ Earlier 19th century (13)
■ Mid 19th century (1)
■ Late 19th to early 20th centuries (11)
■ others (0)

0   100   200
Meters
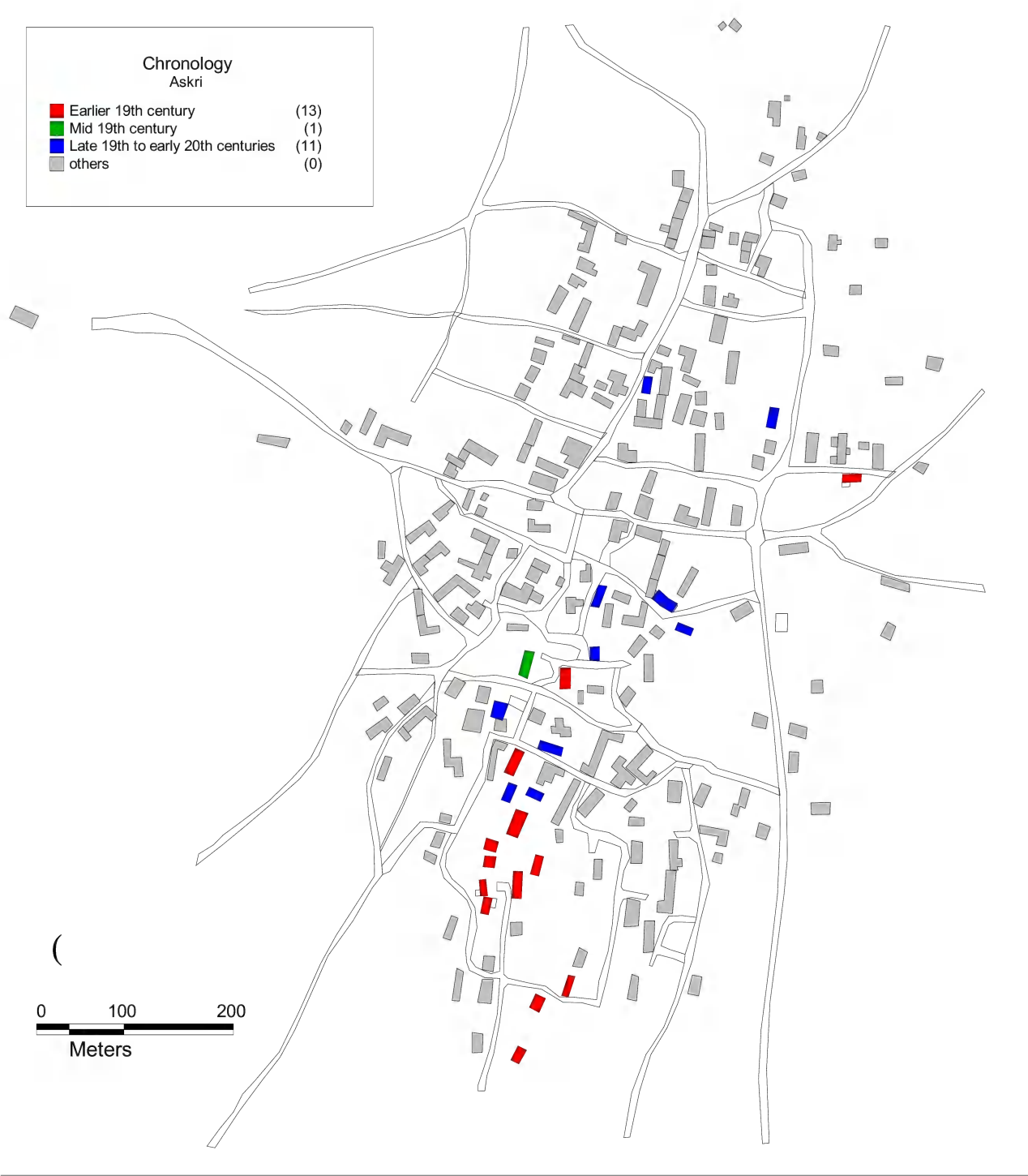
Figure 128: Plan of house 2 at Panagia/Askra.
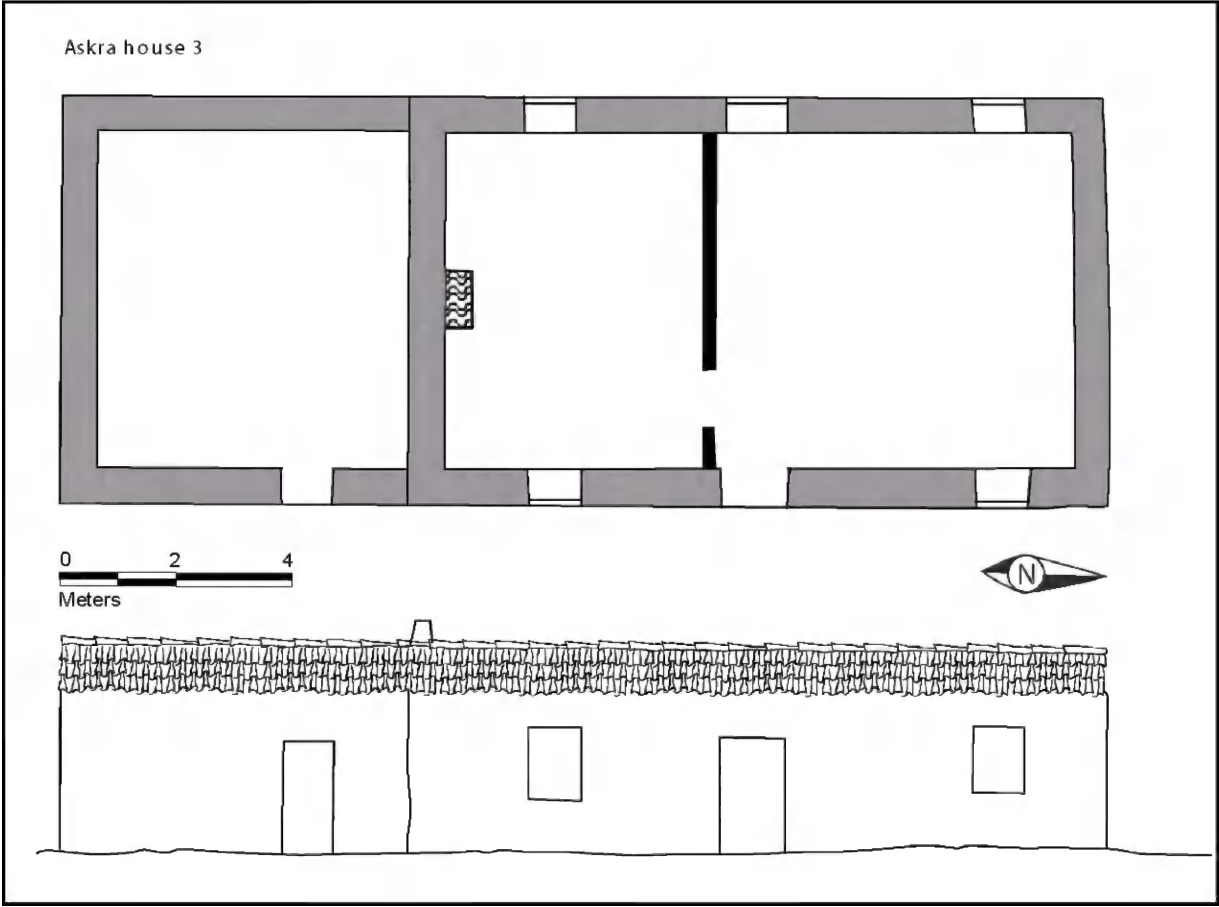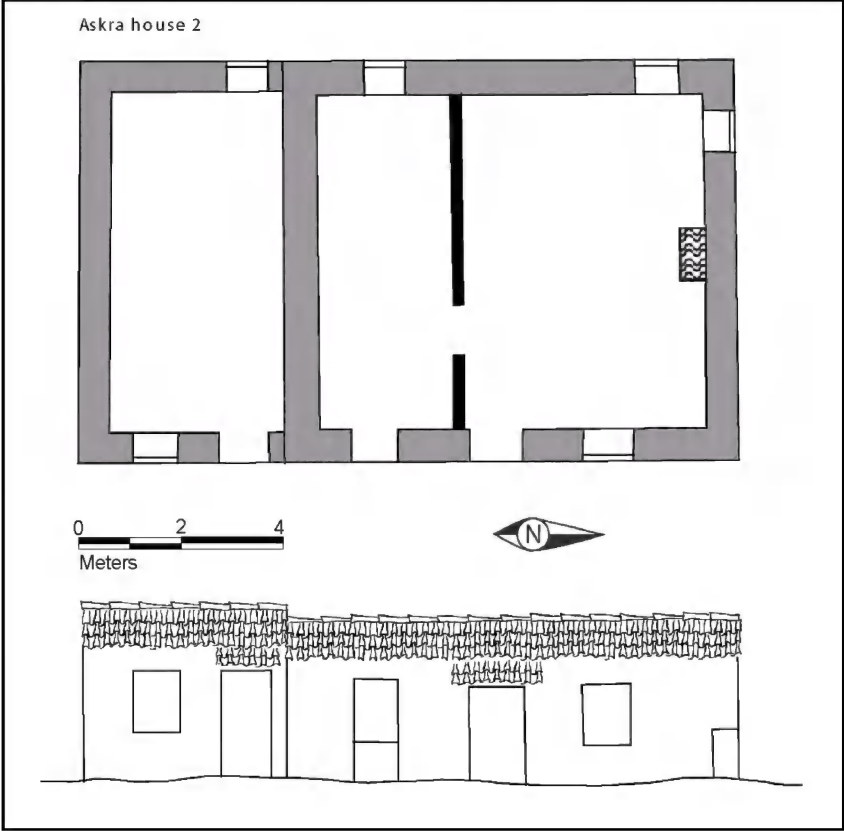
Figure 129: Plan of house 3 at Panagia/Askra.

Figure 130: Quoins, jambs and lintels suggesting a notion of monumentality on the façade of a house in Panagia/Askra.

Figure 131: Rock-cut house basement along the steep slope at Chaironeia.
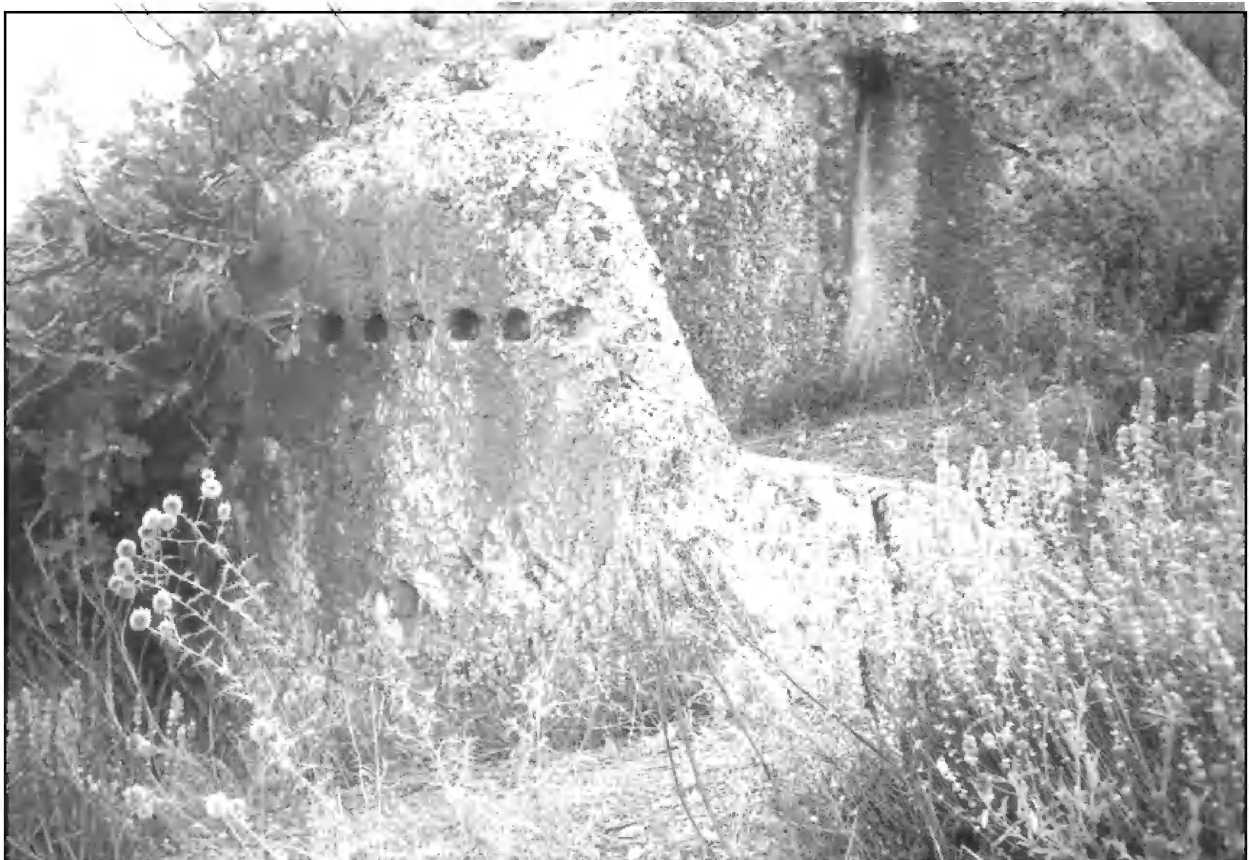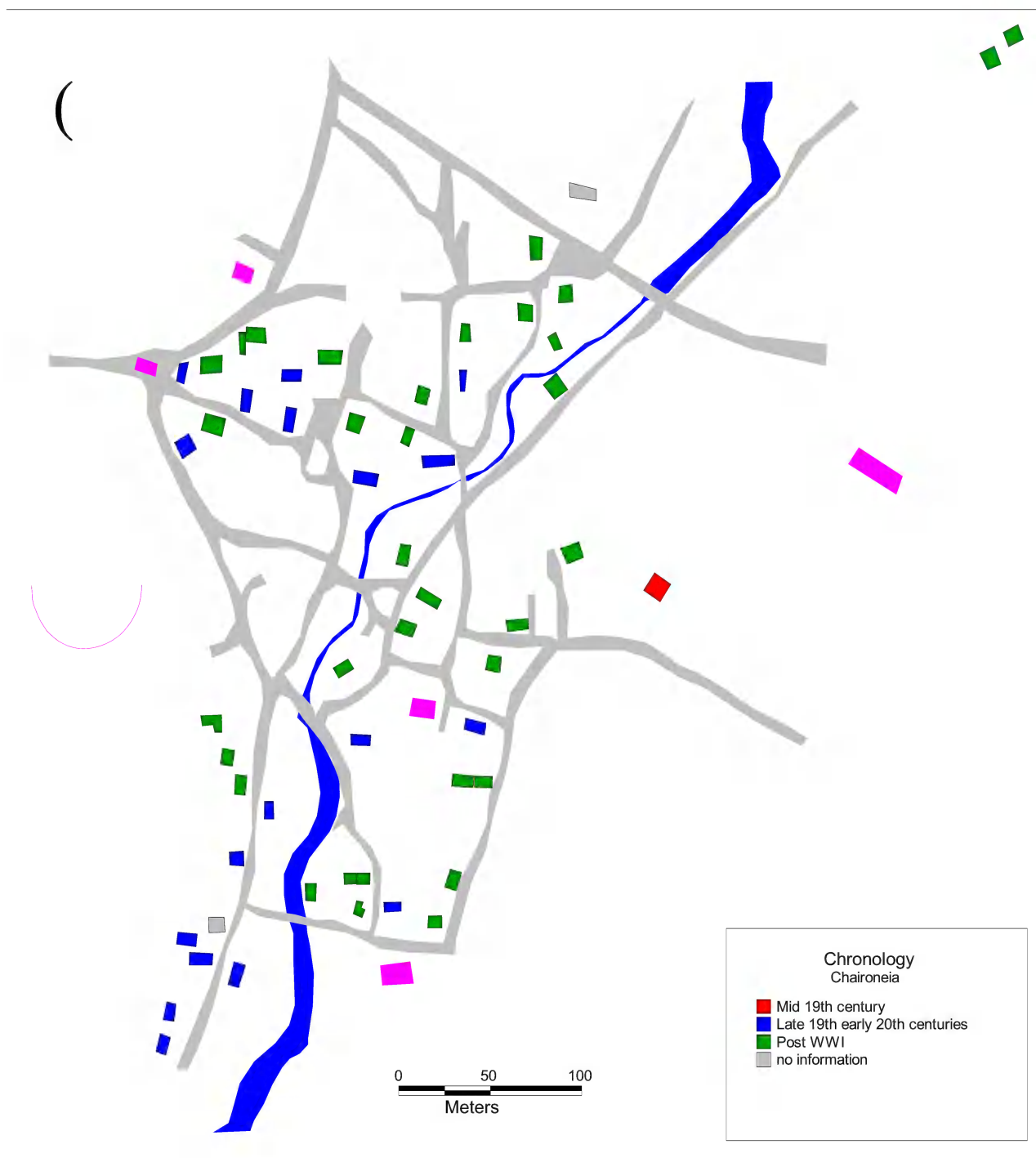
Figure 132: General distribution map of houses according to date at the modern village of Chaironeia.

Figure 133: The Early Modern tower of the Raggavi family in Chaironeia.

Figure 134: A longhouse at Chaironeia.

Figure 135: Plan of house 5 in Chaironeia.

Chaironeia house 5

oven

groundfloor

cheimo- niatiko

kamari

embati

sala

veranda/hagiati

1st floor

N

0   2   4
Meters

D
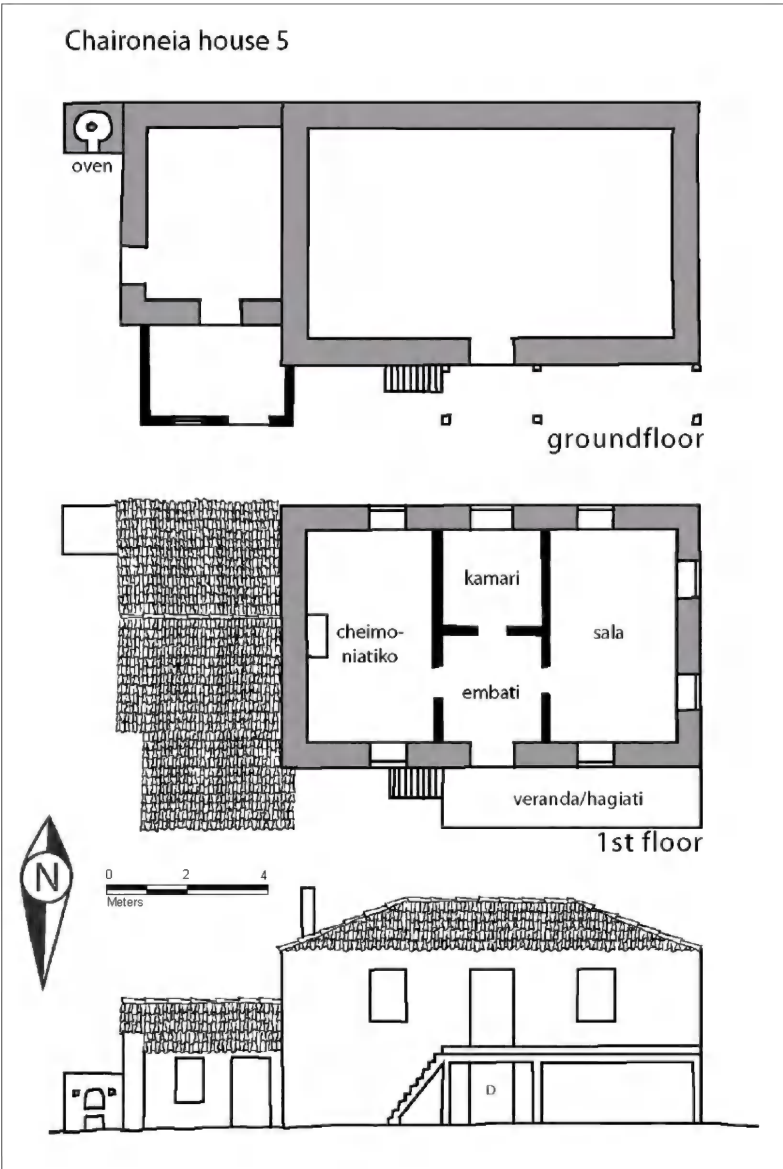
Figure 136: A map of the deserted *çiftlik* Harmena.
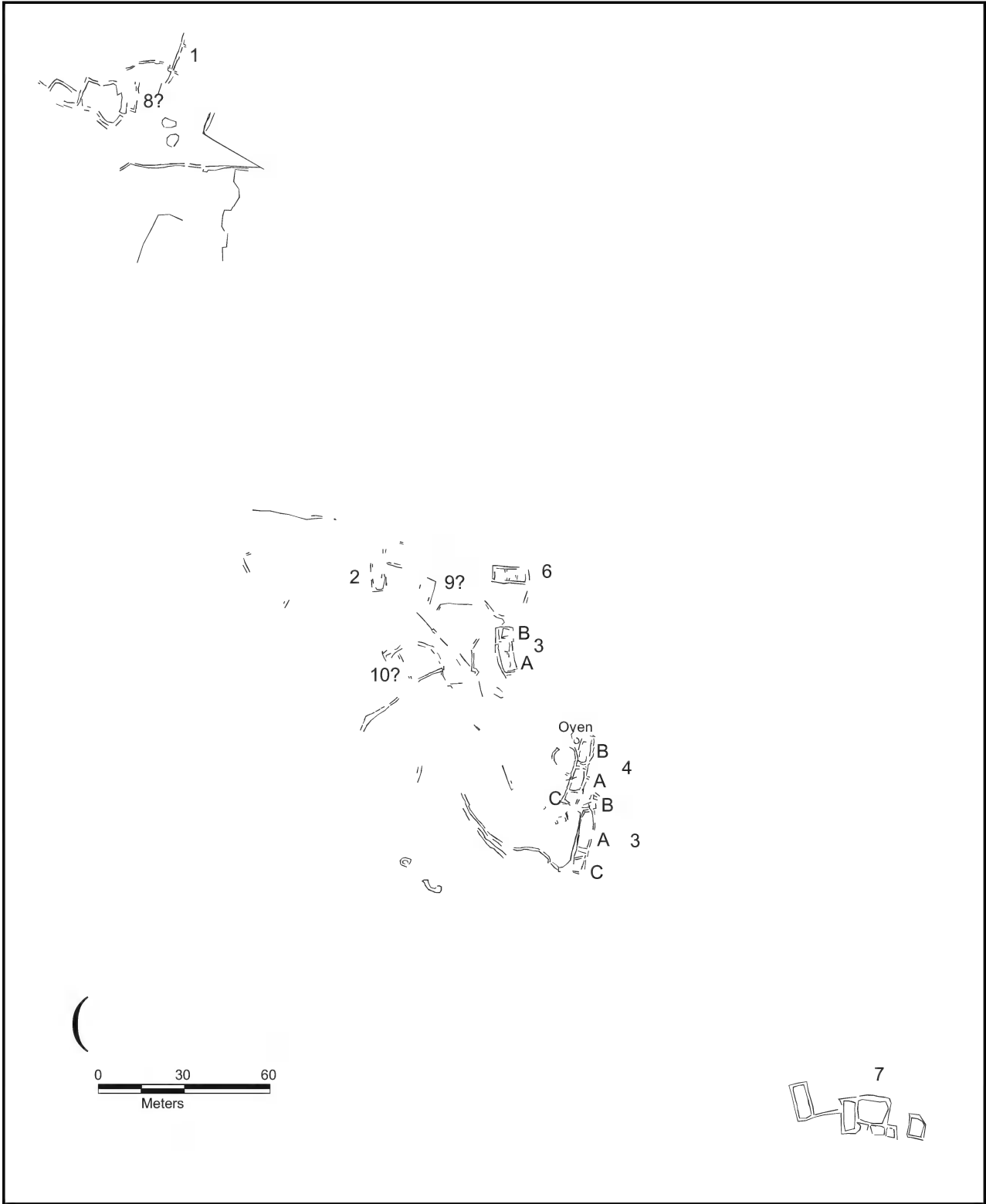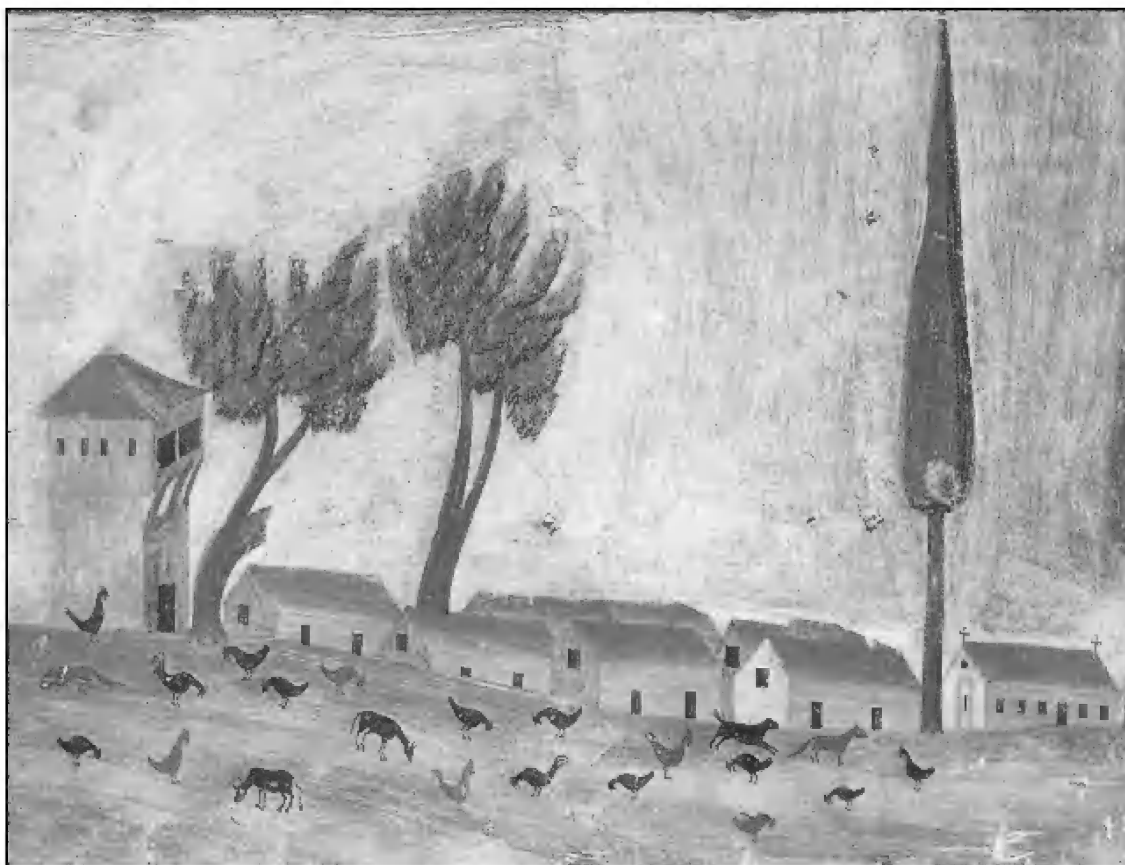
Figure 137: Wall painting of a *çiftlik* with a tower house dominating the settlement (painting by Pagonis of Chioniades *in* Sakelariou 1997: 345, pl. 284).

Figure 138: Longhouse with village number 341 at Mavromati.

Figure 139: *Makrynari* with village number 143 at Mavromati.

Figure 140: A map of *metochi* CN4/Sta Dendra.
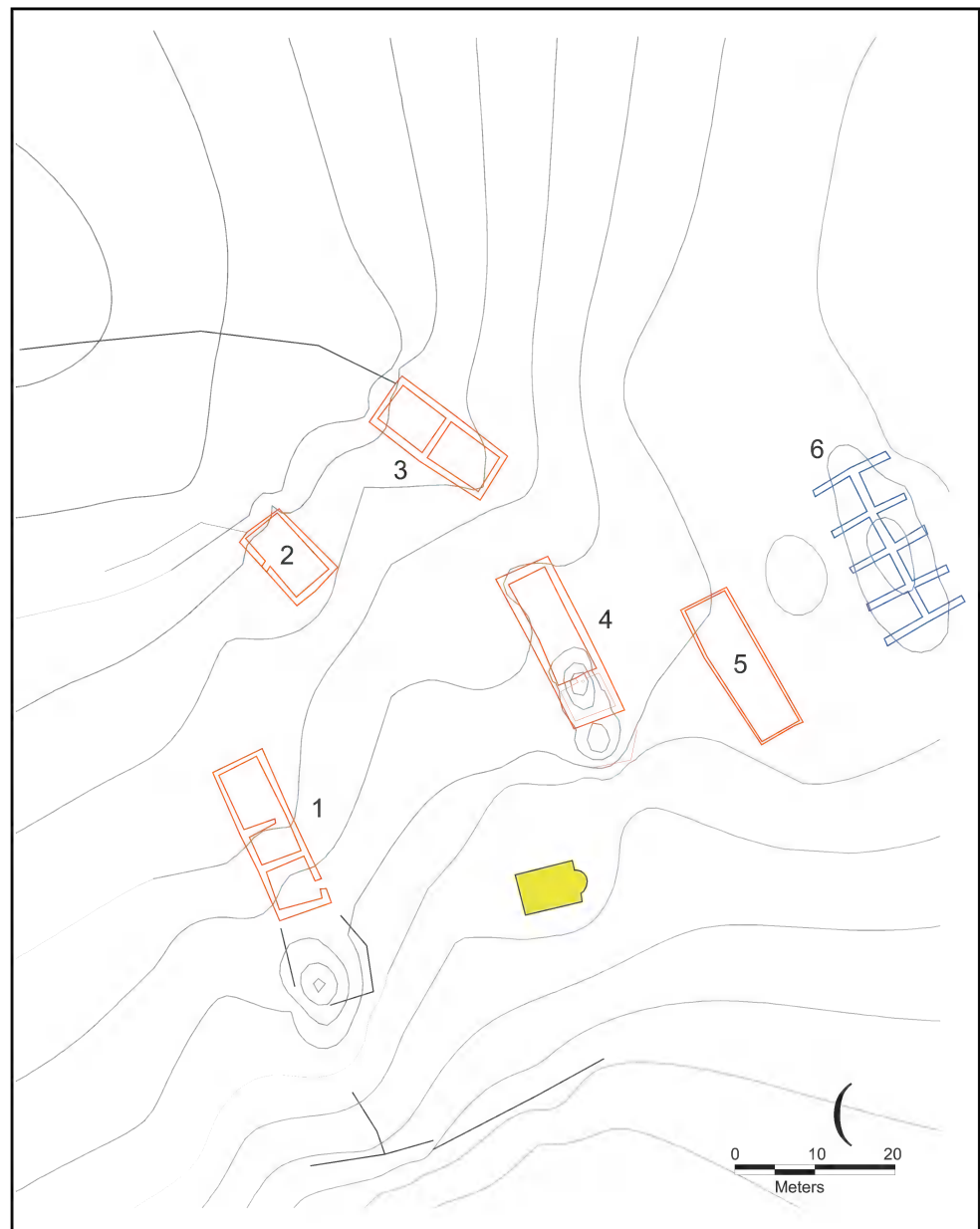
Figure 141: The chapel at CN4/Sta Dendra and a view to the plain below.

Figure 142: House 4 at CN4/Sta Dendra.

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Figure 143: a) The deserted village Radhon, and b) the remains of a house.
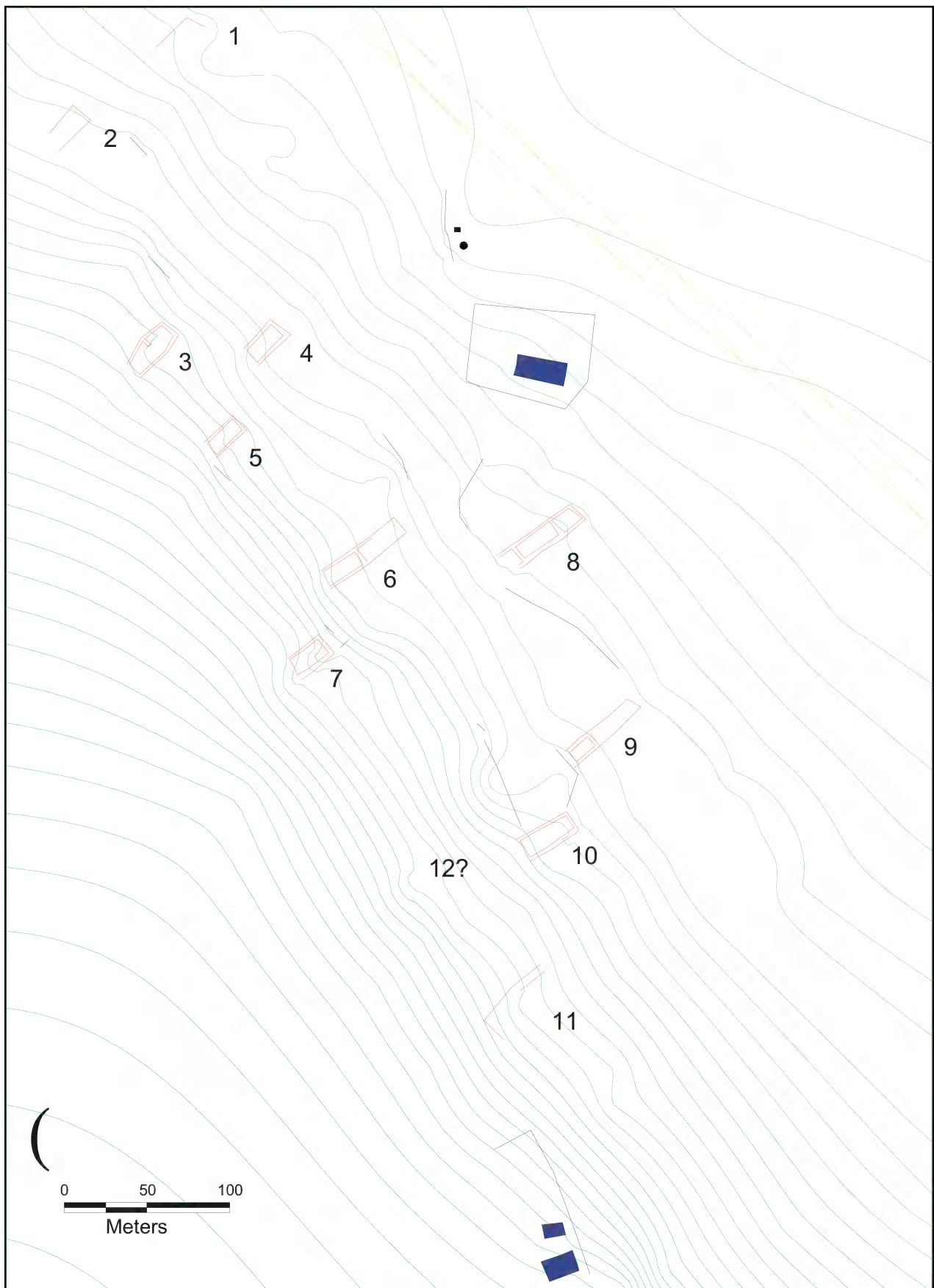
Figure 144: A map of Radhon.
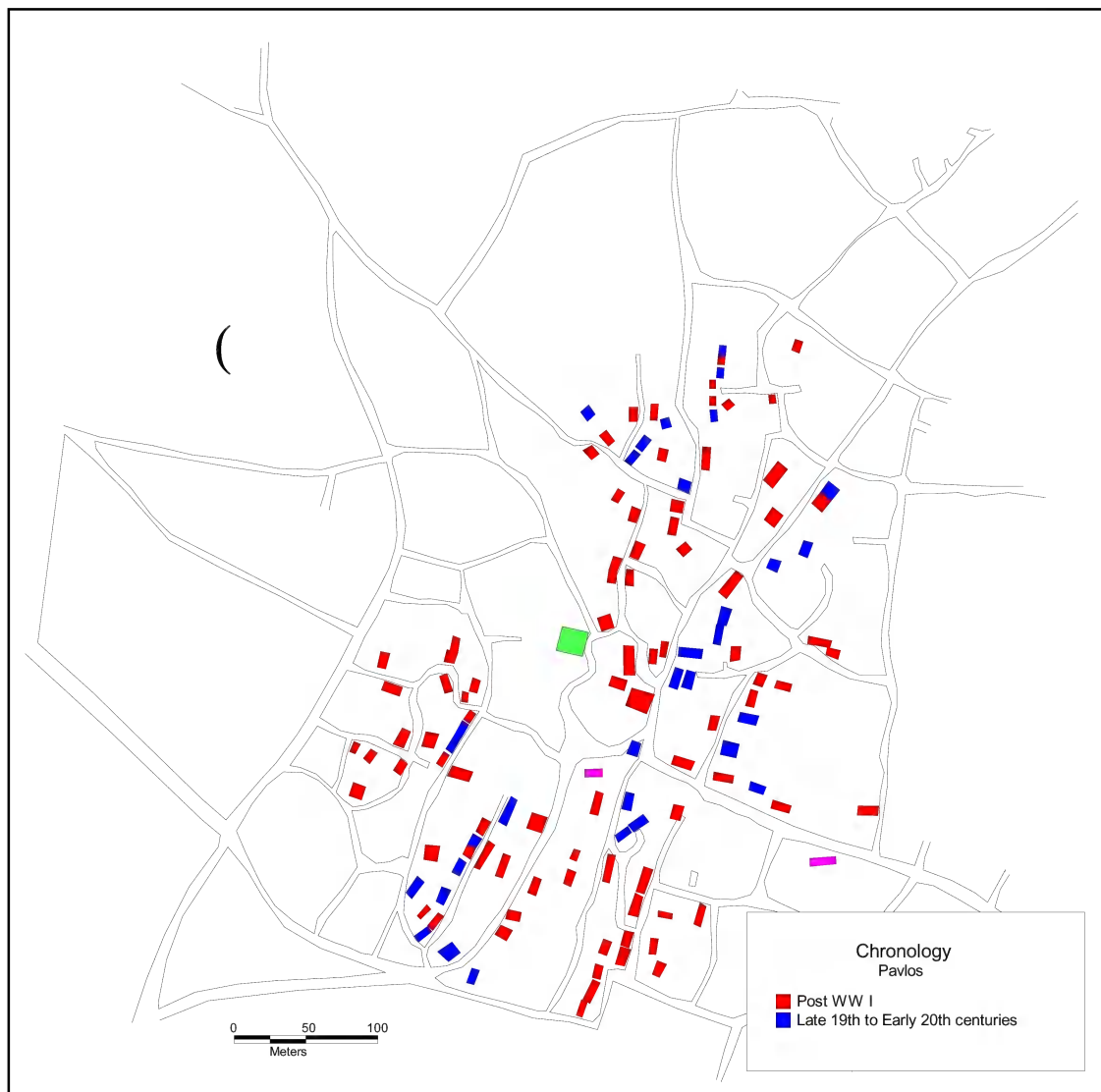
Figure 145: General distribution map of houses according to date at the modern village of Pavlos.
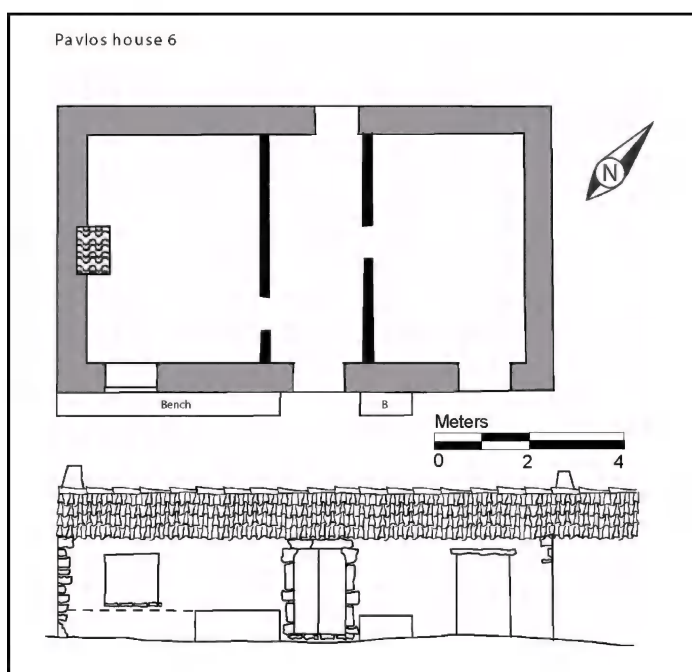
Figure 146: Plan of long house 6 at Pavlos.
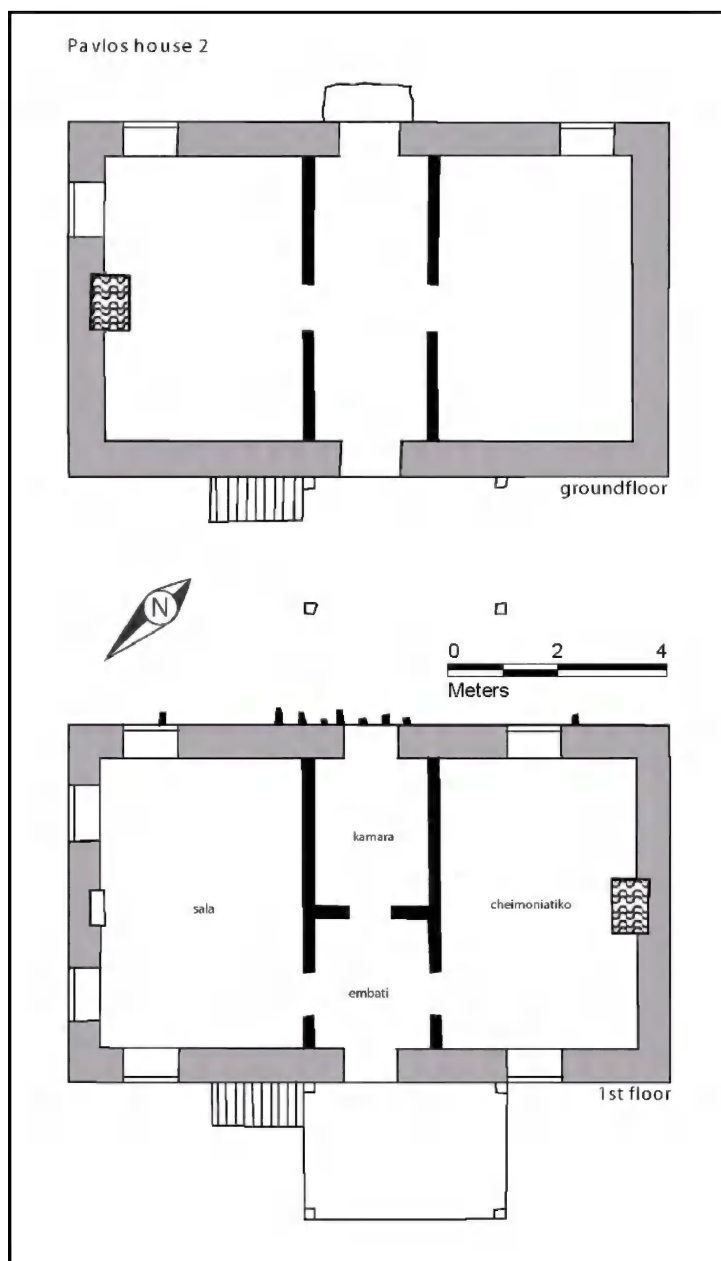
Figure 147: Plan of two-storey house 2 at Pavlos.

Figure 148: Section of house with loft at Vasilika.
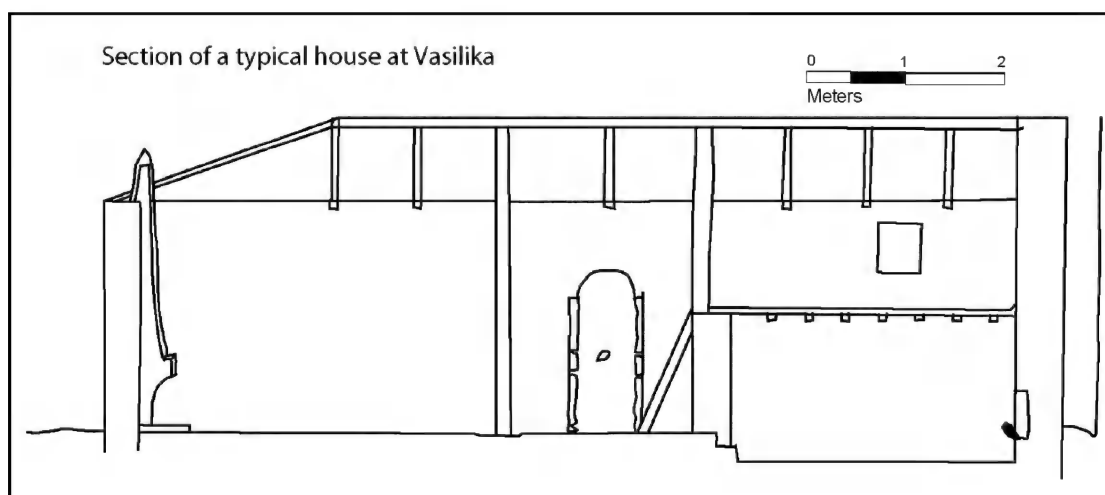
Figure 149: A two-storey mud-brick house at Agios Dimitrios (Stedman 1996: 191, fig.4).

Figure 150: A long house with 1½ storey house adjacent to it at Elikonas.
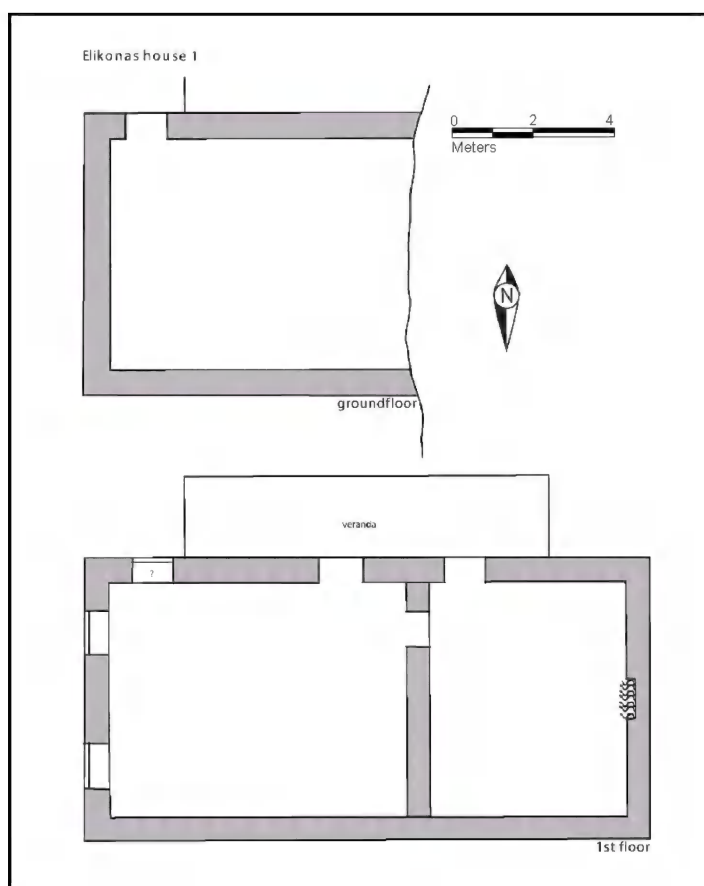
Figure 151: Plan of the 1½ storey house 1 at Elikonas.

Figure 152: A view of Livadeia.
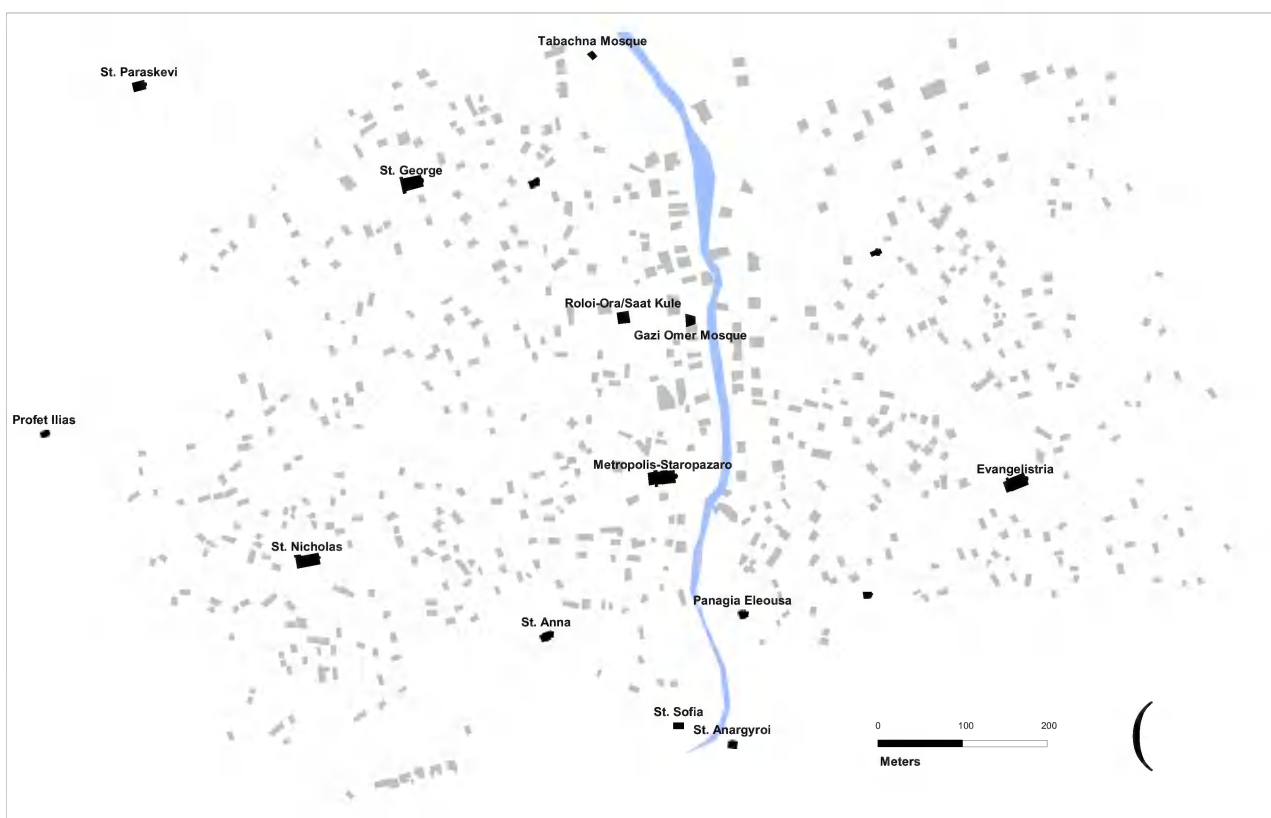
Figure 153: A map of Livadeia.

Figure 154: The mosque of Omer Bey.

Figure 155: An industrial unit along the banks of Erkyna River.

Une boutique de cordonnier, à Livadie. — Dessin de D. Maillart, d'après un croquis de M. H. Belle.

Figure 156: Engraving of a shop in Livadeia depicted by D. Maillart and M.H. Belle (*see* Melios 1997: 12).
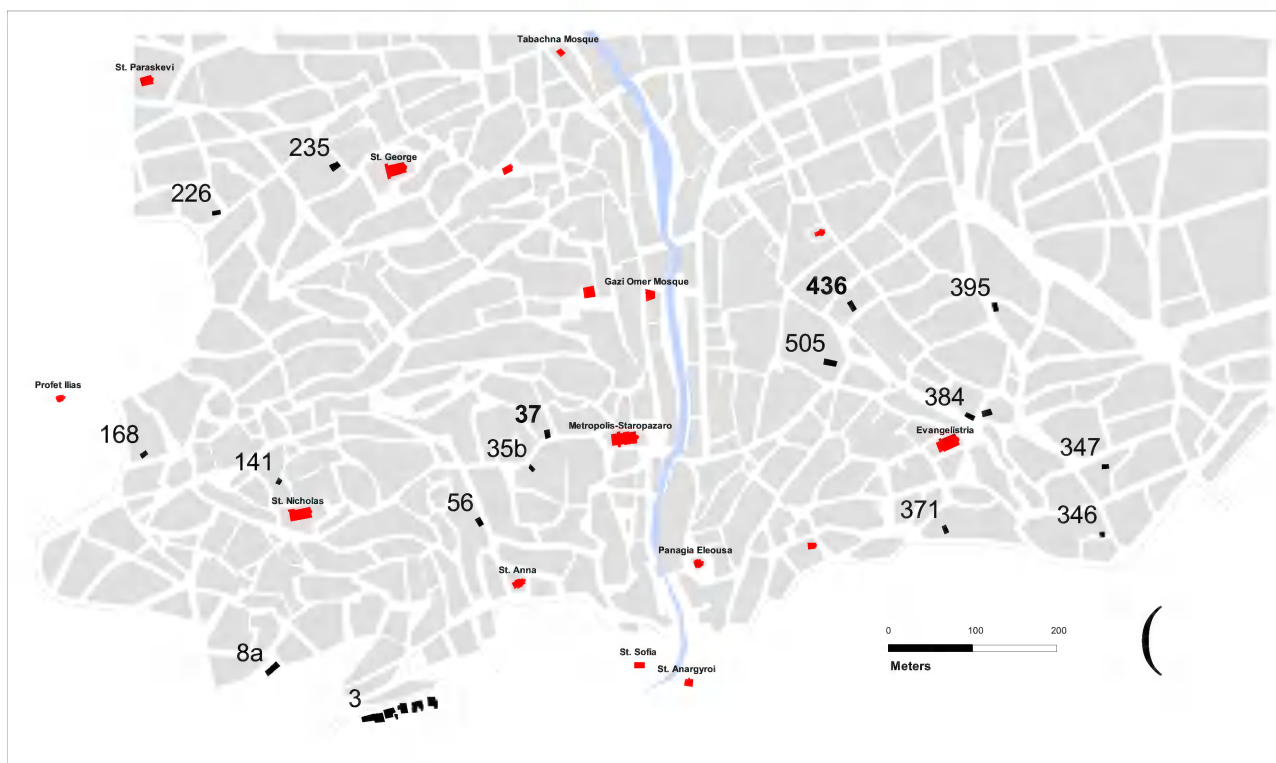
Figure 157: Distribution of longhouses in Livadeia.
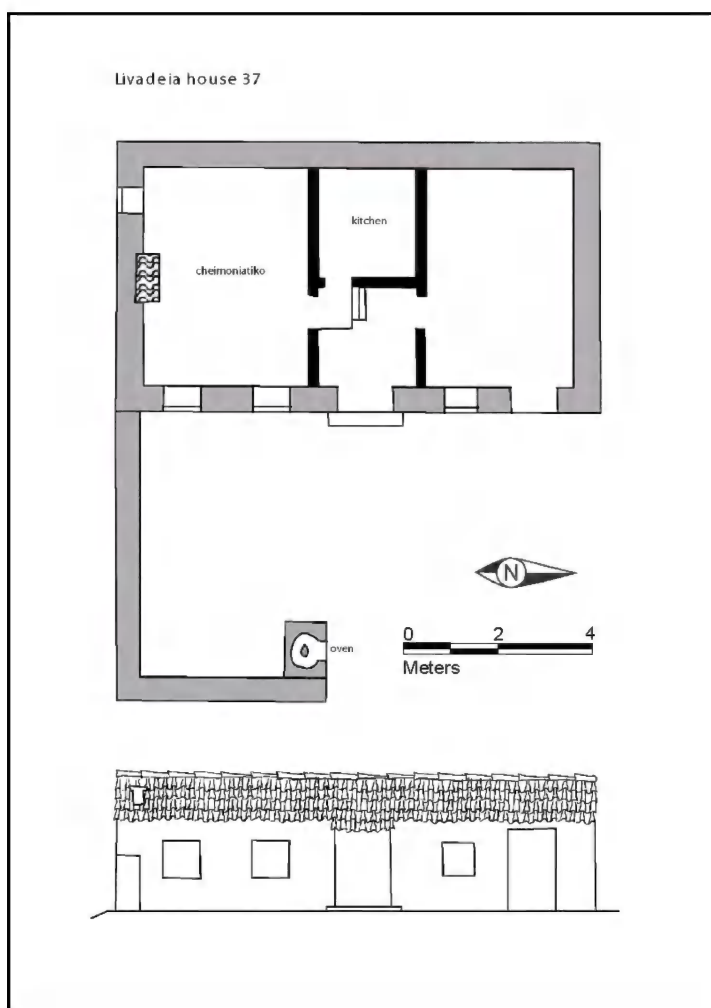
Figure 158: Plan of longhouse 37 in Livadeia.
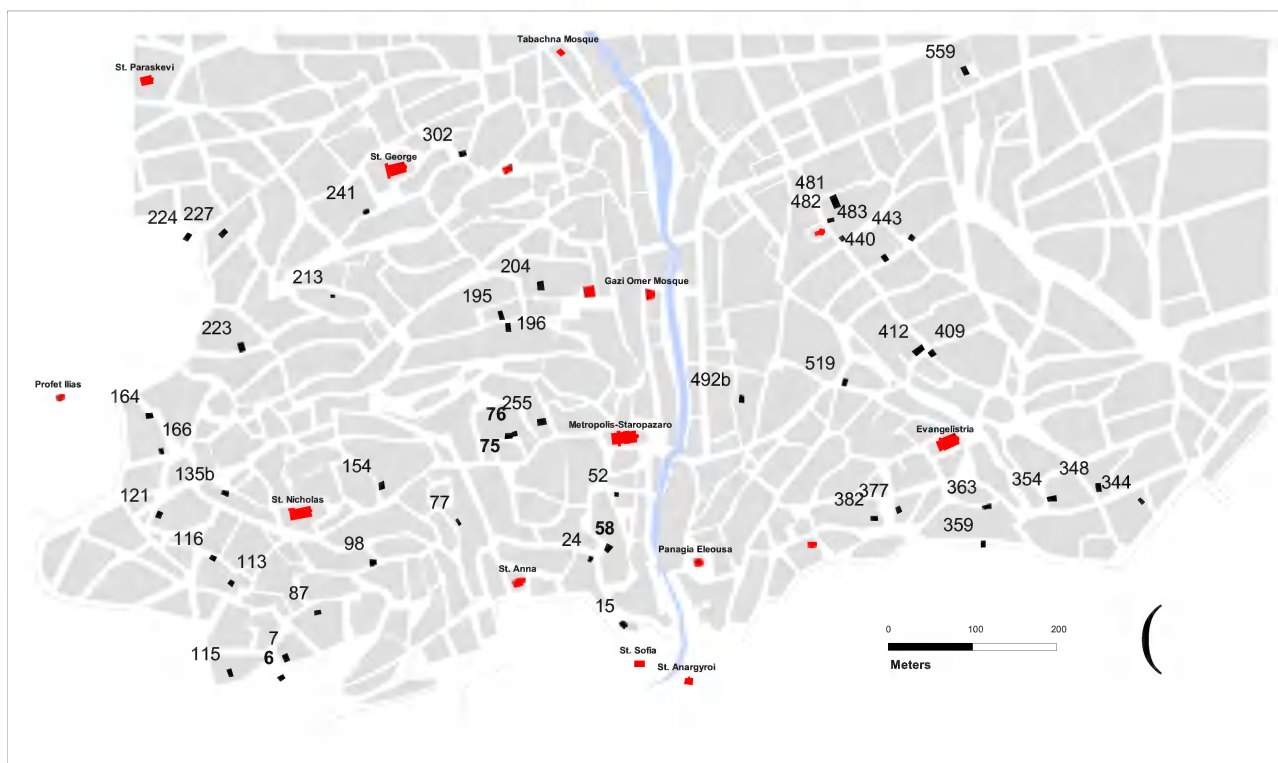
Figure 159: Distribution of one-storey houses in Livadeia.
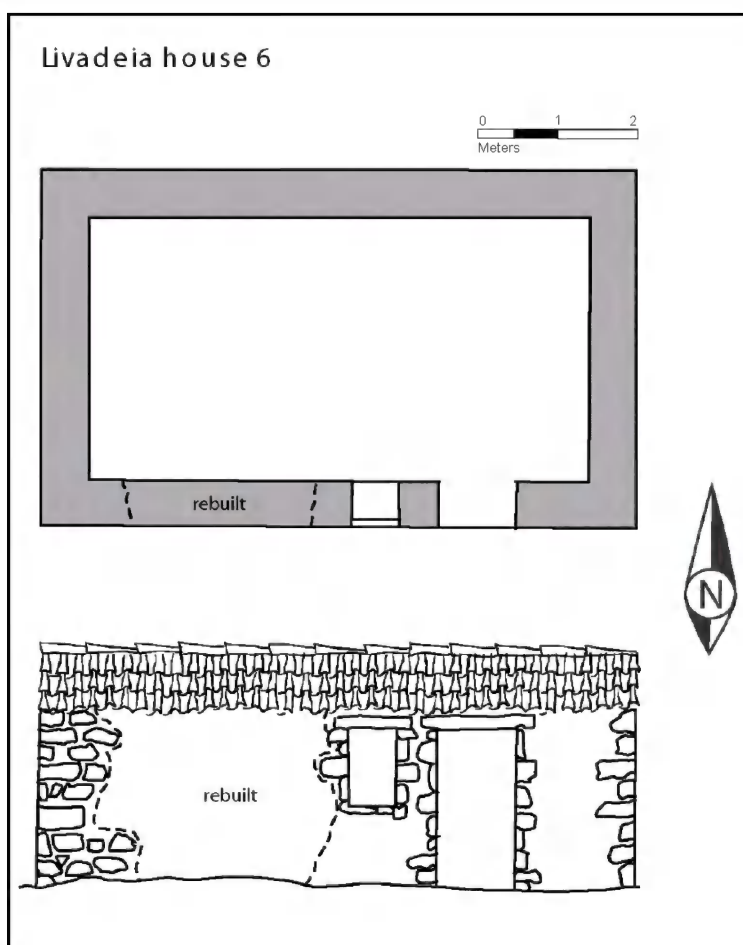
Figure 160: Plan of one-storey house 6 in Livadeia.

Figure 161: One-storey house 59 in Livadeia.

Figure 162: Plan of a *makrynari* structure made of houses 75 and 76 in Livadeia.
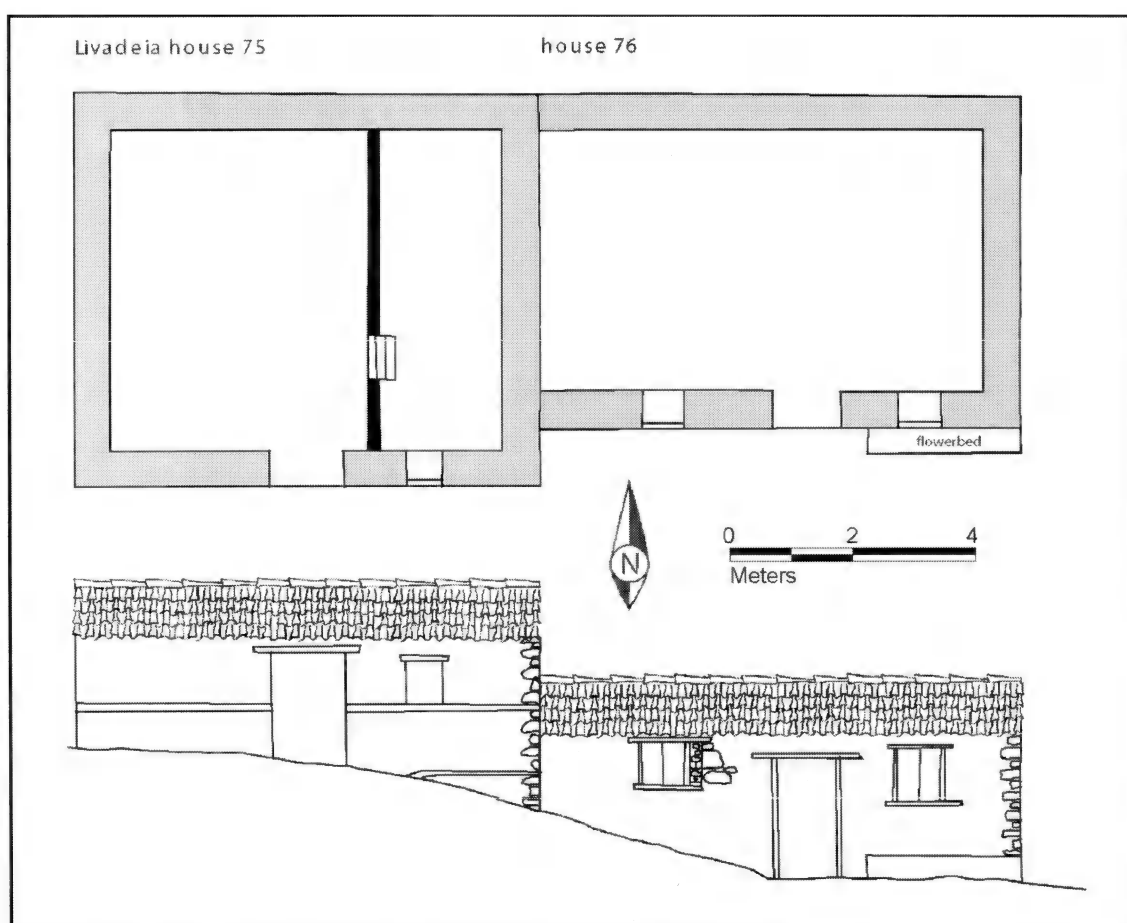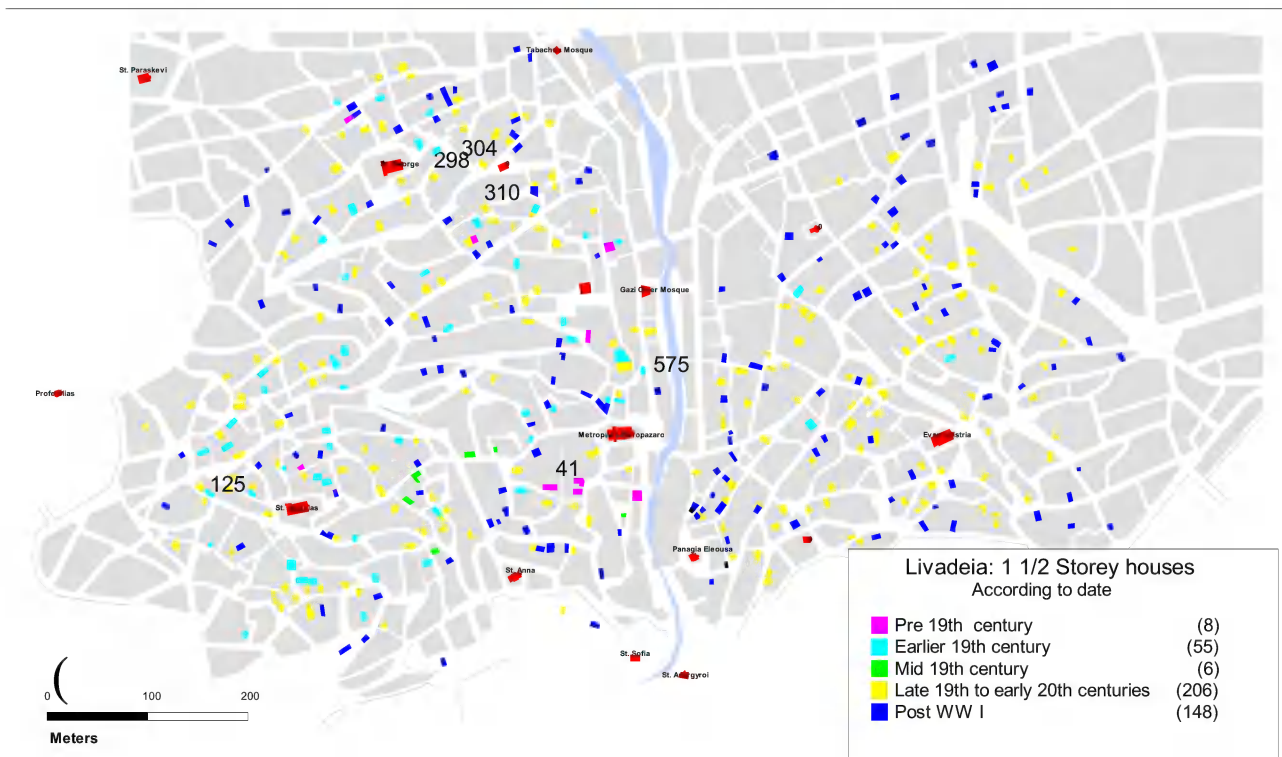
Figure 163: Distribution of 1½-storey houses in Livadeia.

Figure 164: The 1½-storey house 125 in Livadeia.
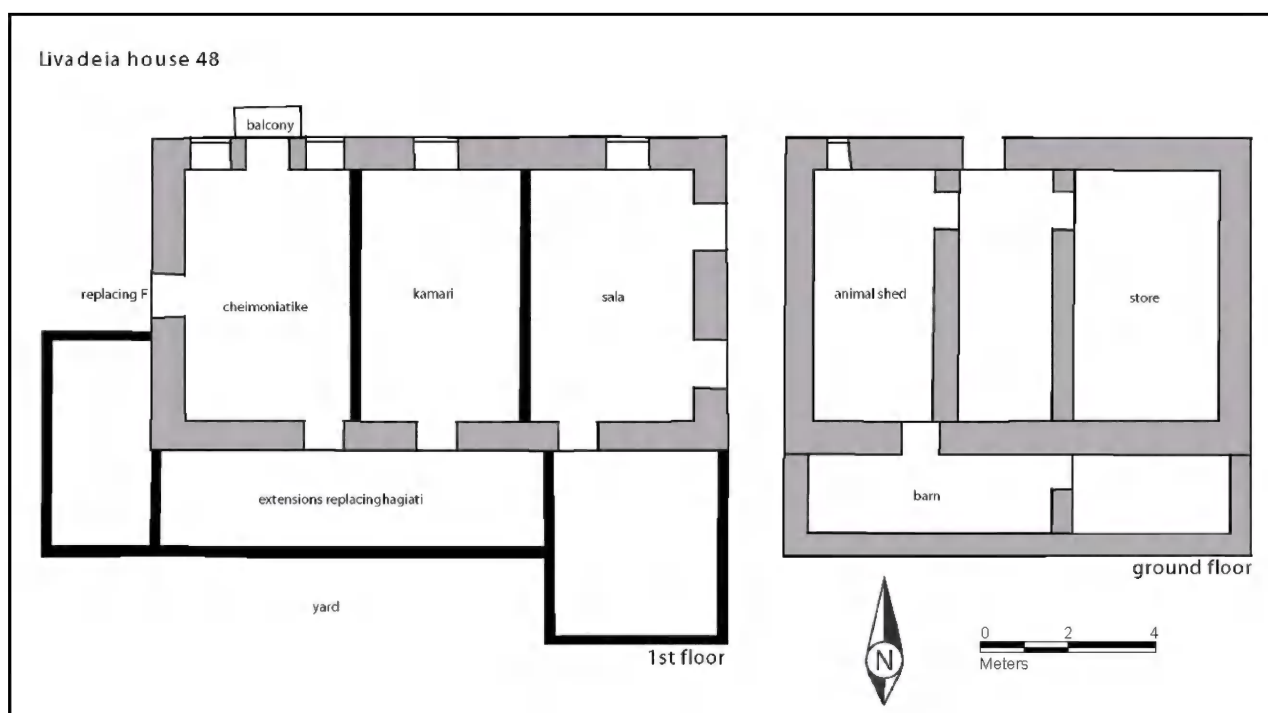
Figure 165: Plan of the 1½-storey house 48 in Livadeia.

Figure 166: Plan of the 1½-storey house 48 with *sahnisi* in Livadeia.
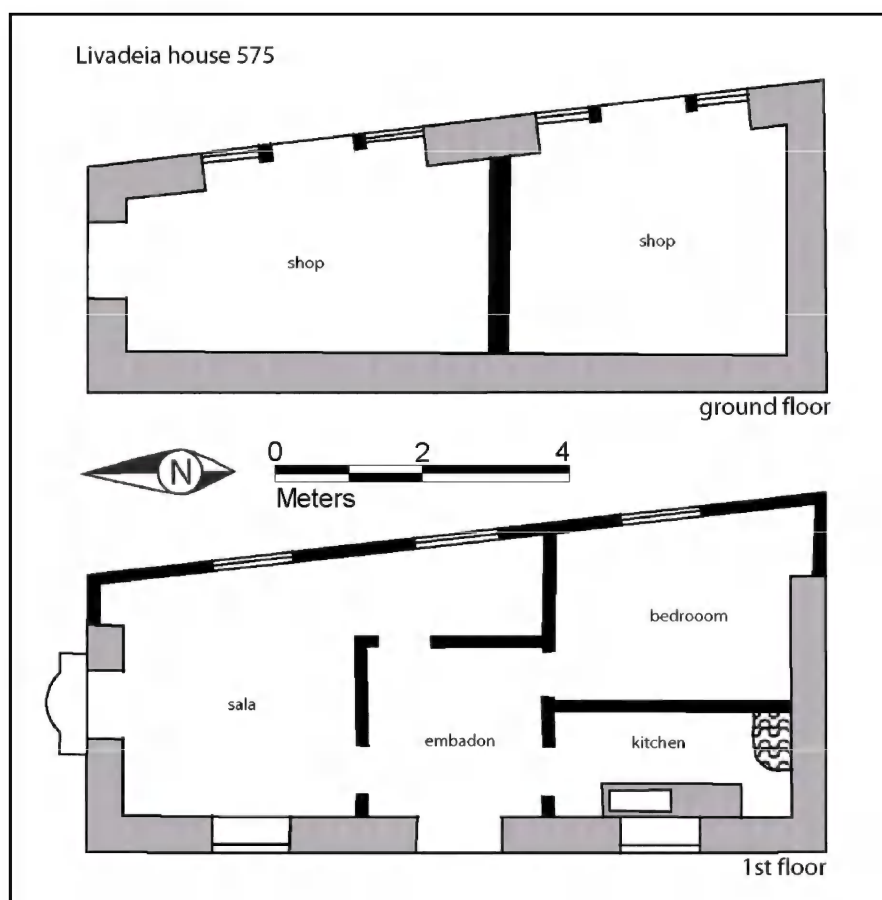
Figure 167: House 48 with *sahnisi* in Livadeia.

Figure 168: House complex 41.
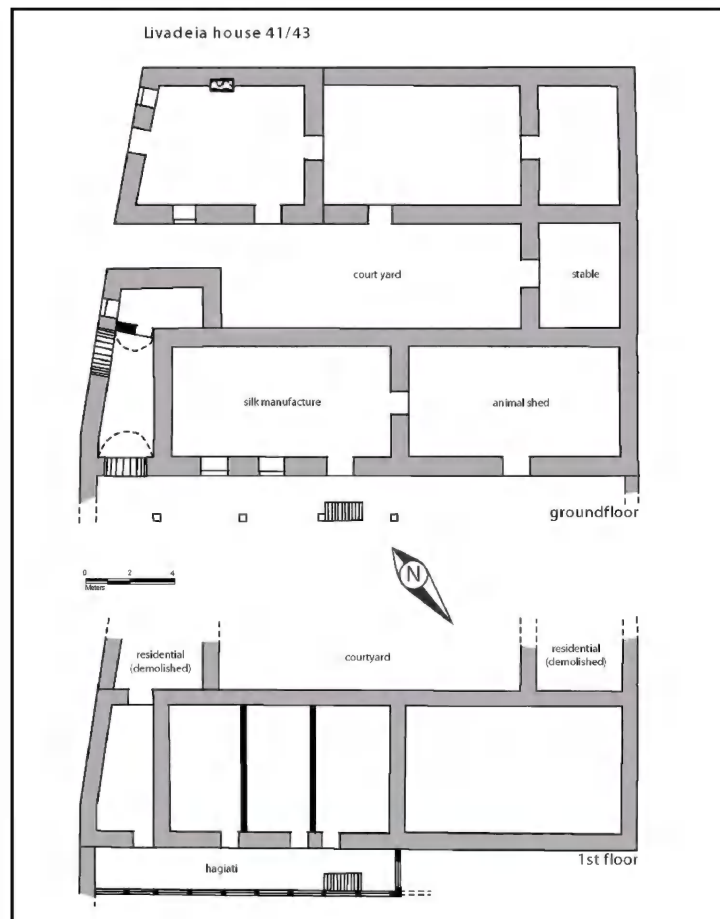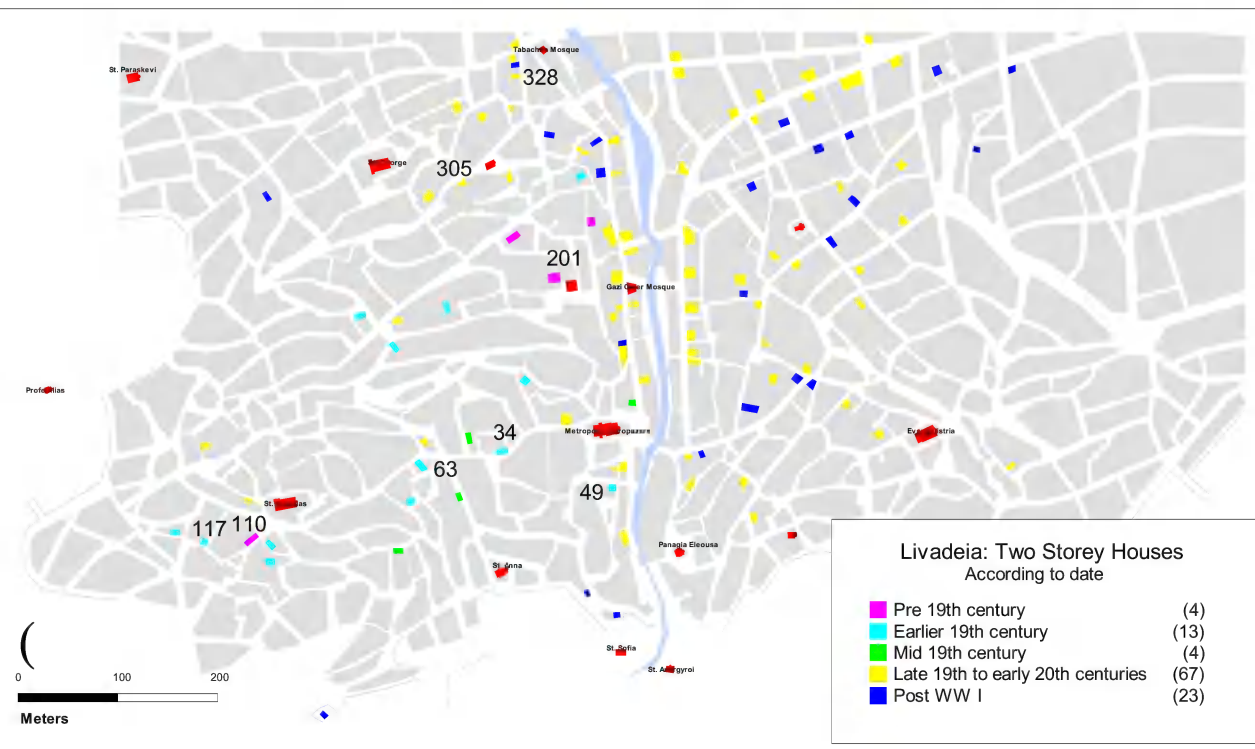
Figure 169: Distribution of two-storey houses in Livadeia.

Figure 170: The two-storey house 305.
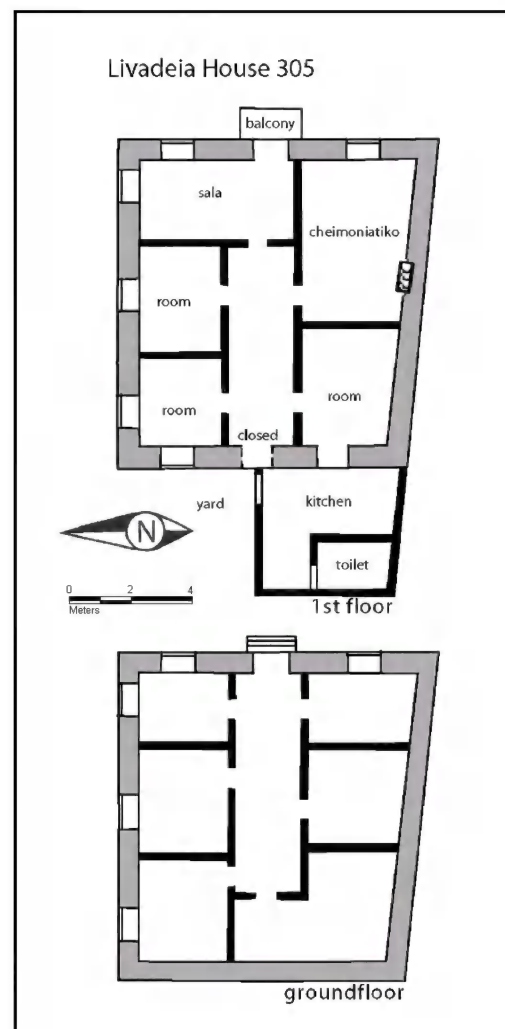
Figure 171: Plan of house 34 with rooms arranged along a *hagiati*.
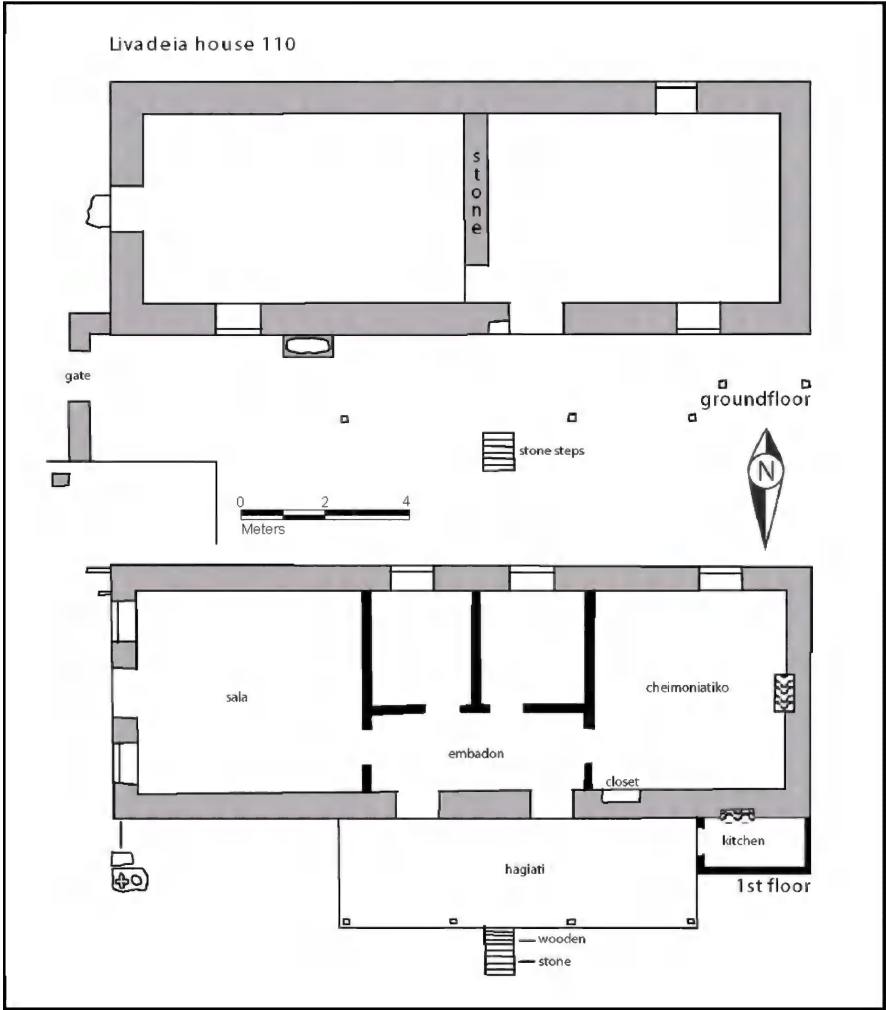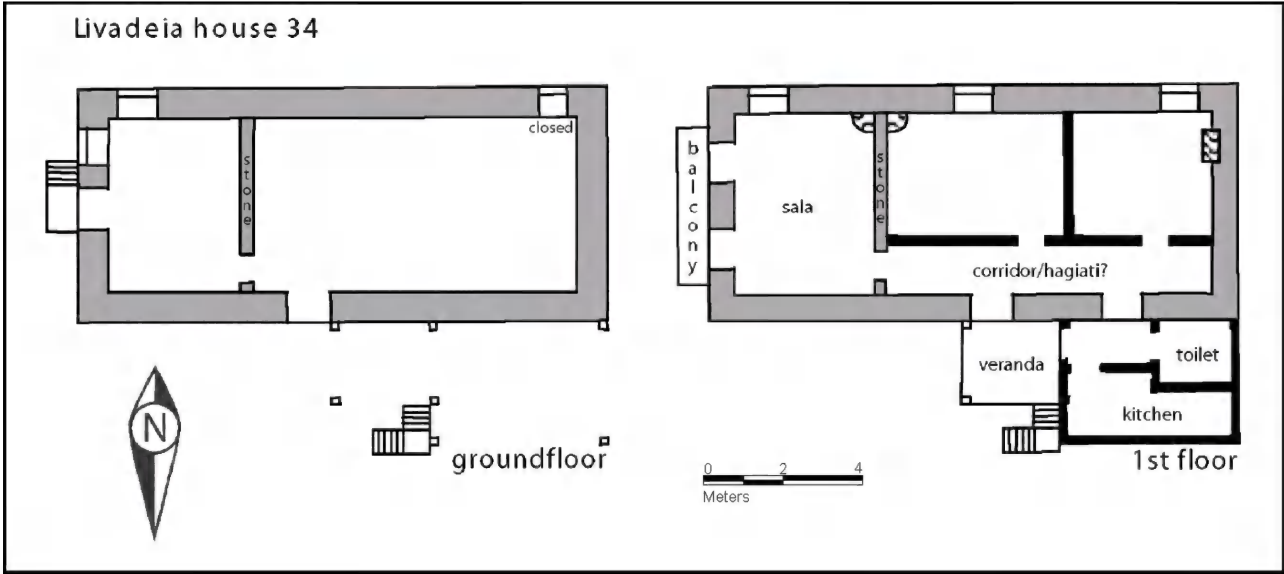
Figure 172: Plan of house 110.

Figure 173: The inscription re-used as a door jamb in house 110.

Figure 174: Plan of house 201.
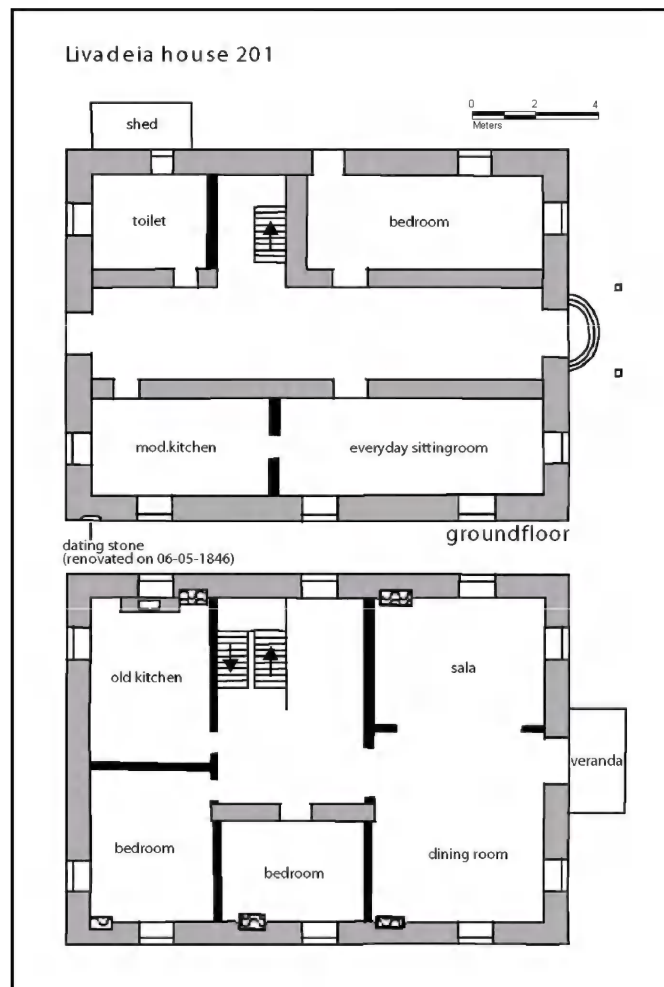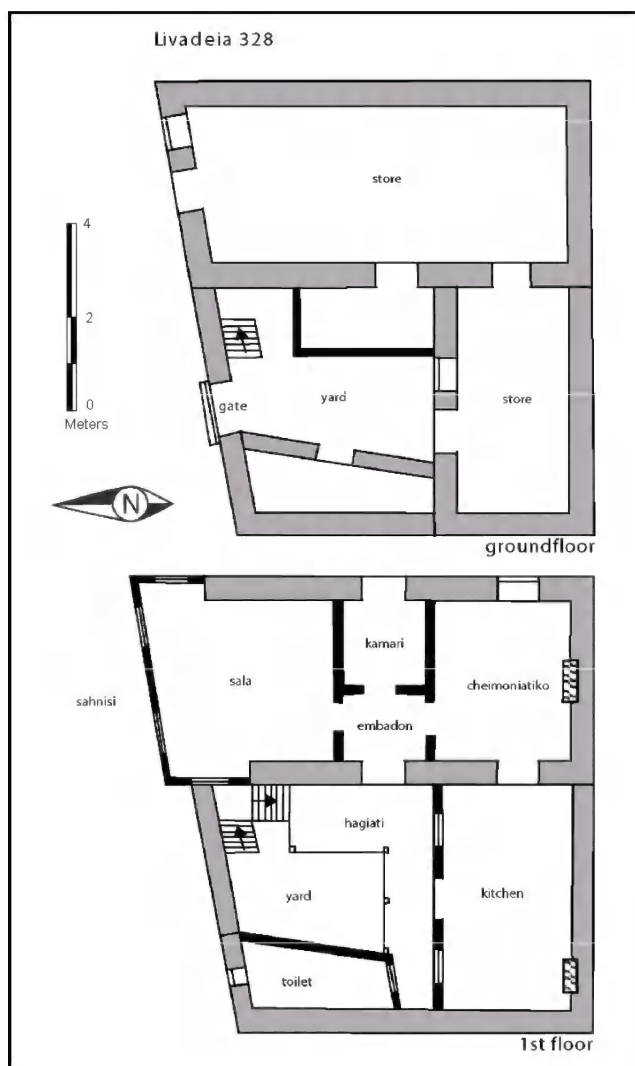
Figure 175: Plan of house 328.

Figure 176: House 328 with *sahnisi*.
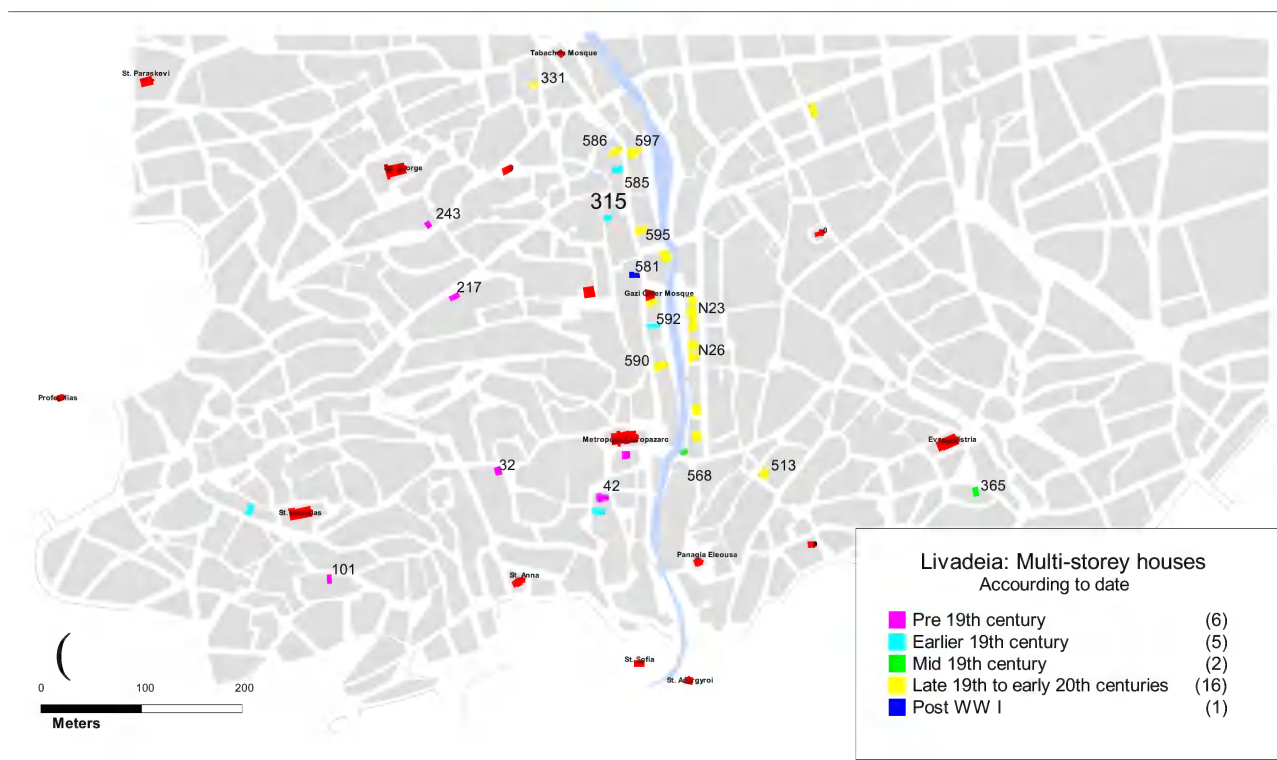
Figure 177: Distribution of multi-storey houses in Livadeia.

Livadeia: Multi-storey houses
Accourding to date

■ Pre 19th century		(6)
■ Earlier 19th century		(5)
■ Mid 19th century		(2)
■ Late 19th to early 20th centuries		(16)
■ Post WW I		(1)

Figure 178: House 589.

Figure 179: L-shaped multi-storey house 243.

Figure 180: Plan of house 243.

Livadeia house 243

store

animal shed?   yard

gate

groundfloor

balcony

hagiati

kitchen

yard

demolished

ruin

2nd floor

ruin

yard

1st floor

0   4   8
Meters

N
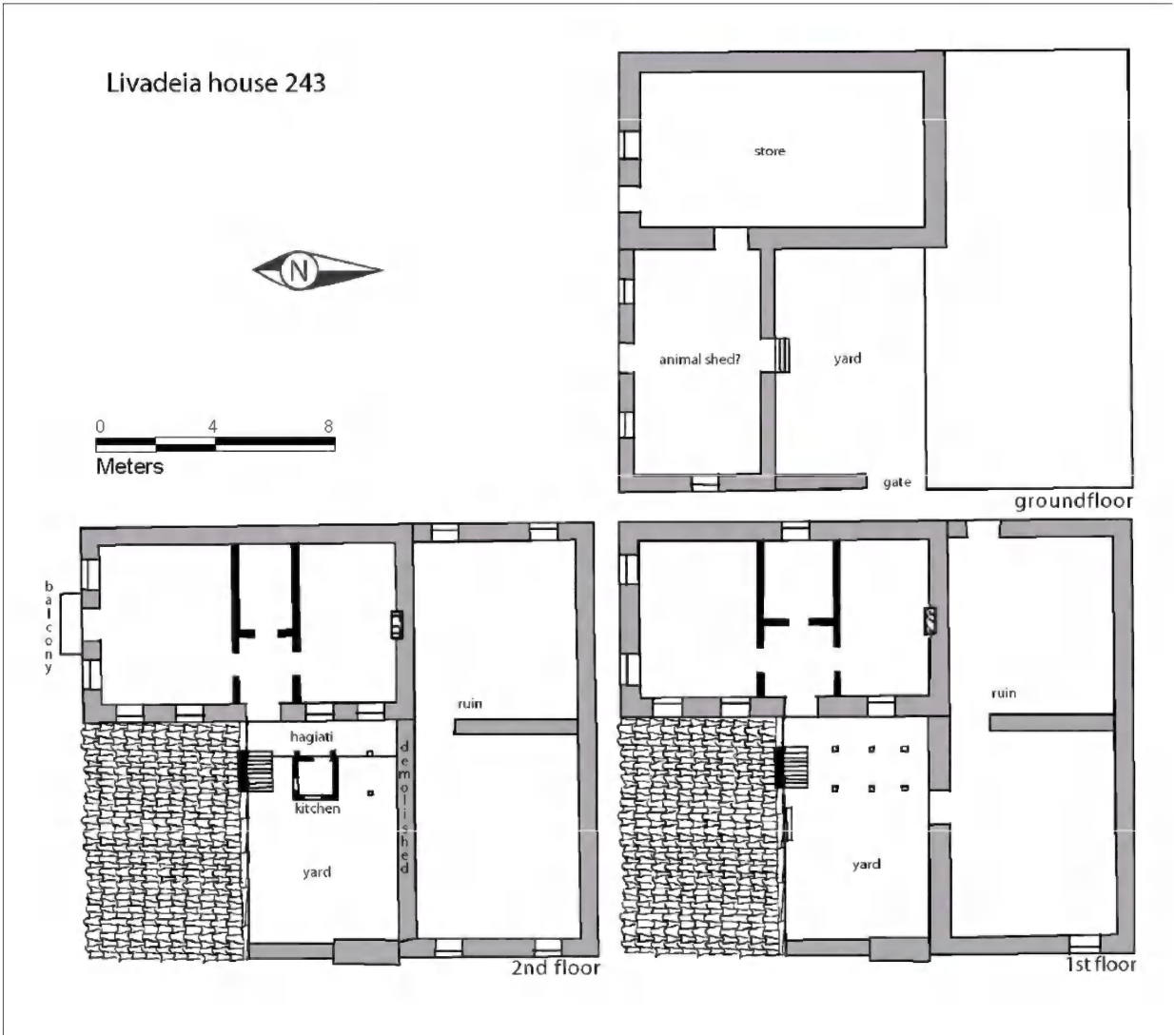
Figure 181: The hagiati construction along the façade of house 42.
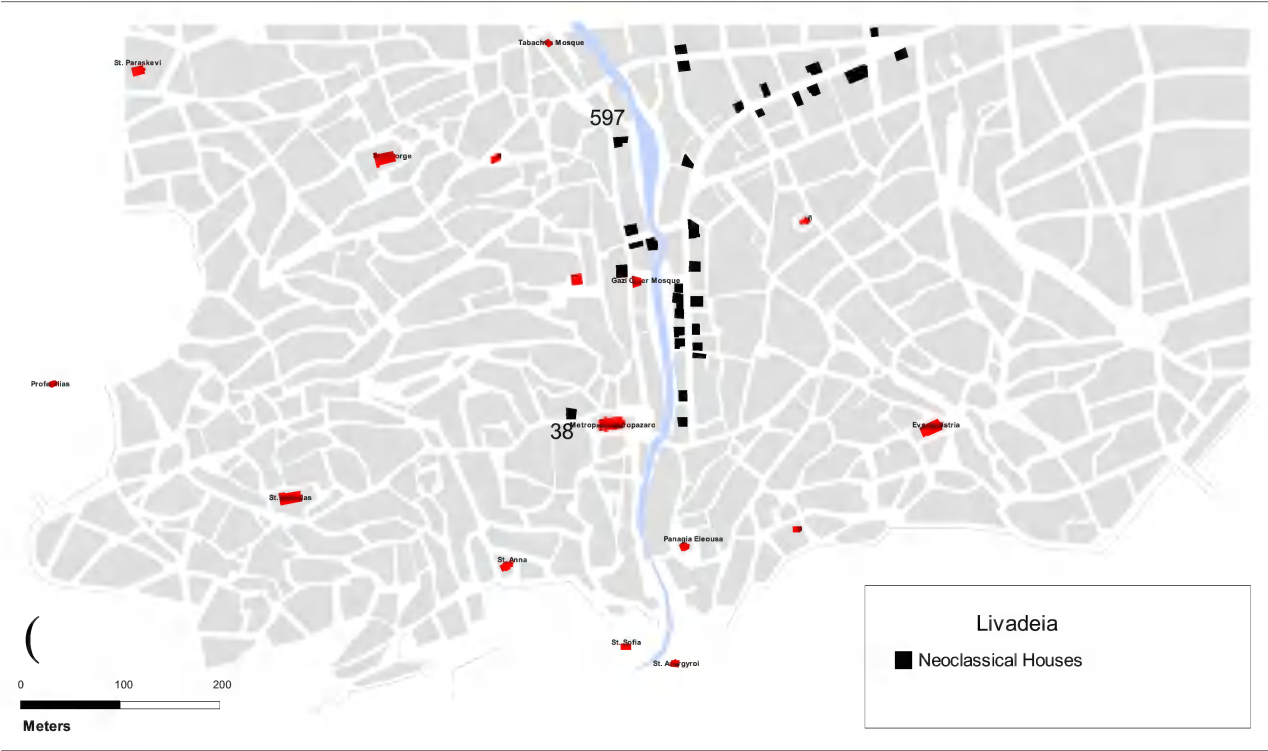
Figure 182: Distribution of Neoclassical houses in Livadeia.

Figure 183: Neoclassicising façade of house 597.

Figure 184: Rear side of house 597, demonstrating original features of structure.

Figure 185: Typical Neoclassical house of the mid 19th century (no. 38).
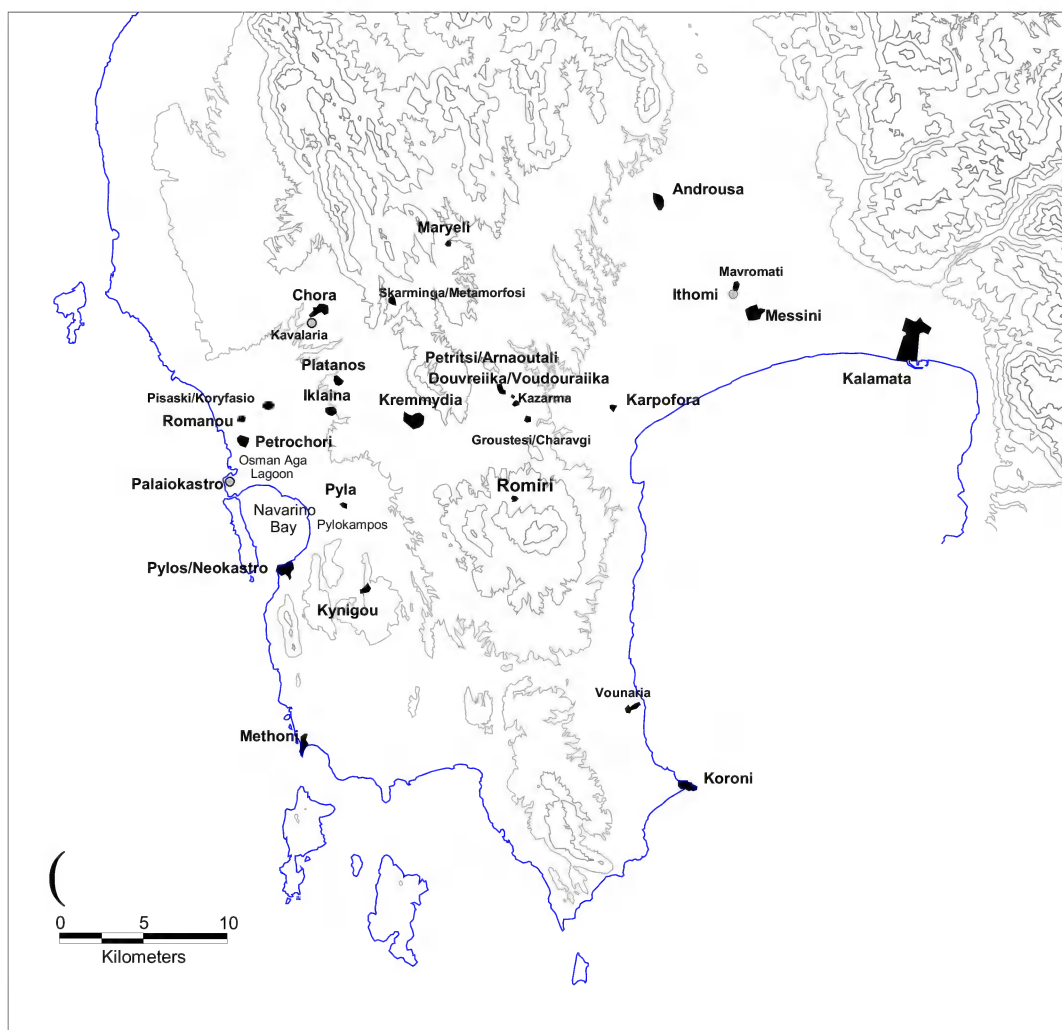
Figure 186: A map of Messenia.
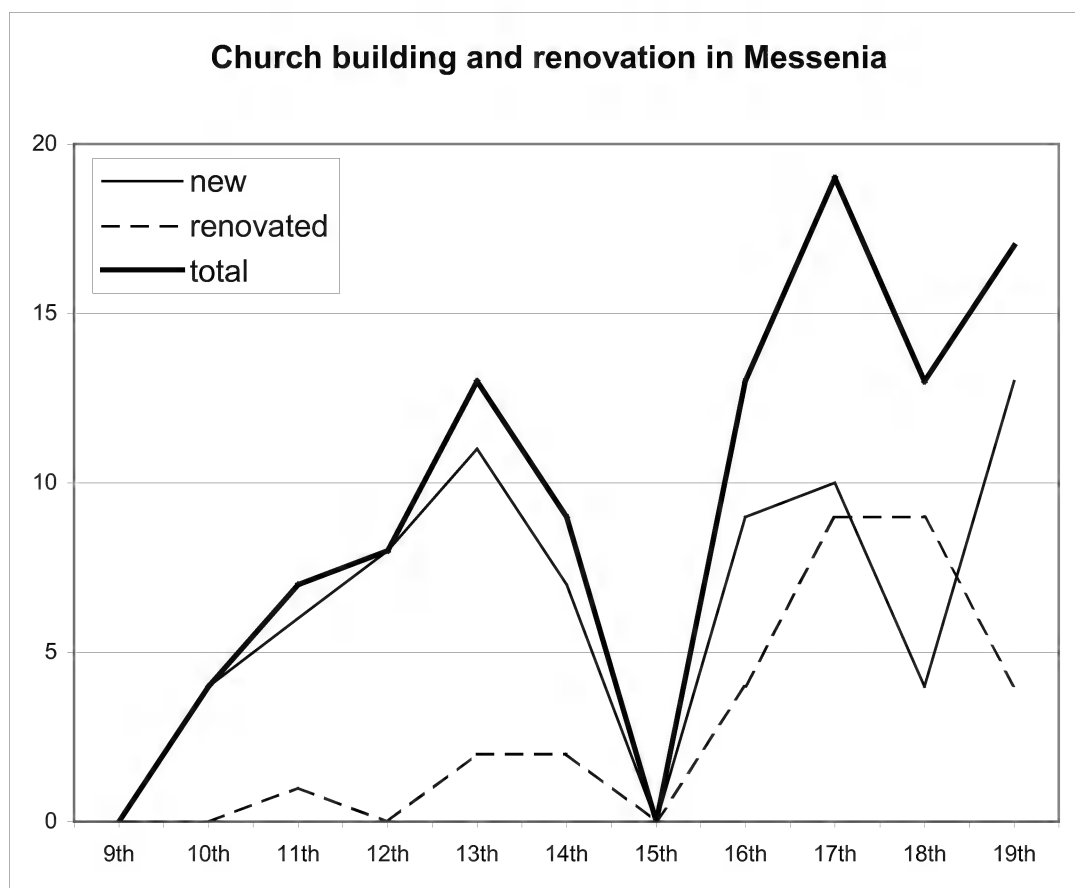
Figure 187: Church construction and renovation in Messenia between the 9th and 19th centuries (*see* Appendix D).

Figure 188: *Monospito* house at Pyla (no. 3).

Figure 189: House 41 at Pyla.

Figure 190: House 18 at Pyla.

Figure 191: House 10 without a yard wall and originally the village café.

Figure 192: A view of Kremmydia.
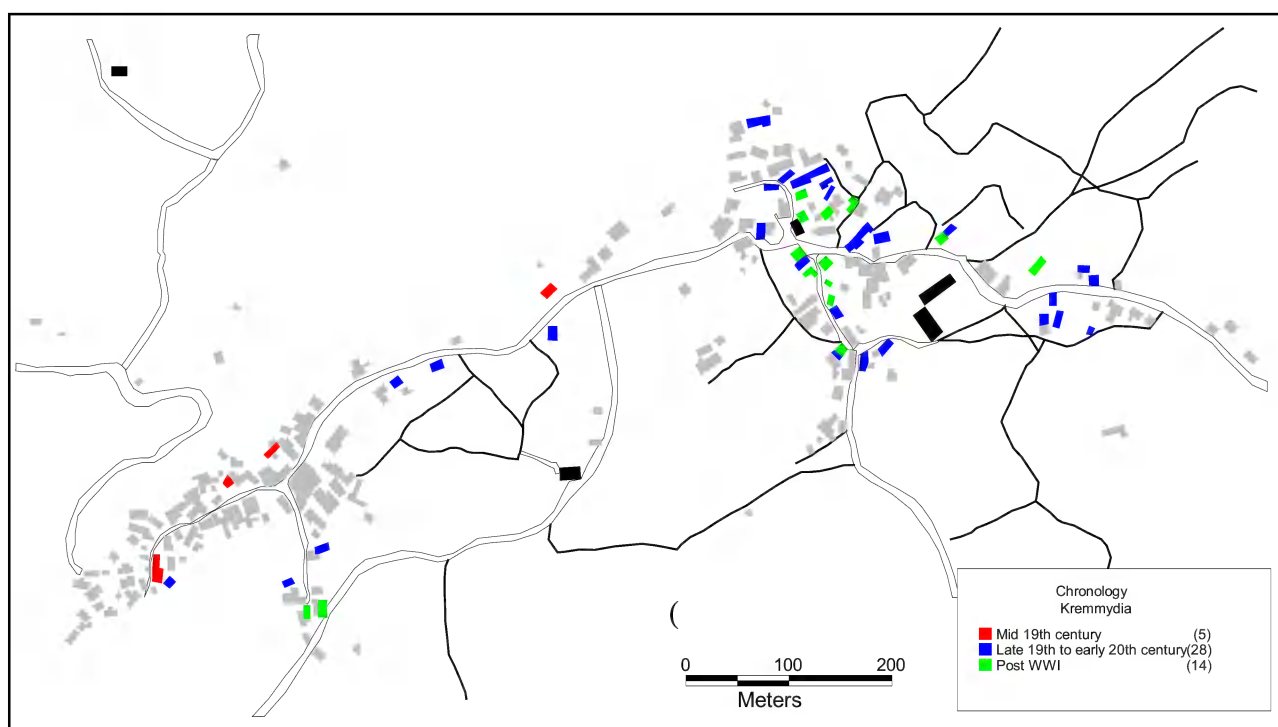
Figure 193: General distribution map of houses according to date at the modern village of Kremmydia.

Figure 194: Longhouse of mud-brick at Kremmydia (no. 1).

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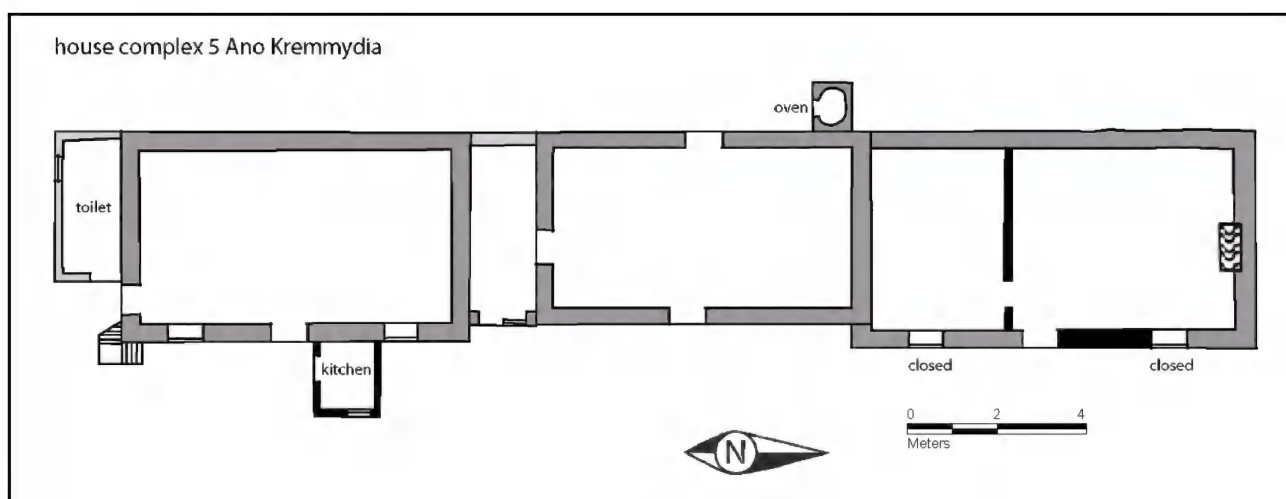
Figure 195: Plan of *makrynari* house at Kremmydia (no. 5).

Figure 196: Mid 19th century two-storey house at Kremmydia (no. 9).

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Figure 197: Early 20th century two-storey house at Kremmydia (no. 4).
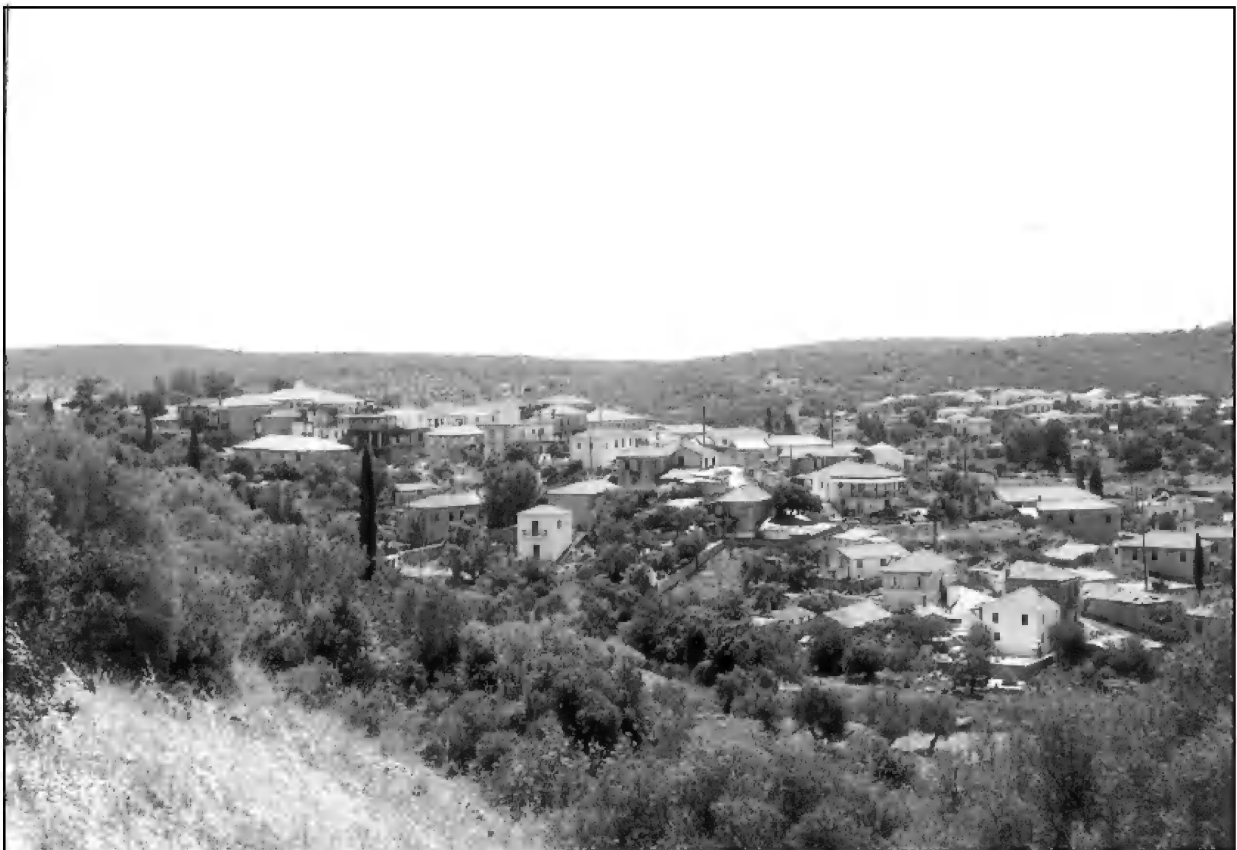
Figure 198: A view of the village Kynigou.

Figure 199: Possible remains of a mosque nowadays used as a church bell of a rural chapel.

Chronology
Kynigou

- Late 19th to early 20th centuries(14)
- Mid 19th century (9)
- Early 19th century (12)
- Pre-19th century (12)

Figure 200: General distribution map of houses according to date at the modern village of Kynigou.

Figure 201: Characteristic longhouse at Kynigou (no. 28).
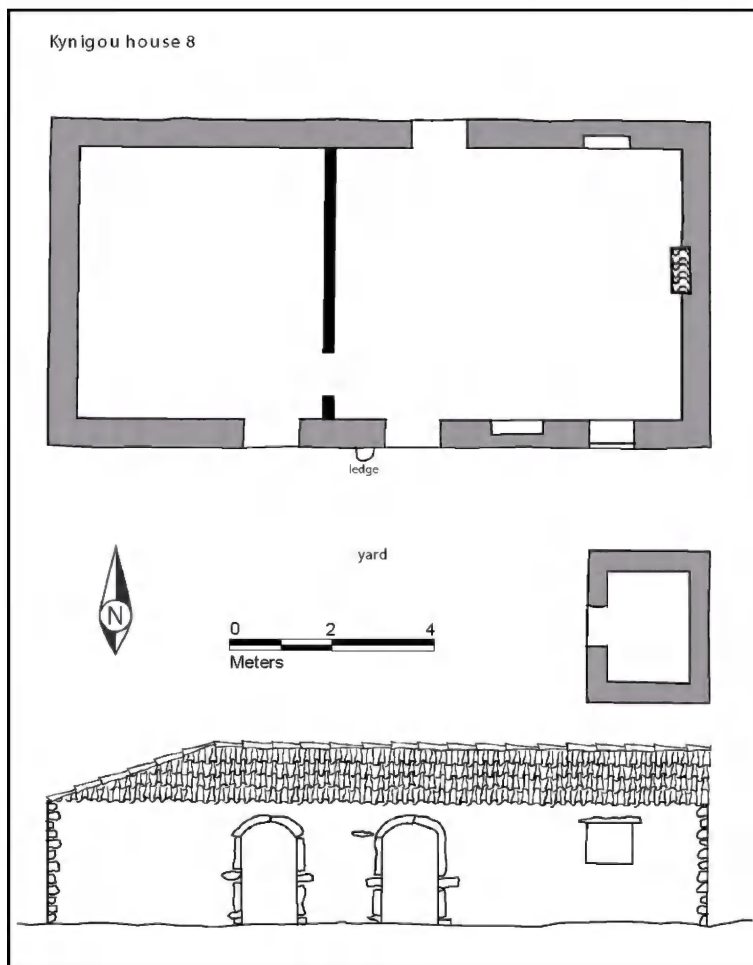
Figure 202: Plan of longhouse 8 at Kynigou.

Figure 203: Plan of house 4 at Kynigou, which has developed as an extension of the original longhouse towards the right.
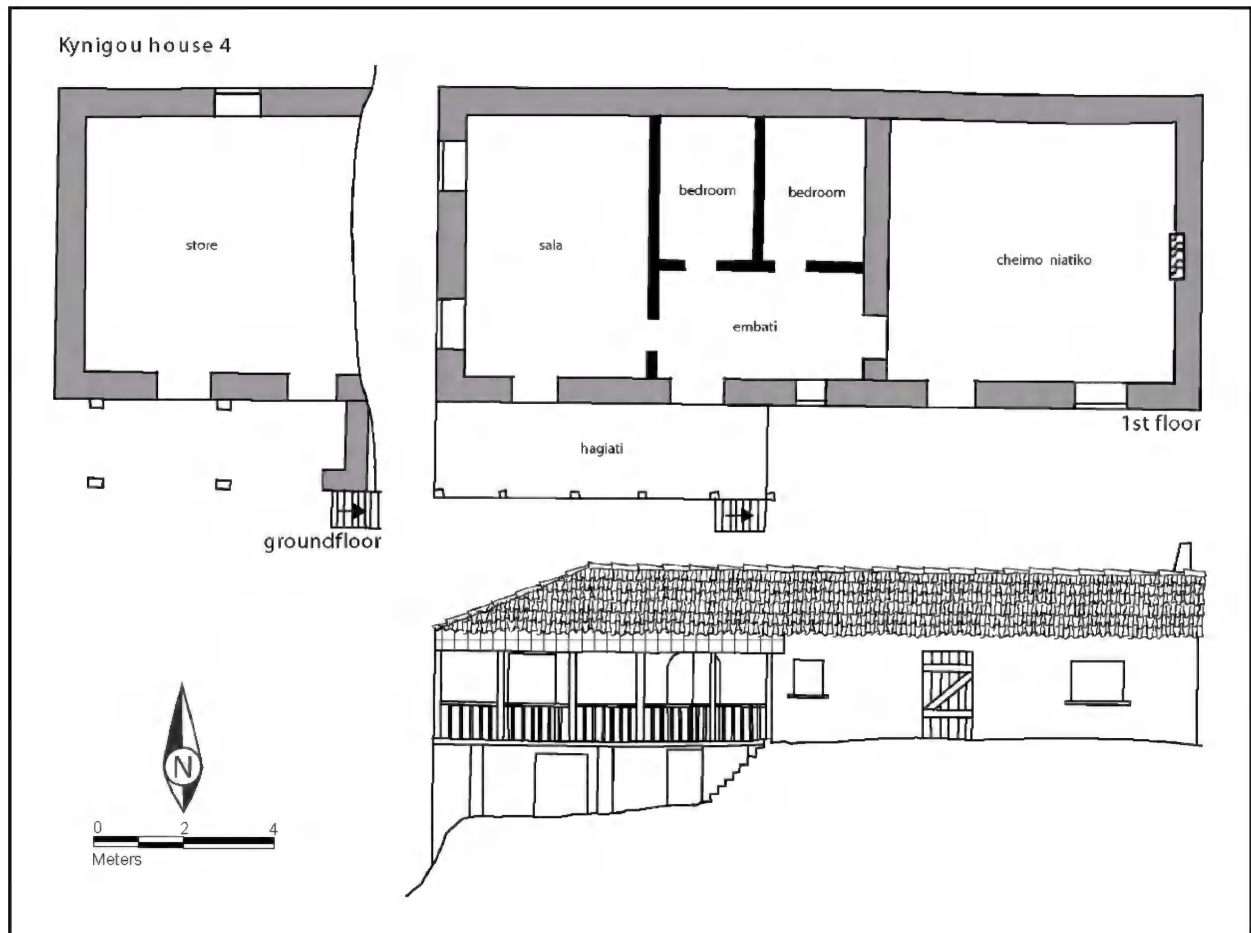
Figure 204: Bronze oil lamp.

Figure 205: L-shaped house at Kynigou (no. 6).
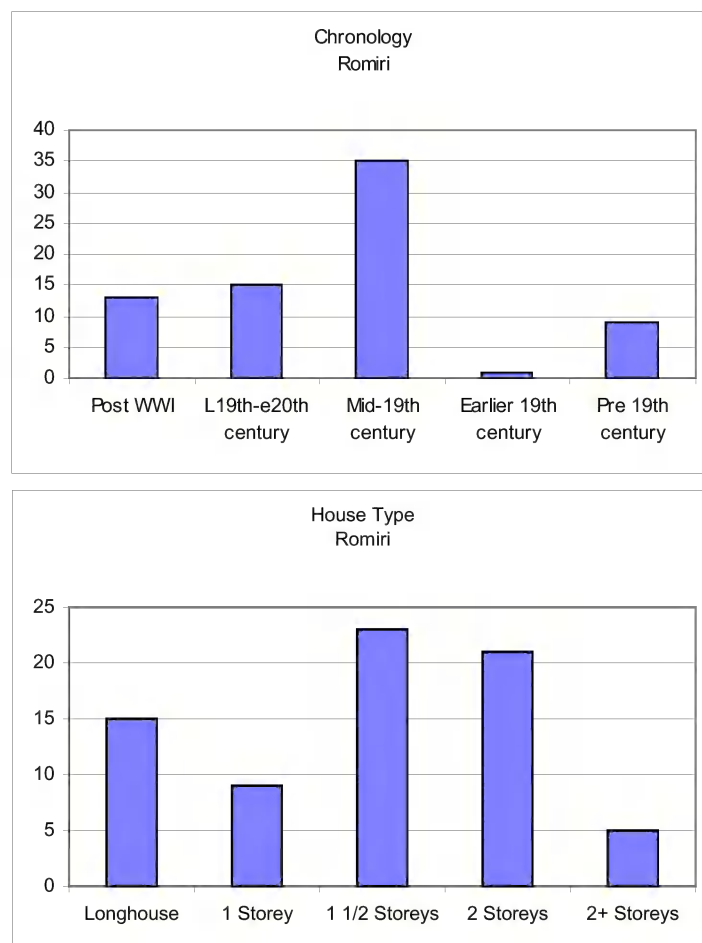
Figure 206: Graphs of date and house type distributions for the village Romiri.
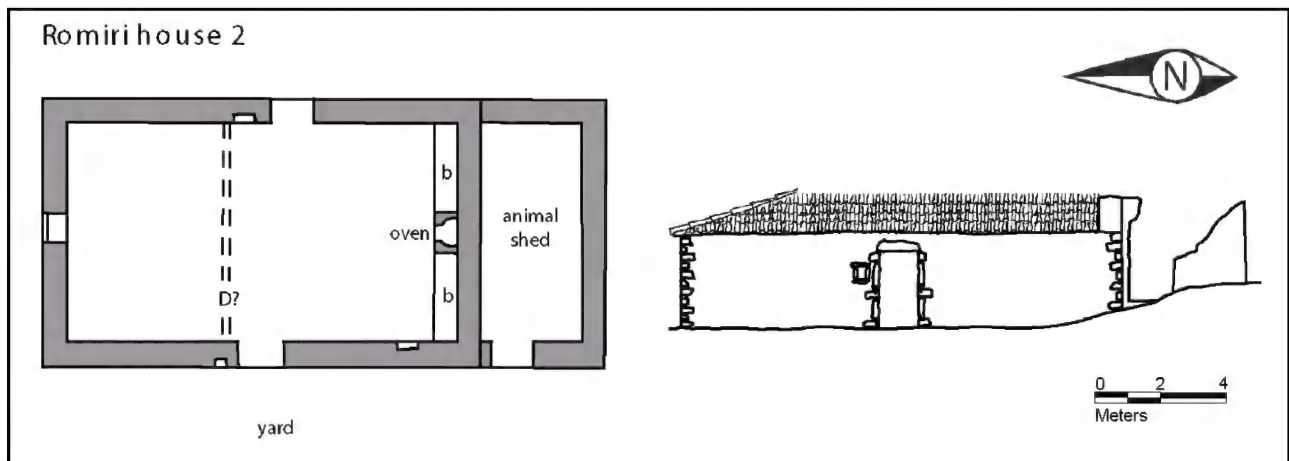
Figure 207: Longhouse 2 at Romiri.

Figure 208: Ceramic pot built into the wall used as a safe.

Figure 209: Late 19th to early 20th century longhouse (no. 14).

Figure 210: Decorative tile patterns and carved features on door jambs.

Figure 211: Interior of house 22.
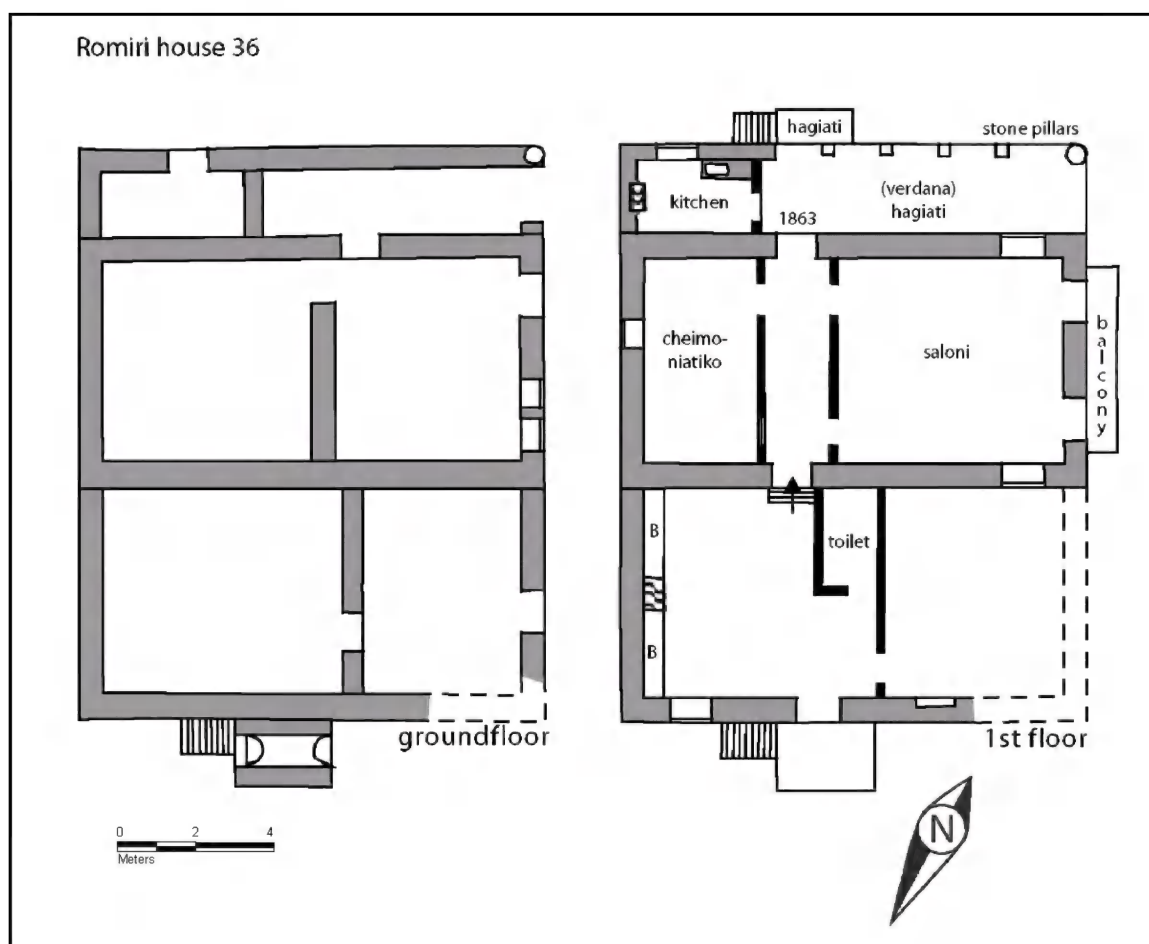
Figure 212: Plan of house 36 with colonnaded *hagiati*.

Figure 213: House 27 at Romiri.

Figure 214: A 1½-storey house (no.1).
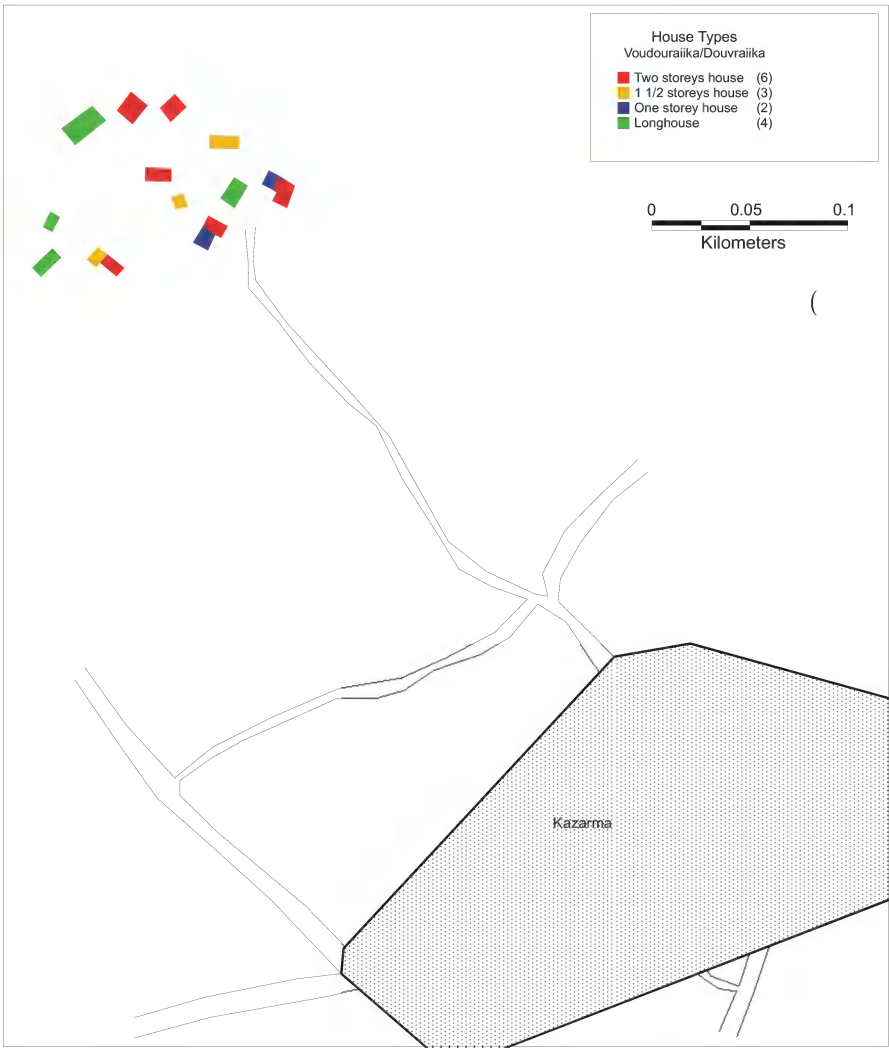
Figure 215: General distribution map of houses according to type at the modern village of Douvraiika/Voudouraiika.

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Figure 216: Two-storey house at Douvraiika/Voudouraiika.

Figure 217: So-called Langadian tile-designs on the façade of a house at Douvraiika/Voudouraiika.

Figure 218: Mosque in Neokastro. An imperial dedication by Murat III.

Figure 219: Ottoman aqueduct in modern Pylos.

Figure 220: Houses 33 and 34 on the central square of Pylos with arcade at ground floor level.
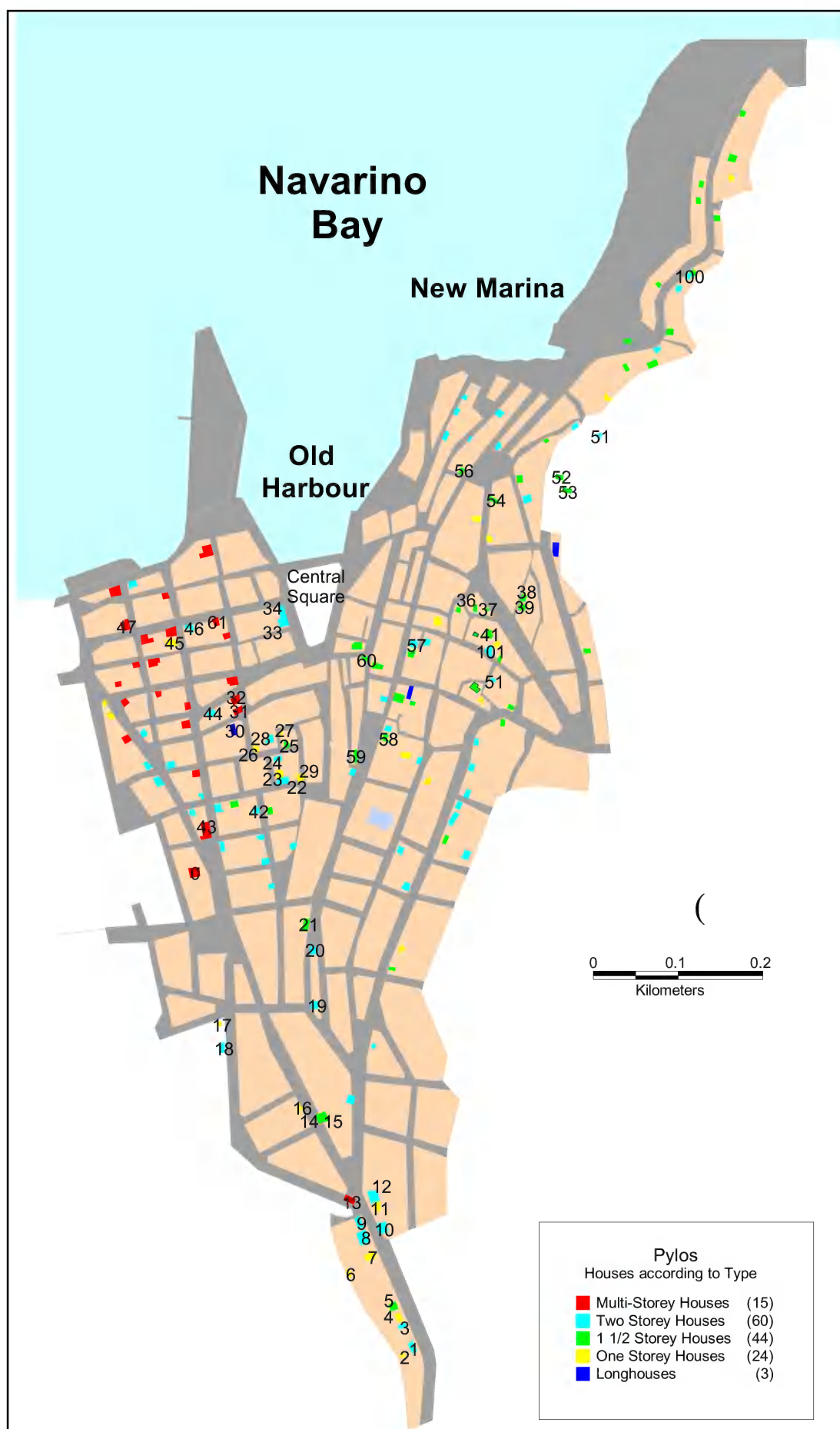
Figure 221: Distribution map of house types in Pylos.

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Figure 222: Longhouse in Pylos (no. 30).

Figure 223: Simple one-storey house (no. 6).
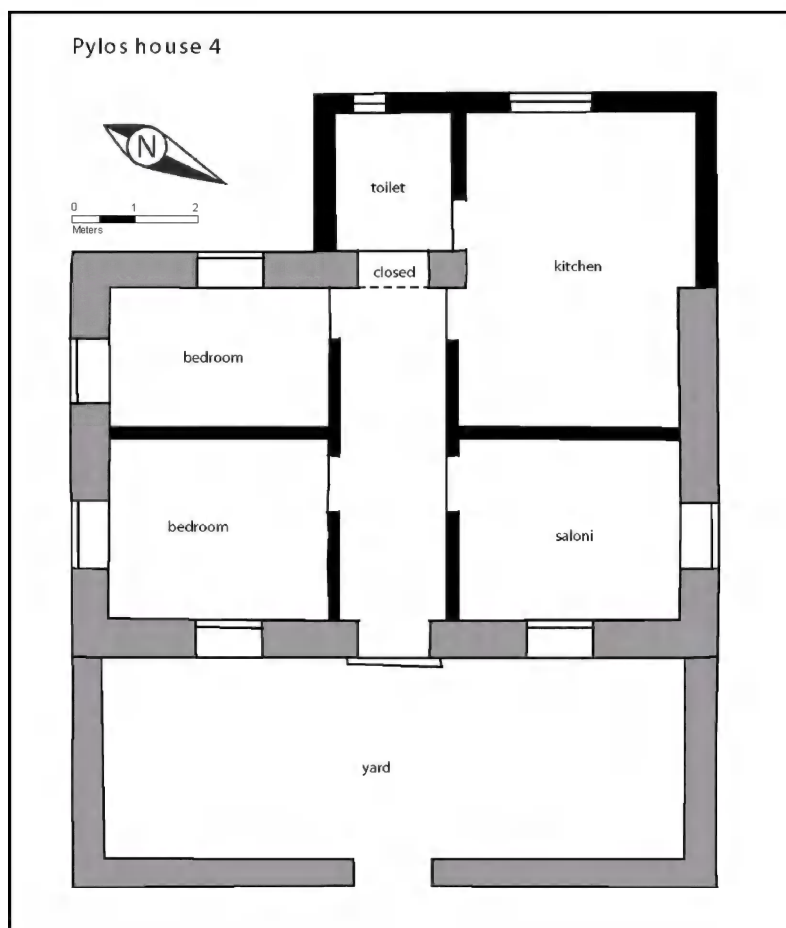
Figure 224: Plan of house 4.

Figure 225: Façade of house 4.

Figure 226: House 52.

Figure 227: house 54.
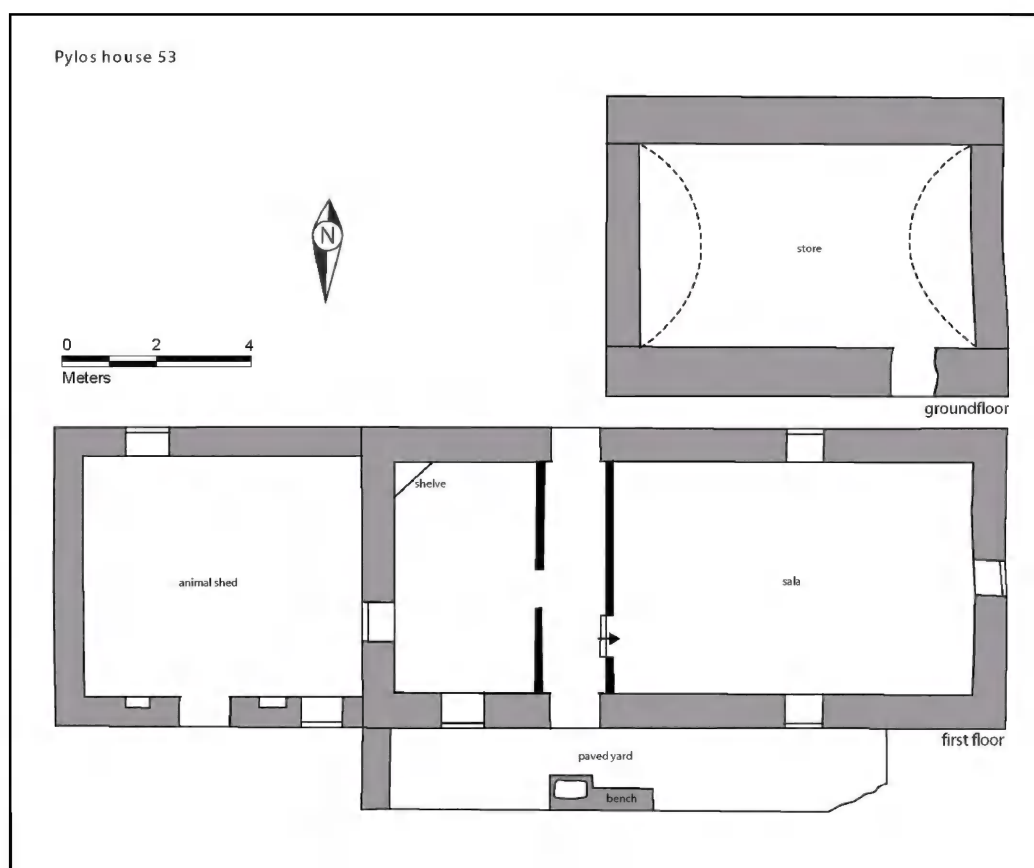
Figure 228: Plan of house 53.

Figure 229: *Saloni* of house 53

Figure 230: Yard wall.

Figure 231: House 60.

Figure 232: House 56, an example of a terraced 1½-storey structure.

Figure 233: Two-storey house (no.46).

Figure 234: House 57, an urbanised terraced structure along the commercial road.

Figure 235: Neoclassical domestic structure.
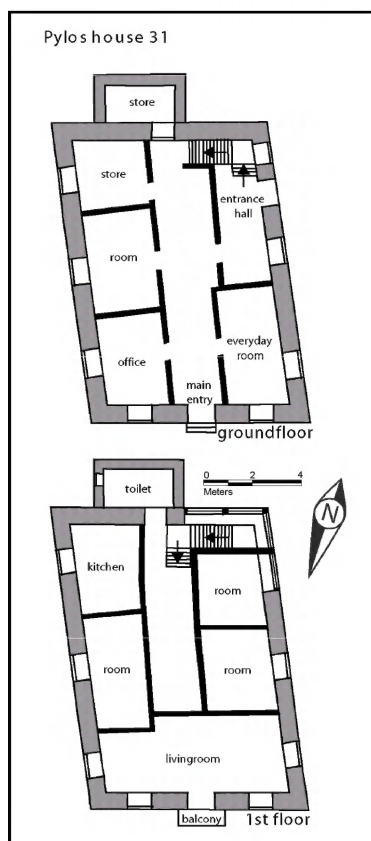
Figure 236: Internal symmetrical arrangement of rooms along a corridor (plan no. 31).

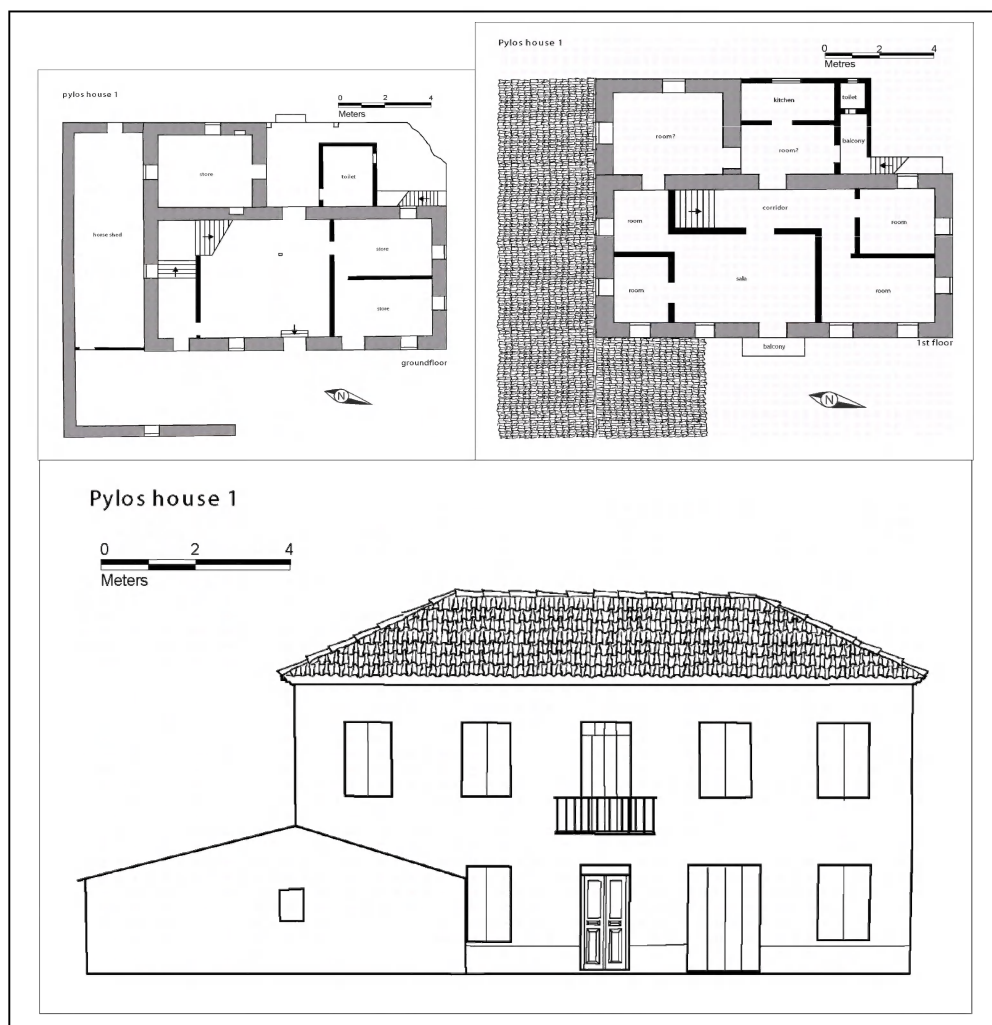*Figure 237*: House 1 with large central reception hall, *saloni*.

Figure 238: Rock-cut structures along one of the streams in Pylos.

Figure 239: Ottoman fountain in Kyparissia.

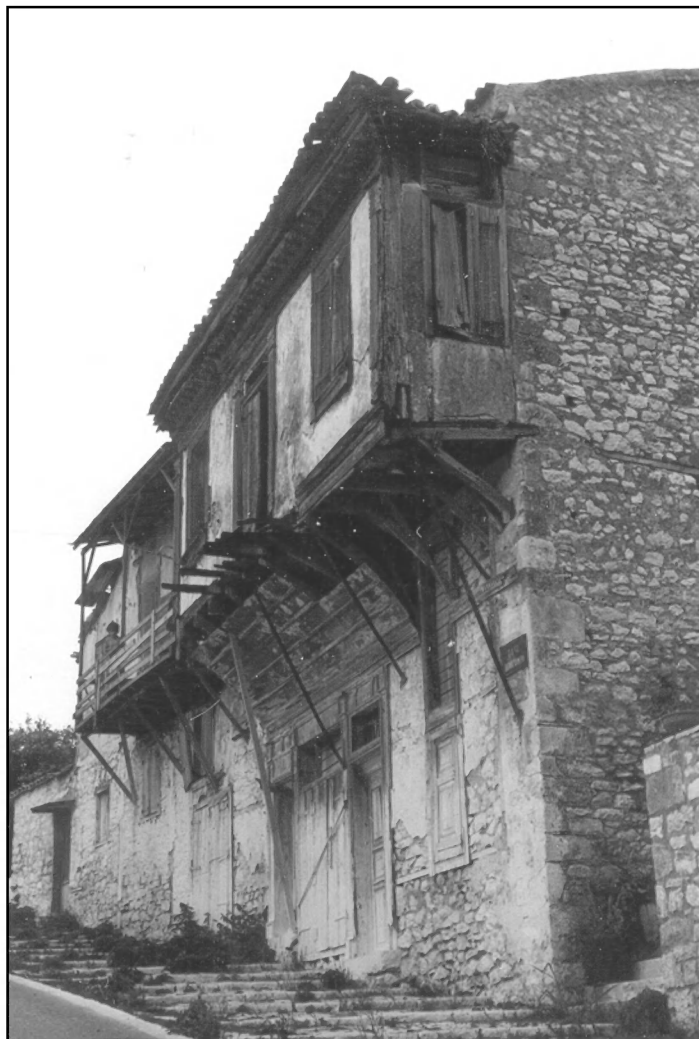*Figure 240*: Ottoman Style terraced houses in Kyparissia.

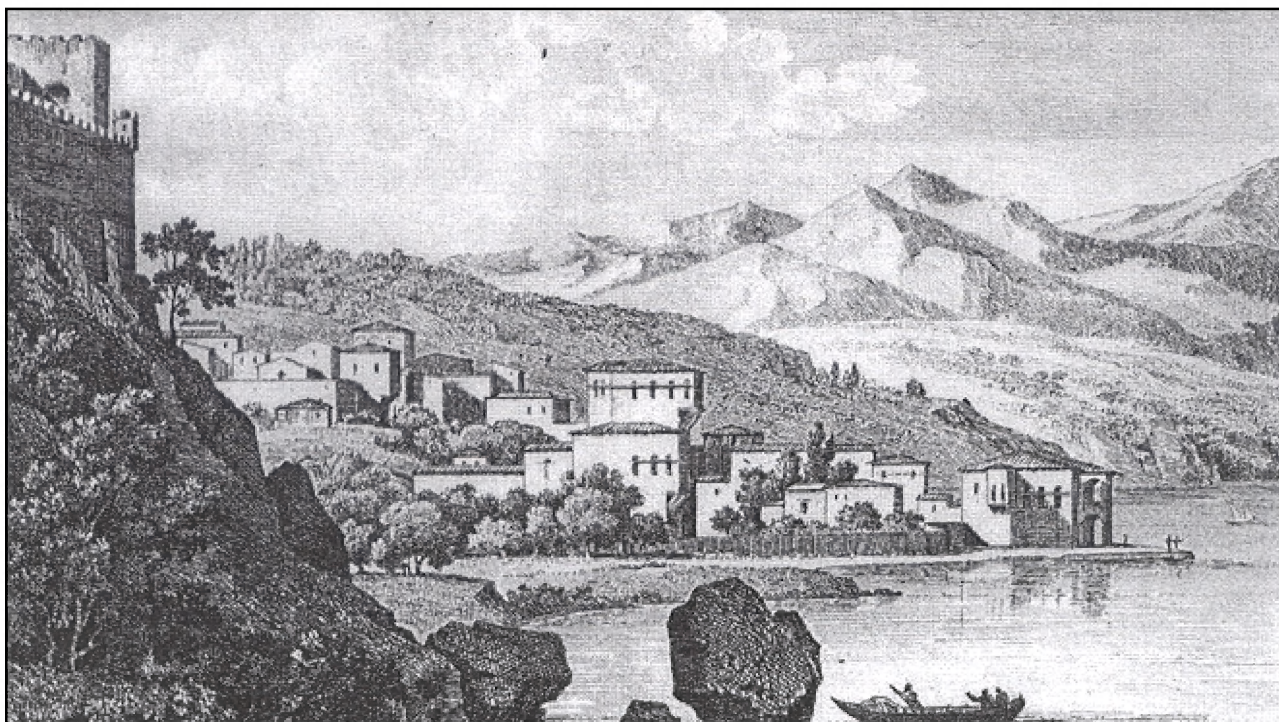*Figure 241*: Engraving of early 19th century Koroni.

Figure 242: House from Mazi, Boiotia, built by Langadiani builders in the late 19th or early 20th centuries.